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SIND AND THE PANJAB

PROVINCIAL CHANGES IN INDIA

By a Late Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab

The question of the separation of Sind from Bombay has again cropped up in the inquiries of the Simon Commission, and on this occasion it is raised on the differences of language and social condition which are well known. Sind was attached to Bombay because at first it was only accessible from that port, and was separated from the rest of British Northern India by foreign territories and Indian States. Consequently such military operations as had to be conducted there were necessarily entrusted to the Bombay Army. But in olden days it was always closely connected with the Moghal governments of the Panjab and Multan, and later it was so controlled by the Afghan Durrani dynasty. Maharaja Ranjit Singh was most anxious to include Sind in his dominions, and but for his death in 1839 he would probably have carried out his intention. Then followed the despatch of troops to Afghanistan through Sind, and finally Napier's expedition which ended in the incorporation of Sind in British India in 1843. So far the historical association of Sind and the Panjab is clear, and even the railway from Karachi to the interior was for many years known as the Sind, Panjab, and Delhi Railway.

It is fairly well known that in 1879, after the first phase of the Afghan War, Lord Lytton's Government had obtained sanction to the formation of all the Trans-Indus Frontier into a Frontier Province, and to the adding of Sind, or most of it, to the Panjab. The notification for carrying out this change was actually with the Secretary in the Legislative Department for final revision before it appeared in the *Gazette of India*, when in September, 1879, the news came through of Sir P. L. N. Cavagnari's murder in Kabul, and the scheme was postponed, only to be cancelled in the general scrapping of all Lord Lytton's policies on the return of the Liberal Government in 1880.

Since then the idea of reuniting Sind and the Panjab has

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often recurred, but has been dropped for various reasons. The former poverty of the Panjab and the fact that it was administered by a Lieutenant-Governor and not by a Governor in Council, while it was perhaps hampered by the charge of the Frontier, and justice was supervised by a Chief Court appointed by the Government of India, led the merchants of Karachi to demur to such a union. Sind officials also expressed a fear that Panjabis might seize their choice districts, and Panjab officers were not keen to sample the deserts of Sind, as they then had many desert stations of their own. The union might well have been effected in 1901, when Lord Curzon formed the North-West Frontier Province, but he had other things to do, and perhaps it was hardly his policy to add to the importance, at that time, of the Panjab.

The unnatural divorce of the two territories, however, has always involved serious drawbacks. The trade of the Panjab in wheat, oil-seeds, cotton, wool, hides, etc., all goes through Karachi, and the Panjab Government is often called on to remove what are held to be obstacles to that trade. It is surely not reasonable that a port depending almost entirely on the trade of one province should be cut off from that province. Now the old objections have all been removed. The Panjab enjoys the benefits of the administration by a Governor in Council and the supervision of a High Court, and is probably the most prosperous and progressive province in India. Its political conditions are analogous to those of Sind, and the addition of Karachi will give to the Legislative Council that commercial element requisite for political completeness. The Frontier has been separated and the Indian States transferred to the direct control of the Governor-General in Council, so that the Panjab Government, relieved of responsibilities that occupied most of its time, should be well able to control the united province.

But there is now an argument in favour of the reunion, which is vital and overwhelming. Sind and the Panjab both depend on canals for their prosperity and even for their existence. The Panjab has already over 11,000,000 acres of such irrigation; and Sind, in addition to her existing irrigation, hopes to water 5,000,000 acres from the Indus by the Sukkur Dam. The question of the distribution of the water supply is all-important for both tracts, and it is rather absurd that another Government in Bombay, which is entirely unconnected with the problem, should intervene. But it is believed that the Government of India have directed that no more water shall be taken from the Indus and the other rivers of the Panjab until definite proof can be given that Sind has a full supply

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for the Sukkur project. The result is that the Sind Sagar Canal from the Indus and the Satlaj Dam Scheme with their 4,000,000 acres of irrigation in the deserts are indefinitely held up, as it may be ten years or more before the adequacy of the Sukkur supply can be proved, even if the soil, climate, and facilities of cultivation prove to be as suitable as those of the Panjab for such perennial irrigation.

It is true that the Satlaj Dam and the similar storage projects on the Jhelum, Ravi, Bias, and Jamna, which the Panjab Government has been considering since 1908, and even before that date, will not take more of the present supply than the existing canals do, and may even add to the available balance of water; but it will be difficult to convince Bombay of this, and these projects will also be blocked and enormous loss to the country and people entailed.

Obviously the proper course is to place these two cognate tracts, dependent for their prosperity and existence on the same source of water supply, under the same Government, which, with a staff of the greatest experts in irrigation, can assure them of equal treatment and of the fullest possible supply that science can provide. Then the happily reunited Panjab and Sind will attain even greater heights of prosperity and importance.

It is not necessary for this economical thesis to consider here the various schemes for dividing and amalgamating provinces, which have been put before the Simon Commission, some of which may well conduce to better government; but it may be pointed out that, if Bombay finds herself unduly cramped by the loss of control of Sind and of the Bombay States, there are contiguous cognate and homologous tracts which could be absorbed by her easily, and probably much to their own content, and with a great ultimate saving in administrative costs.

But whether such readjustments are made or not, the reunion of the Panjab and Sind seems imperative in the interests of the agricultural population forming about ninety per cent. of the whole, and the greatest good of the greatest number must prevail.

L. D.

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LORD CURZON

By Sir Francis Younghusband

Lord Curzon was not a grand seigneur nor a great man. But he was a great lover of his country. For him England was the instrument specially designed by Providence for divine work in the world. And in this faith he worked with might and main to carry out the divine purpose. He loved his country with all his heart and with all his soul and with all his mind and with all his strength. He loved her as himself. He had no genius to offer; but all his talents and his marvellous industry he placed freely at her service. And, in spite of physical illness, he carried on her work with unsurpassed steadfastness of purpose. And his country recognized his devotion to her by creating him first a baron, then an earl, then a marquis, and conferring on him the knighthood of the Garter—distinctions not a single one of which she had conferred on that far greater predecessor of his, Warren Hastings.

Yet the magnificent three-volumed biography* with which his memory is also honoured is full of his expressions of disappointment and of bitter complaints that his work is not being appreciated. And the life ends with the gloom of failure hanging dismally over it. Why was this? Why was it that the man who started on life with so many advantages, an education in the greatest public school and perhaps the first university, many friends, a high social position, considerable talents, and a fund of enthusiasm, should have finished his life—even though he had received all the aforementioned rewards—with a sense of failure?

The answer is that with all these advantages of heredity and environment yet lacked he one thing. Lord Ronaldshay observes: "His imagination, brilliant though it was in some directions, was not precisely of the kind which enabled him to put himself in other people's skins." That inability to look through other people's eyes—in other words, that lack of *sympathetic* imagination—was the reason why he did not achieve supreme success. He worked hard and long for the good of England and for the good of India. He spared himself nothing. He carefully trained himself. He toiled, almost literally, night and day—continually up till two or three in the morning. And he would leave nothing to others: he

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wanted things well done, so he would do them himself. But England's good and India's good must be what *he*—not they—considered good. He would study each problem with the utmost assiduity; and he would elaborate his conclusions in speech, or minute, or despatch with the utmost brilliancy of composition. But the good must be what he had after full deliberation decided was good. He had not that quality of insight, that swift intuition, which could divine what was in the hearts and souls of peoples, what would satisfy their hopes and aspiration, what would bring them that contentment of soul which is their only true good.

As a consequence, he failed of complete success. He did much for India. He braced up the whole administration. He put new life and spirit into the administration. He reformed the education. He placed agriculture on a sounder basis. He improved the railways. He reorganized frontier administration. He preserved the ancient monuments. But no one can say that he won the hearts of the Indian people. He did not bring India nearer to England. And he failed to detect the new life that was bursting out in India and seeking for expression. And it was the same in England. From university days on he was always regarded as the superior person high above the common ruck of humanity.

And yet, as Lord Ronaldshay shows time after time, he was an unusually sensitive man, with great capacity of affection. In his early days he had many and good friends. He was a generous host. He was excellent company, full of good stories. And he had in addition the power of appreciation—he could recognize good work when he saw it and be generous in his appreciation. And possessing all these qualities one would have expected that he would have had sympathetic imagination as well. But it was absent. And perhaps connected with this deficiency was what in one who aspired to great office must be considered a defect. If he wanted a thing well done, instead of leaving one or other of the able and experienced Civil Servants in India or in the Foreign Office in London to do it for him, he would do it himself. Consequently, he left his mind no time to settle and steady itself and see things in proper proportion; and we have the biography disfigured by petulant outbursts and querulous complaints of opposition and want of recognition. In short, he overdrove himself and was wanting in judgment.

And, contrary to Lord Ronaldshay's opinion, I consider that the greatest mistake he made was in going to India at all. He was not asked to accept the Viceroyalty. He asked for it—and with some insistence. And at the time he asked

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for it he was just beginning to establish for himself a good position both in the House of Commons and in the country. The manner which was such a drawback to him was being rubbed off. In two or three years he would have been in the Cabinet, where the process of attrition would have continued. He would have established his position in the Conservative Party. When Mr. Balfour went to the House of Lords, Curzon—he would still have been Mr. Curzon, for Lord Scarsdale did not die till 1916—and he, not Bonar Law, would have been Leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons. And when Asquith's Government broke up during the war he and not Bonar Law would have been sent for by the King. And he and not Lloyd George would have been our War Prime Minister after Asquith.

As it was, the Viceroyalty increased instead of diminishing his defect, and England and not only Curzon suffered in consequence. It was a tragedy, and we cannot wonder that Lord Curzon was sad at the end of his life. For he had given of his best to India. And no other Viceroy had cared so much for India, not only during his term of his office, but long after it had expired. And the Victoria Memorial in Calcutta, which owes both its inception and its completion in its present splendid form to Lord Curzon's vigorous advocacy and persistent thought, extended for long years after he had left India, is both a noble memorial of the great Queen and also a remembrance of the last of her Viceroys. For in that splendid edifice beholders will recognize Lord Curzon's intense devotion both to his Sovereign and to India. And in that gratitude which India is always so ready to give may be found Lord Curzon's chief reward.

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THE SALT REVENUE AND THE INDIAN STATES

By Colonel Kailas Narain Haksar, c.i.e.
(Political Member, Gwalior State)

The existence in India of a large number of States, each with an independent fiscal system, complicates the problems of taxation for the Government of India and the Provincial Governments very considerably. It is my purpose in this article to describe some aspects of the salt revenue problem. The taxation of salt was inherited by the East India Company from the Mughal Empire and was collected in Bengal from the time that the Diwani was assumed by the Company in 1765. It was later introduced into the other Presidencies, but in Madras and Bombay, where excise was charged upon salt manufactured by evaporation from the sea, the duties were much lower than in Bengal, where salt production was the monopoly of the Company.

In Northern India the chief source of supply was the salt lakes of Rajputana, and the tax upon this salt was collected by means of a customs duty levied at the inland frontier of British India.

So varied a system of taxation inevitably led to difficulties. Sir John Strachey described methods of collecting the customs duty as follows :

"In 1843, with the object of shutting out cheaper salt from provinces where it had been made artificially dear, and of keeping out of British territory the untaxed salt of Native States, the establishment of an Inland Customs Line was commenced, and by 1870 it had extended itself across the whole of British India from a point north of Attock, on the Indus, to the Mahanadi on the borders of Madras, a distance of 2,500 miles. Along the greater part of its length it was a huge material barrier, which Sir M. E. Grant Duff, speaking from personal observation, said could be compared to nothing else in the world except the Great Wall of China. It consisted chiefly of an immense impenetrable hedge of thorny trees and bushes, supplemented by stone walls and ditches, across which no human being or beast of burden or vehicle could pass without being subject to detention and search. If this Customs Line had been put down in Europe it would have stretched in 1869 from Moscow to Gibraltar.

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It was guarded by an army of officers and men 12,000 in number, divided into beats, which were constantly patrolled by night and day, and were watched from 1,700 guard posts. It may easily be imagined what obstruction to trade, what abuses and oppression, what annoyance and harassment to individuals, took place.''*

In order to remove the inconveniences of this system it was necessary to secure to the Government of India the control over almost the whole salt production of the country. Treaties and agreements were, therefore, negotiated with all States in whose territories salt was produced. In Rajputana the Sambhar Lake, and later other salt-producing districts, were leased by Government and became part of the Government monopoly. In other States the production of salt was entirely prohibited, and the Darbars were required to destroy salt-pans and to prevent their subjects from collecting the natural salt which in some districts occurs without the necessity for any process of manufacture. Other States, again, were permitted to produce salt but forbidden to export it either abroad or into British India. Two States were permitted to export salt to foreign nations, but not to any part of India. Thus control was secured to the Government of India, and a uniform system of taxation imposed upon the whole country.

In the course of unification the States possibly suffered serious losses, both of wealth and of sovereignty. There are many other cases in which it would appear, at least at first sight, that the legal rights of the States have been infringed or that the Princes have been compelled to yield up their rights by signing agreements which the weakness of their position has given them no power to refuse. In many such cases the Government's action was at least dictated by the desire to promote the good of India as a whole. The manner in which the co-operation of the States in the building of railways was demanded seemed often high-handed and the terms offered to them often appear unfair, but the railways were designed to open up the country and the States have shared in the benefit from them. The necessity for a single control and a single jurisdiction was clear, and it was possible to argue that India as a whole would suffer if the sovereignty of individual States were too scrupulously respected. No such argument can defend the Salt Agreements. On the contrary, both the Governments and the peoples of the States have, in my opinion, suffered very considerably. In the first place, the greater part of the salt consumed in the States is subject to Government taxation. Certain States are allowed to produce

* Sir John Strachey, "India."

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salt for their own consumption, and certain others receive a part of the whole of the salt which they consume free of duty, but in the majority of States every person who buys salt is contributing to the revenues of the Government of India. Salt is, in the strictest sense of the term, a necessity of life, and though the variations in the amount consumed at various levels of price appear to show that the demand for it has some elasticity, the elasticity is very small. The salt tax is, therefore, a tax which none can escape. The peoples of the majority of the States are thus compelled to contribute to the revenues of a Government of which they are not subjects and in whose expenditure they have no share, while certain Darbars, although they receive the money collected by the salt tax, find themselves compelled by their agreements to impose this burden upon their subjects, not because their own fiscal necessities compel them to do so, but because of the fiscal arrangements with the Government of India.

The States which at one time produced salt suffer other disadvantages besides the burden which is imposed upon their peoples as consumers of salt. These States may be roughly divided into three groups : those whose salt works are leased and controlled by Government, those in which the production of salt has been prohibited, and those in which production is allowed but export prohibited.

Of the first group a typical example is provided by the State of Jodhpur.

The Sambhar salt lake was leased in 1879 from the Jodhpur and Jaipur Darbars as a preliminary to the abolition of the Customs Line, and the abolition of the Line was in itself a considerable benefit to Government. Besides this, the control of the Rajputana salt works has enabled the Government to increase its revenue which, from the Sambhar Lake alone, has averaged over Rs.1 crore during the last thirty years.

The other salt works of Jodhpur were also taken over by Government upon similar terms, but for the sake of simplicity we will only discuss the Sambhar Lake source.

The Jodhpur Darbar receives as rent Rs.1,25,000 annually, the Jaipur Darbar Rs.2,75,000, and both receive royalties upon the selling price of salt when more than a certain minimum is produced. The salt consumed in the State does not pay duty to Government. There are several provisions in the Jodhpur salt treaties which appear ungenerous. There seems no good reason why the royalty should not be paid upon the whole salt production, nor why it should be calculated upon the selling price of salt and not also upon the duty, which is in effect a monopoly price exacted by Government.

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The selling price of salt varies at present between 2 and 6 annas ($2\frac{1}{4}$d. to $6\frac{3}{4}$d.) per maund (82·3 lbs.), and the duty is Rs. 1.4.0 (1s. $10\frac{1}{2}$d.). If the Government chooses to close down some of the salt works (two of the salt sources in Jodhpur leased by Government are not at present used) the Darbar receives no compensation for the loss of royalties, and is not permitted to take over the closed works. If any source is not worked to the full capacity, or if it is extravagantly managed, the royalties received by the Darbar fall off.

Finally, the salt treaties all contain the provision that if the arrangement should prove unfavourable to the Government of India it may be revised, or the lease terminated, but there is no provision which enables the State to revise the agreement.

Some States from which smaller salt works were taken over receive an annual compensation which was calculated upon the basis of their salt revenue at the time when the agreement was made, and which has never been raised in spite of the fact that both the consumption of salt and the Government salt revenue have increased considerably since the original award was made. For instance, the Nawab of Radhanpur protested in 1840, when his salt works were taken over by the Government, that the output of salt was even then increasing every year and that it was unreasonable to fix the compensation to be paid to him in relation to his revenue of that year, without making any allowance for the fact that it would be likely to increase in the future.* The majority of the salt treaties were concluded between 1870 and 1880, and since that time not only has the gross consumption of salt risen with the increase in population, but the consumption of salt per head has also risen.

In 1871 the salt revenue was Rs.5 crores and the consumption per head about 7 lbs. In 1900 the salt revenue rose to Rs.8 crores, and at present the revenue is Rs.6 crores and the consumption per head about 12 lbs. a year.

In the State of Bharatpur the production of salt has been stopped altogether. This State at one time possessed very large salt works, and the Government of India wished to lease them at the same time as the Sambhar Lake. The Maharaja of Bharatpur, however, refused to allow such an interference in his jurisdiction, and declared that he would prefer to close the salt works altogether. The production of salt in Bharatpur was accordingly prohibited by an agreement in 1879. Few pages of the history of the Indian States are without a touch of comedy, and we find that the Maharaja refused compensation for the loss of salt manufacture, and preferred to ask

* Evidence before Butler Committee.

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that the Headquarters of the Political Agency under which his State falls should be transferred from Bharatpur to Agra. The Government, however, pays to the Darbar a compensation of Rs.1,50,000 (about half the sum realized as salt revenue by the State at the time when the agreement was made) and supplies about one-sixtieth part of the State's consumption of salt free of duty.

The loss from the sudden cessation of salt production fell, of course, principally upon the producers of salt and upon the Darbar which was accustomed to tax it. The producers were compensated for their initial loss by a payment of Rs.2,26,000, and the Darbar, as we have seen, was compensated for a part of their lost revenue. The damage to the people of the State was, however, considerable. What had been one of their chief industries was closed to them; the manufacturers and their employees had to seek some other employment and the natural wealth of the State was left unused. Moreover, there is no doubt that agriculture in the salt districts was affected.

Colonel H. E. Brookman, who was Agency Surgeon at Bharatpur in 1905, writes:

"It is hardly a matter for surprise regarding brackish nature of the water in the wells in the State, when we consider that a very important industry—the manufacture of salt—used to be in the State in past years, till the monopoly was taken over by the British Government many years ago. The continual abstraction of water from Katcha wells dug for the purpose of drawing brine water from the salt-bearing strata, annually removed from the soil tons of brine which now, owing to the suspension of salt manufacture in this State, remains in the soil and contaminates the water with enormous quantity chiefly of chloride of sodium which mainly account for its brackish nature."

And Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who was Settlement Commissioner of Bharatpur 1890-1900, describes the result as follows:

"The central portion of the Tehsil lies around Kumber town on both sides of the Deeg-Bharatpur road, extending east to west from Pengaur to Asthawan and north to south from Dhamrer on the Deeg to Nagla Manji on the Bharatpur boundary. This was the great seat of salt manufacture, and was then one of the most busy and prosperous parts of the State, but it has now a forlorn and depressed appearance, with large areas of land lying waste or deserted owing to the bad soil, bad water, want of hands, and the inroads of the wild cattle from Heylak and Saketra Rundhs on the south,

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and Auw and Mandhera Rundhs on the north. Since the abolition of the salt trade, population has become sparse, and the jungle has steadily encroached on the cultivation. Many estates have completely broken down, several are managed now in whole or part direct by the Tehsil (Kham), and many of the remainder are only kept going by the direct interference of the Tehsildar, and the levy of grazing dues on large areas of waste. The village sites have a forlorn and desolate appearance, aggravated by the belts of dismal farrash trees, which alone thrive in the ungenerous soil. The Zemindars, too, are a poor lot, weak and spiritless Lodhas (formerly salt workers), listless Brahmins, or useless Faujdars. The soil in the north is in many places injured by *Kallar,* and on the south-west close to Kumher runs into *Bhur*. The water is bitter or brackish throughout except along the eastern side, where there is a natural depression through which, in 1866-67, Lieutenant Home, the State Engineer, cut the channel known as Home's canal, to bring the Ruparel floods from Dahr Kho near Deeg to Moti Jhil in Bharatpur."

Similar results have followed from the cessation of salt manufacture in other States.

The territories of Kishengarh State have suffered deterioration in a different way as a result of the Government monopoly. A large area of this State is drained by streams flowing into the Sambhar Lake. Since the salt manufacture of Sambhar is partly dependent upon the drainage of surface water from Kishengarh territory, the Kishengarh Darbar is compelled to consult the Northern India Salt Revenue Department before undertaking any irrigation project. That Department, since 1900, when the question was first raised by them, have objected to the erection of fresh dams which would hold up water at present flowing into the Salt Lake, and also to the repair of existing works, and they have even required the destruction of wells and small dams constructed by villagers. Unfortunately for Kishengarh this policy was only introduced after the neighbouring British district of Ajmer, which is also drained by the Southern Lake, had already been allowed to construct a number of dams.

Kishengarh lies in a district of short rainfall and is peculiarly dependent upon wells and the irrigation works, but a great part of the water which is so precious to it is wasted in a large marsh on the borders of the Lake and is not even put to any profitable use at the salt works. The policy of the Salt Revenue Department and the jealous guard which they keep upon the level of water in their lake have prevented the Darbar from undertaking works which would have

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increased its own revenue and improved the lot of its people, and have caused at the same time a considerable deterioration in the productivity of land in the area concerned (reflected in a fall of land revenue of more than 50 per cent. in seventy years), and, consequently, a considerable decline in the wealth of the people of the State.*

Of States in which salt manufacture is permitted, but from which export is not allowed, the chief examples are to be found in Kathiawar. The Kathiawar Peninsula is to a certain extent isolated from the rest of India by geography, and almost the whole of it consists of State territory. It did not seem, therefore, necesary for the Government of India, in securing its monopoly, to prohibit the manufacture of salt there altogether. It surely should have been only necessary to ensure that no salt from the Kathiawar works should penetrate into British India. This was effected by a number of engagements "for the security of the salt revenue of British India," which the States concerned reluctantly consented to sign.

By these agreements it was laid down that salt produced in Kathiawar can only be consumed in Kathiawar and that it can be exported neither to British India nor to any foreign market.

The following provisions from the Nawanagar agreement are typical :

ARTICLE I.

His Highness the Jam of Nawanagar agrees that Chasia Salt only should be manufactured in his territory and that only at the following places :

1. Hadiana.
2. Ghodajhar.

Works at present existing at other places shall be absolutely prohibited and suppressed.

The two works above mentioned shall be made as compact as possible and shall be properly fenced in, so as to prevent egress and ingress except at regular gateways.

ARTICLE II.

The amount of salt manufactured at these works shall in no year exceed (1,33,500) one lakh thirty-three thousand and five hundred Indian maunds, and His Highness the Jam agrees that the salt shall be manufactured only for consump-

* See evidence before the Butler Committee, in which the case is set out in great detail.

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tion and sale within the limits of the Hallar Prant. (Less the States of Morvi and Malia.) His Highness the Jam, where the jurisdiction lies with him, will not permit its export beyond the other limits and the Political Officers of the Agency will use their influence to prevent such exportation of salt from the other States of Hallar and also the importation into Hallar of salt manufactured in the other districts of the Province.

Should it be found by experience that the amount of salt above mentioned is less than or in excess of the actual requirements of the district, the limits of manufacture shall be increased or diminished with the sanction of the Political Agent.

Article III.

His Highness the Jam will cause to be destroyed or carefully watched by State employees to prevent its sale or removal all natural salt produced within his territory.

The Political Officers of the Agency on their part will cause similar measures to be carried out in other States in Hallar where natural salt may be produced.

Article VI.

The duty levied by the British Government on salt manufactured in the Bombay Presidency is at present rupees two and annas eight per Indian maund. So long as this duty is maintained, His Highness the Jam agrees to charge a uniform duty of two rupees per Indian maund on all salt issued from salt works and storehouses of the States. No salt shall be allowed to issue therefrom without payment of the said duty, with the sole exception of the amounts mentioned in Article IX. of this agreement, but salt shall be supplied from such works and storehouses at rates not exceeding cost of manufacture plus duty.

Should any change hereafter occur in the rate of duty levied on salt in the British Districts of the Bombay Presidency, His Highness the Jam will cause a corresponding change to be made in his territory.

Article VIII.

His Highness the Jam agrees that he will absolutely prevent and prohibit the exportation by sea from his territory of all salt, except the small quantity that may be required for the use of the crew or passengers on voyage, and that he will do all in his power in every way to prevent the smuggling of salt whether by land or by sea into British territory. In return the British Government agrees that it will not directly

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support the importation of British taxed salt either by land or sea into the territory for which under this agreement salt is to be supplied by the Nawanagar State.

ARTICLE XIV.

His Highness the Jam agrees to keep up a preventative force consisting of not less than :

1 Superintendent.
2 Assistant Superintendents.
30 Horse or Camel Swars.
70 Foot.

This shall always be kept in a thoroughly efficient state, and shall be employed solely on the duty of the prevention of smuggling.

ARTICLE XV.

In the event of its being found by experience that the arrangements made by His Highness the Jam in accordance with this agreement are insufficient or inadequate for the security of the salt revenue of the British Government, this agreement shall be open to revision.

In return for this co-operation with the British Indian Salt Revenue Department the States receive no concession, and for the loss of their export trade no compensation.

It is impossible to estimate with any accuracy the amount of trade which is lost in this way. Before the export of salt was prohibited, Nawanagar was accustomed to export salt to Mombasa, Zanzibar, and Madagascar, and ships calling at the Kathiawar ports were accustomed to carry salt as ballast. This trade in no way damaged the British Indian salt revenue, and the prohibition appears to be dictated by the fear that if salt were once loaded on to ships the British Indian Customs officials would not be competent to prevent smuggling into India.

Since the trade in salt came to an end the inhabitants of Nawanagar have been compelled to emigrate in search of employment, and H.H. the Jam Sahib stated before the Butler Committee that some 100,000 of his subjects have left the State who could have been supported at home if this and other industries had been allowed to develop.

Meanwhile, salt is imported into India from abroad. India imports, chiefly by way of Calcutta, more than Rs.1 crores worth of salt. A part of this is refined European salt, that

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does not compete directly with Indian salt, but nearly Rs.70 lakhs worth of it is sea salt from Aden and Egypt and East Africa. If this demand in Bengal were met by Kathiawar salt the Government revenue would not suffer (since the salt would still be subject to import duty), the States of Kathiawar would be greatly benefited, and unnecessary transportation would be saved.

It is obvious from these examples of the effect of the Government of India's salt policy upon the Indian States that the losses which they suffer are not merely losses of revenue to the Darbars, but involve an actual loss of real wealth, which affects not only the States, but also the whole of India. When the compensation which is paid to a Darbar is inadequate the Government of India gains as much as the State loses, but if natural wealth is destroyed, or left unworked, if land is allowed to deteriorate, or salt is transported from a distance to a district where salt works close at hand are lying unused, the wealth of India is by that much the less.

The above facts would seem to show clearly that, not only have the States undergone great hardships in this matter of the salt revenue, but the economic wealth of India as a whole has been affected.

Salt-producing States in which—

1. *Salt works are run by Government:*

   Jodpur. Jaipur. Radhaupur (works closed by Government).

2. *Manufacture is stopped:*

   Cambay. Adaipur. Alwar. Bharatpur. Dholpur. Jhallawar. Karauli. Kishengarh. Lawa. Shahpura. Sirohi. Touk. Bundi, Samthar, Kotak (except a small quantity produced at saltpetre works).

3. *Production is limited and export stopped:*

   Patiala. Juragarh. Nawanagar. Bhannagar. Morvi. Jafarabad. Porbandas. Dhrangadra. Than Labtar. Limri. Wala. Malia. Bajana. Gwatior. Datia. Bikaner. Jaisalmer. Cutch, Baroda (export permitted to foreign ports outside India).

N.B.—This is probably incomplete, as some States have been prohibited from exporting salt or prevented from producing it either by political pressure or administrative action, and, therefore, have no agreements on the subject of salt, which appear in Aitchison.

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GOVERNMENT CHAPLAINS AND THE INDIAN CHURCH ACT

By A. J. Macdonald,
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It is doubtful whether all the implications of the Indian Church Act have been realized. The Act covers the process of appointing future Bishops and Archdeacons; the rights of the Indian Church; the control of Church buildings maintained by Government; the appointment and control of Chaplains and the conduct of public worship; the incorporation and powers of Indian Church trustees and the vesting of property; the administration of existing trusts. It will at once be seen that under these headings lie some matters of vital ecclesiastical and religious importance to the body of Chaplains.

For example, Section 2, ii. and iii., abolishes the appointment of Indian Bishops and Archdeacons by Letters Patent of His Majesty, or their appointment under any right of royal patronage. As the Circular Letter of October 23, 1926 (para. 4) states: "The Indian Church will have power to frame rules in such manner as may seem most appropriate for its own good government." The appointment of Bishops will be made under the new Constitution of the Indian Church, a draft copy of which was forwarded to the Provincial Governments in October, 1926. This Constitution consists of draft proposals "as revised up to December, 1924," which have been circulated by the ecclesiastical authorities in India. Chapter VIII. of the Constitution contains the canon controlling the "Election or Appointment of Bishops and Metropolitans" in India. These appointments have been placed in the hands of the Indian diocesan councils. This raises one of the most vital questions at issue. The appointment of Indian Bishops has for a long period been unsatisfactory. They have been sometimes clergy sent straight out from England without any special knowledge or experience of Indian conditions, whether ecclesiastical or civil, or, more generally, they have been selected from the missionary body working in India. The number of Bishops appointed from the Chaplains on the Ecclesiastical Establishment of India,

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in spite of the recent appointment at Lucknow, is almost negligible. The results of this policy are twofold. On the one hand, the ex-missionary Bishops tend to come with feelings that are pro-missionary; no terminology less strong could adequately describe the situation. They have generally been missionaries who have been engaged on the staffs of Mission Schools and Colleges, and have therefore lacked that parochial experience without which no Bishop either at home or abroad should be appointed. Again, their complete non-acquaintance with the elaborate system of rules, by which the Government of India controls the Chaplains' department, tends to make them dependent for some time after their appointment, upon one or two ecclesiastical officials at diocesan headquarters. Consequently the supervision of local church life, and especially of the Chaplains' conditions and wants, has lacked that statesmanlike and efficient control which is rightly expected in a Church organized on episcopal lines.

On the other hand, the refusal of the authorities concerned to make appointments of Bishops from the Chaplains serving in India has not only discouraged a body which until recently numbered some two hundred clergy,* it has also affected recruiting for the Indian Ecclesiastical Establishment in England. Able men have declined to take service under an administration in which promotion to the highest office was almost entirely closed, and in which the Bishops were drawn from organizations having no knowledge or experience of the special features of a Chaplain's life and work. No other body of Government servants in India has been treated in this way. Whether the service be civil or military, medical or educational, the heads of the departments (apart from the Governors of provinces, and even some of these have been appointed straight from the ranks of the Indian Civil Service) have all been selected from officials engaged in those departments. The excuse has usually been twofold. Firstly, it has been said that a Bishop must be able to speak the language of the native community to which he ministers. But the invalidity of this explanation has been shown at two or three recent appointments, when missionaries were sent from a distance as Bishops, to dioceses where the language was not that with which they were conversant, and which, on account of age and the press of business, they had little or no prospect of acquiring. Secondly, it has been alleged that the Chaplains' Department did not contain men able enough for pro-

* The number is now about one hundred and thirty.

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motion to the episcopate. The reply to this contention, again, is that some recent appointments do not bear out this reflection made against the Chaplains' Department. Men quite as well qualified could have been found in its ranks. Moreover, if there be some ground in the charge, then it refers to a state of affairs for which those who make episcopal appointments are entirely responsible. We have seen that able men have been discouraged from joining the Service; moreover, the acquirement of native languages by the Chaplains would have been encouraged if it had been recognized that Chaplains, as well as missionaries, could expect to be promoted to the Episcopate.

Now comes the new regulation whereby the appointment of Bishops is placed in the hands of diocesan councils in India. Will this regulation improve matters? It is difficult to see that it will do so. In the first place, all hope of Chaplains being appointed as Bishops will be eventually finally cut off. The diocesan councils are already dominated by missionary Bishops and missionary interests. The present defective system will therefore be confirmed, even if it be not accentuated. Moreover, there is the question of the appointment of Indians as Bishops. The appointment of one Indian Bishop has already been made,* and with a very proper recognition of the Indian Christian community; but the Indian clergy and laity on the diocesan councils already largely outnumber the European clergy and members. We may therefore expect an increase in the appointment of Indian clergy to the episcopate, at a rate far in excess of the requirements of the present condition of the Indian Church. It will be many years before European members of the Church in India ought to be placed under the control of Indian Christian Bishops, yet the Indian Church Act throws the door open to an unnecessary quickening of this development.

Together with Section 2, Sections 4 and 5 present the chief practical difficulties in the scheme. This has been clearly perceived by the Government of India, and it has been found necessary to deal with them at length in a number of Draft Rules (Appendix III. to the Circular Letter of October 23, 1926), which will be operated under the Indian Church Act.

The future of the Chaplains' Department has been a matter of controversy ever since the severance of the Church in India began to be seriously discussed. It may be conceded that the large reduction in the personnel of the

* To the missionary diocese of Dornakal.

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Chaplains' service, carried out in recent years, is not the result of the negotiations for the severance. But the opinion is widely held in quarters where Indian conditions are understood, that the new scheme is bound to affect profoundly the Chaplains' service, even if it does not end in its abolition. It is unlikely that there will be anything permanently binding in the provisions of the Indian Church Act. Indeed, clause after clause, and rule after rule frankly contemplate the breakdown of the system, and a complete reorganization within five years from the passing of the Bill (Draft Rule 30). Economy is the cry in all departments of the Indian administration. A full debate has already taken place in the Legislative Assembly of India on the abolition of the Ecclesiastical Establishment.* In order to make more easy the sanction of Government to their proposal, the Indian Bishops have said to the Government, "We surrender the stipends of our episcopal sees and of their archdeaconries," representing a sum of about £10,000 a year. It will be observed that the personnel of these bishoprics and archdeaconries are the official heads of the Chaplains' Department in India. Only a short-sighted outlook can fail to perceive that in the not distant future this action of the Bishops will be used as a precedent by a Government bent on further economy, and that the Chaplains' Department will be further curtailed, if not entirely abolished. It may be replied that this development is inevitable. But that contention does not excuse the Indian Bishops from unnecessarily hastening the process. If disestablishment and disendowment in India are inevitable, then a more prudent course would have been quietly to organize against that development through the medium of the already existing diocesan councils, and not to cripple the meagre financial resources of the Church in India, by surrendering, before being asked to do so, a sum of £10,000 a year. It has not been clearly grasped by the laity that when the present occupants of the sees of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, together with the Archdeacons attached to them, retire or are translated, the lay people of the Church in India will be asked to finance their successors.

At the present time the Government of India is loud in its asseverations that Chaplains must always be maintained by it in India, for the benefit of troops and civilians and the British community generally. But even so, the Government has been compelled to contemplate the breakdown of

* February 22, 1923.

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the present scheme so far as the Chaplains' Department is concerned. Section 4 of the Act makes arrangement "to resume complete control over all or any" of the churches served by Chaplains, and this is confirmed by the Draft Rules Nos. 27-30. The interpretation put upon these provisions by the Government of India is made clear in the Circular Letter: "The practical result of putting Rule 29 into operation, therefore, would be that the Secretary of State would be able to introduce Army Chaplains into India, and these Chaplains would minister to military maintained churches" (para. 9). . . . Paragraph 11, commenting on Draft Rule 30, says: "In the event of such orders being given, all military maintained churches may be resumed, and such churches could then be manned by Chaplains of the Royal Army Chaplains' Department."

The effect of such a change would seriously affect the spiritual welfare and ecclesiastical interests of both the European and Indian Christian communities attached to the Church of England in India. A very large sum of money would have to be raised to staff and maintain the disconnected churches. The number of maintained or Government churches would be reduced to a minimum. Only a few garrison churches at the big military centres would be staffed by Government-paid Chaplains. Being Chaplains of the Royal Army Chaplains' Department, their duties would be confined to the garrison churches. Hence the spiritual needs of the greater number of the European community, who do not live at military centres, or who, while living there, could not find room at services held in churches occupied by the troops during hours of worship, would be entirely neglected by Government. Even the Government of India does not contemplate that it would be possible to find efficient clergy, assuming that the Indian Church could find stipends, to go out from England in sufficient numbers to minister to the civil community, when such clergy would be no longer Government Chaplains. Indeed, the Government of India contemplates a worse contingency in which not only would sections of the British community be without the services of Chaplains, but many churches would be withdrawn from the ministrations of the Indian Church, and "held in trust for the purposes of the Church of England"; and it frankly admits that "it is doubtful whether the Archbishop of Canterbury would send out clergymen of the Church of England to minister to them" (Circular Letter, para. 9).

The final result may be that many civilians, who

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cannot obtain facilities for worshipping at the garrison churches, will be left with no option but to attend churches existing under the sole control of the Indian Church, and staffed either by Indian or Anglo-Indian clergy. If they are not to be supplied with English clergy, they will, I think, in most cases, cease to go to church at all.

In the military centres, the British community would, so far as possible, attend the garrison churches, staffed by Army Chaplains. The Anglo-Indian and Indian Christians would be confined to voluntary churches staffed by Indian or Anglo-Indian clergy. Hence would be fostered a racial cleavage in the Church, extremely undesirable in the face of evils long existent in India, on account of communal cleavage in the Indian community. This result would tell most hardly upon the Indian Christian community. At the present time in military or civil centres alike, wherever Government Chaplains minister, Indian and Anglo-Indian Christians have facilities for attending the Government maintained churches, and they make full use of these privileges. Moreover, while the duties of a Government Chaplain on the Indian Establishment are concerned mainly with the British community, both military and civil, he is able to devote much time to the interests of the Anglo-Indian and Indian members of the Church. All this would be withdrawn if Army Chaplains were sent out to India.

Another defect in the scheme proposed, which has a direct bearing upon the Chaplains' Department, is the provision to place the Chaplains under the supervision of Archdeacons of the new Indian Church, who, together with the Bishops, will still be able to draw some Government pay for services rendered in these matters (Circular Letter, para. 4). That is to say, for administrative purposes as well as ecclesiastical, Government Chaplains will be under the control of officials who are no longer servants of the Government of India. The dangers of such an anomalous position might be circumvented by appointing in India a Chaplain-General, who should open his Office in Delhi, rather than Calcutta, who would have complete control over all the Chaplains throughout India for administrative purposes, and act as their sole intermediary with Government. Under special contingencies the Government of India definitely contemplates the possibility of such a step being taken: "it may be thought advisable that a Chaplain-General with episcopal powers should be appointed" (Circular Letter, para. 8). It is not desirable that such a

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Chaplain-General should possess "episcopal powers," if such refer to episcopal functions; but the appointment of a Chaplain-General, even under the existing conditions, would vastly improve the morale and working of the Chaplains' Department in India, especially if he had the right to move Chaplains readily from one province or diocese to another. The efficiency of the present service is seriously impaired by reason of the difficulty of moving a Chaplain from north to south, or east to west, where his services might be vastly more profitable.

Another matter of vital importance for the spiritual welfare of the British community in India is the use of the Prayer Book, together with the type of church service permitted under the new scheme. Rule 5 of the Draft Rules, which is interpreted by paragraph 6 of the Circular Letter, provides that "Every Chaplain shall have the right to use the Services contained in any Book of Common Prayer from time to time authorized in England when ministering in a maintained church or elsewhere to a congregation which includes members of the Church of England temporarily resident in India and which worships in the English language," and the Chaplain is safeguarded from interference in the use of this right by the authorities of the Indian Church (*cf.* Draft Rules 15, 19, and 21). But the question of ritual is not mentioned, doubtless because it was anticipated that sanction for the wearing of vestments, for example, would be supplied by the Revised Prayer Book which the House of Commons declined to authorize. Consequently the regulations concerning the use of the Prayer Book must be read in the light of Draft Rule 20, which states that "No sacrament, rite, ceremony, solemnization of marriage, services or religious ministration of any kind . . . shall be administered or performed in any maintained church except in conformity with the rules for the time being of the Indian Church." Let us suppose, therefore, that the Indian Church adopts, as a compulsory ceremonial, the use of Eucharistic vestments sanctioned by the Deposited Prayer Book of 1927; it is difficult to see how Chaplains will be able to avoid obedience to the Indian Bishops in this matter. Even under the present system Chaplains have found it difficult in some cases to resist the influence of diocesan authorities.

The statements already made by the Government of India leave the impression that it regards the whole scheme with considerable hesitation. Not only does it confess that the legislation sanctioned is "unusual" in character, not

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only does it allow for a complete withdrawal of the scheme within five years, but in the Circular Letter issued to the Local Governments in India, difficulty after difficulty is hypothecated, in a manner quite contrary to the customary definitive terminology of documents issuing from the Secretariat at Delhi. The Government of India already foresees a whole series of contingencies, which in the case of a civil measure would have prevented it from reaching even the draft stage. If the Government is satisfied that the conditions of the Church in India demand some such measure as this, it is difficult to see why it should have circulated a statement so hesitating and full of hypothecation as the letter sent out on October 23, 1926.

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THE ENTHRONEMENT OF HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY *HIROHITO*,

THE 124TH RULER OF JAPAN, OF DIRECT DESCENT FROM AMATERASU, THE SUN GODDESS. TRADITIONAL DATE 660 B.C.

By Mrs. C. M. Salwey

(Hon. Member Asiatic Society of Japan; Member of Meiji Japan Society.)

The beauty that illuminates the historic pages of the "Everlasting Great Japan" lies not in pictured records or printed pages, but in the spiritual and living belief of a people who acknowledge the Divine Right of Kings. "The history of Japan is the history of her religion." The heart and actions of each loyal subject are influenced by their Ruler and the state worship of Ancestors. The long line of ancestry is believed in and accepted *de facto*.

We may safely say without hesitation that the Ceremonies attending the Enthronement of each succeeding Emperor are the most unique of all the many programmes drawn up for such an auspicious event in any other land.

Simplicity marks every step undertaken in order to carry out ancient customs, and the absence of any emotion is singularly evinced. The lavish display of enthusiasm universal in other countries on such a vital occasion is dispensed with, and visible demonstration and gesticulations of joy find deeper expression of reverence in utter silence on this occasion. The Japanese as a nation have from time immemorial accepted their reigning monarch and looked up to him as one to be obeyed and almost worshipped, relying on his mandates as being just and necessary—dictated by the gods whom they have been taught to revere.

The programme that initials the Enthronement is as follows: When it becomes quite evident that the reigning Emperor is drawing his last breath, the Treasures of the Regalia (which will be described presently) are brought into an adjoining room, and placed in readiness for presentation and acceptation of the heir-apparent. No time must elapse, or be lost, after the soul of the deceased Emperor has winged its flight and his feet have begun to tread the path to Meido. "The King is dead! Long live the King!" is the traditional proclamation.

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The Sacred Treasures of the Regalia are believed to be either gifts or objects of Divine workmanship, safely guarded through the centuries, only called into requisition for a time from their secret Sanctuary, to be taken into the hands and keeping of the Heir, who has right to rule by reason of their possession.

The Imperial Regalia of Japan is therefore immediately received and held by the new Emperor.

The Regalia consists of:

The Mirror called *Yata-no-Kagami.*
The Sword *Mura Kumo-no-Tsurugi.*
The Jewels *Yasa Kani-no-Magatama.*

The Mirror represents Knowledge, Truth, Divinity, and Know Thyself; the Sword, Courage and Justice; the Jewels, Mercy.

Mr. Goji Ukita, Chancellor of the Imperial Legation, London, remarked in his lecture before the Japan Society, 1892:

"I am afraid I cannot convey to you the beauty of this symbolism in English, even in Japanese it is difficult to do more than *feel* it."

These emblems also represent the Sun, Moon, and Stars.

The original Treasures are never to be seen; a counterpart of them is shown in the centre of the shrine at Ise, and remains in the care and guardianship of a Princess of Royal blood, also in charge of the originals.*

Nothing can exceed the priceless worth of these Emblems of the Regalia in which lie so many traditional virtues; the mere possession constituting the right to rule, inspiring loyalty, devotion, and almost worship in the successive generations, who have lived and passed away true to their Ruler, and believing profoundly in the tenets of an ancient faith that has never wavered, notwithstanding the varied changes of this present or any other century.

After the Emblems of the Regalia have been accepted, and the New Emperor proclaimed, there is no need of rude haste in following up the Enthronement Ceremonies. Days and months pass by. These are devoted to quiet, restful mourning for the beloved relative, also for important State business that is still imperative, and for which the present Ruler is fully qualified.

His late Imperial Majesty *Yoshihito*, whose reign was named *Taisho*, or the "Era of Great Righteousness," after a brief sovereignty passed away to be gathered to his forefathers December 25, 1926. The Enthronement of H.I.

* W. E. Griffin, "The Mikado's Empire," p. 16.

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Japanese Majesty *Hirohito* dates from November 10, 1928. His reign is already named *Sho-wa*, the "Era of Radiant Peace."

The Emperors of Japan are not crowned, the possession of the Emblems is sufficient. They are as binding as any golden or jewelled crown that is placed with prayer upon the head of our own King, or Ruler of any Land. But a headgear composed of black silk gauze and supports with a raised plume in the centre is sometimes donned by the Royal Sovereign of the Land.

These Ceremonies are divided into those of preparation and those of concluding items. When the date of accession is fixed the gods have to be acquainted and remembered in order to merit their approval. The Emperor, with members of the Imperial Household, is present on this occasion. Following this, His Majesty prepares and places in the hands of special messengers a scroll on which are written declarations to be read before the Tombs of the Imperial Ancestors and national Shrines. This scroll, after these have been visited and the messages declared, is preserved in a casket of pure white wood.

This done, the next consideration is the selection of the Rice fields for the sowing of the sacred rice, all traditional customs which must be strictly carried out. There are too many special rules to be enumerated here. The day is known by the name of the *Dai josai*, or the Great Harvest Thanksgiving for the firstfruits of land and sea, of which a portion has to be offered to the Kami, and therefore observed to the letter. This ceremony has more or less a fixed date, it cannot be delayed when the seasons for sowing and reaping come round.

After the fields have been carefully selected they are named *Yuki* and *Suki*. This takes place early in February. Those who own the fields that have to be prepared must bathe in a river, and all who have taken part in the preparation of the soil must follow suit, and not only purify themselves by bathing, but must robe themselves in white garments. When all this is observed, and the fields have been blessed, they are ready for sowing. This year we read it was commenced about September 15.

Everything being carefully and religiously carried out, the journey of the Emperor and the Empress to Kyoto from Tokyo claims attention.

The Enthronement Ceremony takes place in the heart of the beautiful and ancient City of Kyoto. Lovely surroundings and scenery, historic memories, temples of unique art

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and forceful mysteries endear this spot to the Japanese. It has ever been acknowledged a city beloved and treasured by reason of the many historical events which have been enacted within its confines. In the days of seclusion and term of Great Peace it was the capital of the Empire, while the Shogun resided at Tokyo. In those days, numerically the term of 260 years, the monarchs of Japan were considered too divine to be approached. Thrown upon their own resources, the people worked for each other. They did not crave for notoriety, or expansion, or brotherhood beyond their sea-girt Island Empire. They lived their lives, believing the mandates of those in authority, and

"Then none was for a Party, all were for the State;
The great man helped the poor man; and the poor man loved the great." *

Then came the change, the knocking at the closed ports; the demand for the open door, and a hundred other appeals. H.I.M. *Meiji Tenno*, the beloved, the revered, the noble and just, took up the reins of government, and with his pure, unselfish devotion, aided by his courtiers, carried out, in the highest sense of the word, "The Era of Enlightment."

Wherever the Emperor journeys the Emblems of the Regalia must accompany him. As the Enthronement takes place in the Sacred *Shishin-den* Shrine of Shinto Faith, the Emperor and Empress will be conducted and accompanied to Kyoto in their splendid State carriage to the station at Tokyo and from the station at Kyoto to the Palace. On their way a procession of thirty-two youths from the Village of Yase will carefully bear a palanquin carried on their shoulders and supported by a long pole. This palanquin will contain the precious Mirror, Sword, and Jewels. The boys will take it right up, after the main station of Kyoto is reached, to the Sacred Shrine of *Shishin-den*. The journey commences on November 6th; their Majesties will sleep the night at *Nago-ya*, the city of Industries, and arrive at Kyoto on the 7th. The quiet moving crowd in gala dress and the officials in scarlet uniforms will line the route from the station, and the ladies of the court will be conspicuous by their brilliant and costly costumes. All will be conducted in a becoming, reverential manner, as if in the presence of the Spirits of the Departed. The sound of gongs and drums and other musical instruments will proclaim the successive stages that must culminate as one item after another is carried out in all its archaic beauty with silence at intervals which is most impressive.

* From "Lays of Ancient Rome: Horatius," by Macaulay.

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As the light fades during the hours of progressive duties, candles alone are burnt that have been made to last the appointed number of hours required; they are lighted by means of pieces of wood struck together until they emit sparks.

When all ceremonies are observed, when prayers are said, when Ancestral Tombs and Shrines have all been visited, and the Gods acquainted that all has passed satisfactorily, when purification by bathing and hours of devotional silence are all over, and when the auspicious morning dawns, and H.I. Majesty, clad in robes of shimmering silk, with the Empress, present themselves, rising from their ancient thrones before all assembled, great indeed must be the joy of the nation that their historic traditions are yet in vogue, that their long line of Rulers is yet prolonged by H.I.J. Majesty, *Hirohito*, so well fitted to fulfil his high and ancient right to Rule.

The crown of Japan is her spirituality in her reverence for the Departed, and her belief in the undying life of the Soul.

Sacred Dances expressive of symbolism are the final phases in this historic event. Then the return journey to *Ise* is undertaken, and the Sacred Emblems are borne back by the boys of *Yasa*, and after the Rescript has been read, and the Emperor and Empress have visited the Mausoleum of *Momoyama*, their Majesties settle down to take up the task that has fallen to their portion in the Historic Annals of the Land of the Risen Sun.

Their Majesties having received full recognition, the tension so perfectly endured is at an end. All present must have longed to show their loyalty by some more definite outward demonstration. At the raising of the hand of the Premier, loyalty finds expression of devotion—the voices of all at a timed signal from far and near—from the uttermost parts of the Island possessions, across the water—from Fuji and Koya's sacred Mounts—as far as the extreme limit of fair Formosa, and the cold regions of *Hokkodai*, the hushed voices break into one jubilant shout of joy, "*Banzai! Banzai!* may you live a thousand years."

Not only in the Land of the Rising Sun, but across the ocean, from the hearts of Japan's allies in our own Empire that His Majesty's eyes have seen, and his feet trod, may the echo ring out true, "*Banzai! Banzai!*"

To conclude we cannot do better than quote the words of John Sharrock:

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"SHO WA—the Era of Radiant Peace, or Peace with Justice, that is the name of the present Era, the standard by which the acts of the present generation will be judged by those who come after them. Typical of Japan today it holds vast promises for the whole world, as it shines like a beacon of hope in this mad day of unrest, of passion, jealousy, and selfishness."*

THE ROYAL RESCRIPT OF H.I. JAPANESE MAJESTY HIROHITO

Having succeeded through the benign influence of Our Imperial Ancestors to the Throne of a lineal succession unbroken for ages eternal, and having assumed the power to reign over and govern the Empire—we have now performed the solemnity of the Accession to the Throne. It is Our resolve to observe the fundamental rules of the State, to cultivate the Inherited virtues, and to maintain intact the glorious Traditions set by our Ancestors.†

* From "Japan," issued by the "Nippon Yusen Kaisha Co." 1928.
† "The Unbroken Line," by K. K. Kawakami, p. 16.

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LABOUR PROTECTION IN MALAYA

By W. Benson

(Native Labour Section, International Labour Office)

Labour Supply

Notoriously the Malay has held aloof from many of the benefits of Western civilization, including that of wage-earning employment. Yet Malaya's prosperity has been built on the country's success in securing wage-earners at a low price for the skill required. With this foundation, the planter awaits with scepticism the Liberian attempt to produce rubber on the basis of African labour, in the obtaining of which it is difficult to see the possibility of avoiding an element of labour compulsion discarded or never permitted in Malaya.

Malaya's success is partly due to its fortune in having comparatively close at hand in China and India two peoples of high industrial capacities in relation to their standards of living. Mainly, however, it must be ascribed to the measures of labour protection adopted, by which the Malayan administrations have guaranteed that the reward of labour will be duly paid.

The majority of labourers are Southern Indian and Chinese. The Indians form the bulk of the estate labour, being described as more amenable to European control than the Chinese. In addition, in the Straits Settlements a high proportion (122 per 1,000, 1921 Census) is engaged in commerce, while in the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States Government work is mainly performed by them. The Chinese in the Straits Settlements are nearly twice as numerous as any other race. In the Federated Malay States they almost equal the Malays in numbers. In the tin mines labour is practically entirely Chinese. Long before British capital was attracted to the industry the Chinese were working alluvial deposits, and Chinese firms are still prospering where conditions do not demand modern methods of extraction. A third source of alien labour is supplied by Java. The Javanese are of particular interest in a study of labour conditions, since they are the only labourers in Malaya for whom indentures are now legal.

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Legislation and Administration

Protective legislation was codified in the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States in 1923, and similar measures were introduced for the first time in Johore in 1924, and in Kedah and Perlis in 1926. These codes contain provisions, identical in purport, regarding the supervision of immigration, of general conditions of labour, and of the health of workers. In Kelantan an Indian Immigration Enactment was brought into force in 1927, protecting Indian workers in the same way as in the other states.

For the enforcement of this legislation labour departments have been created or special officers detailed in most of the political divisions, and work under the direction of the Controller of Labour, Malaya. In the case of Indian immigrant labour a committee has been formed composed partly of officials and partly of nominated non-officials including Indians. In addition, the Indian Government appoints an agent who under the codes may exercise the powers conferred on the Malayan controller. Chinese labour is protected by the labour departments aided by the departments primarily responsible for Chinese affairs. Lastly, the policy of appointing special officers for the different races of workers is completed in the Federated Malay States where provision is made for the appointment of a superintendent of Netherlands Indian immigrants.

In illustration of the supervision thus effected, it may be noticed that in the Federated Malay States in 1927, 919 ordinary and 130 special visits of inspection were made by officers of the Labour Department; 2,776 complaints were registered and investigated, fifty per cent. of which related to the late payment and non-payment of wages; 14 convictions of employers or their agents for offences against labourers were secured, and various minor strikes were settled. The labour departments have justified their existence not only by their efficiency, but also, which is always more difficult, by the manner in which they have been accepted by the classes with which they come into contact. The workers regard the labour officers with confidence, and the employers have ceased to define a gentleman as a man who gives notice in advance of his intended visits of inspection.

Freedom of Labour

The chief interest of labour legislation in Malaya is that in a country employing some half million workers, whose

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services a generation ago appeared to necessitate a system of indentures with their penal sanctions for offences regarded as purely civil in Western countries, a system of civil contracts has been applied and extended. Workers cannot be compelled to work in payment of debts. They are at liberty to leave their employment on giving one month's notice. They are not liable to criminal action if they desert or commit any other purely labour offence. This situation was only codified and consolidated by the legislation of 1923 to 1926. The indenture system for Indians was abolished in 1910 and for Chinese in 1914. Malaya has therefore a long experience of free immigrant labour.

Although there have been complaints by employers of the triviality of the causes for which their workers abandon their services, no serious and sustained objections have been made against the reform. Its success is even more noteworthy than the similar achievement in Ceylon, for in Malaya there is the Chinese, in addition to the Indian problem. At the present moment the Javanese are alone engaged on the indenture system. Any great development of this form of labour immigration has, however, been prevented by the high cost of recruitment and the success of free Indian immigration—a striking testimony to the economic advantages of free engagement carefully organized.

The Malayan experiment is of more than local importance. The movement to abolish indentures in the outer provinces of the Netherlands East Indies, where already in Government mines penal sanctions for labour offences are being withdrawn, owes as much to the example of Malaya as to that of Java. Dr. Vreede, the Director of Labour of the Netherlands East Indies, has himself visited Malaya to enquire into the methods adopted by the Malayan administration to abolish indentures. Furthermore, the Committee of Experts on Native Labour of the Geneva Labour Office, to which a member of the Malayan civil service has till recently belonged, has begun this last December its international study of indentured or contract labour, and Malayan experience cannot but tell in estimating the economic and social results of indentured labour and the transitory steps in securing its evolution.

Indeed, there is a logical incompatibility between the indenture system and the principle of trusteeship to which all colonial powers now subscribe. The indenture system is admittedly a form of employment for workers whose

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sense of responsibility is undeveloped; the principle of trusteeship puts in the forefront the development of this sense. No matter how careful may be governmental supervision—and although such supervision is possibly easier under an indenture system—the right of a worker to leave his employment after short notice still remains throughout the world the chief guarantee against unsatisfactory labour conditions. Indentures confine this right so closely that it can be only exercised by breaking the law—a situation hardly calculated to raise the sense of responsibility of any race. As early as 1910 Mr. Barnes, then British Resident in Pahang, stressed this point by declaring that "no body of employers, whether European or native, can be trusted to employ indentured labour in places where circumstances render absconding difficult, unless their labour is constantly inspected by Government officers."

Closely connected with the question of indenture is that of recruiting—*i.e.*, the procuring or supplying of workers for employment. Labour may be nominally free, but if the recruiting system is not supervised, misrepresentation or indirect compulsion may reduce the labourers to a status involving the compulsion, but not the guarantees, of indentures.

In Malaya recruiting has been carried on for some twenty years through the medium of the Indian Immigration Fund. The chief features of this fund are (1) that it is administered by a nominated committee of officials and private persons; (2) that its functions are laid down by legislation; (3) that it is financed by compulsory assessments upon the employers of Indian labour. It is not a recruiting organization, but a body by which private and non-professional recruiting can be effected cheaply and under Government control.

The operations of recruiting are carried out by the kanganies authorized by their employers to find workers for the employment of which they have direct experience. The kangany must obtain a license from the Malayan authorities and its endorsement by the Indian agent. On arrival in India, he registers his license with the Malayan Emigration Commissioners at Madras or Negapatam. Thus authorized, he is entitled for a maximum period of one year to engage not more than twenty labourers for employment in Malaya. He is required to supply such labourers with a copy of the official pamphlet giving information on Malaya. He must then bring them before the village headman who, if satisfied, signs the entries of

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the intending emigrants on the license. He then conducts them to the port of embarkation, where they are inspected by the Indian emigration authorities. On arrival in Malaya, the Indians are again examined before being forwarded to their employers.

The kangany system may have outlived its utility for Malaya. It is criticized in India. The kangany may sometimes exercise undue influence by advancing small sums to the labourers. In 1927 the number of adult labourers recruited by kanganies was 75,820, but assisted non-recruited labourers from India numbered 32,302, the largest annual figure yet attained. Nevertheless, even if immigration of the latter type becomes general, the functions of the Indian Immigration Fund will still subsist. Moreover, the part it will have played in the transition from indentured to free labour will be of value in those areas, notably African, where, while the disadvantages of professional recruiting agents are recognized and the administrations justly refuse to accept direct responsibility for recruitment, a free flow of labour is impossible to obtain.

Collaboration with Indian Government

The progressive policy of the Malayan administrations undoubtedly owes much to the pressure exercised by the Government of India. The latter Government by the Indian Emigration Act of 1922 prohibited emigration for unskilled work except "to such countries and on such terms and conditions as the Governor-General in Council" might specify. A natural apprehension was felt in Malaya as to the effect of any consequent restriction of Indian immigration. Accordingly, in September, 1922, a deputation was sent to Simla to discuss the question with the Standing Committee on Emigration of the Government of India. The negotiations were successful, and emigration to Malaya was permitted on the following principal terms: (1) Recruitment was to be controlled by the Malayan administrations; (2) no engagement was to exceed one month; (3) an agent in Malaya was to be appointed by the Indian Government; (4) within one year of arrival, any immigrant was to be repatriated free of charge for any reason deemed sufficient by the Indian agent.

The agreement has worked smoothly, as is testified by the published reports of the Indian agent. In Malaya, therefore, by a definition of responsibilities, it has proved

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possible for the Government of one area to protect its subjects in employment in other areas. This is, of course, not the only case in which India, having the labour elsewhere required, has successfully adopted a similar policy. But, so far as Malaya itself is concerned, it may serve as an encouragement to closer collaboration with other administrations which, either by immigration to or emigration from Malaya, are affected by Malayan labour movements.

Collaboration with Netherlands Indian Government

This is a generalization which has special reference to the Netherlands Indies. The Javanese immigrants in Malaya benefit by detailed protective measures. The existence of indentures for them in a country where in all other cases free labour exists may appear anomalous. But so long as the indenture system is applied to Javanese workers in Sumatra they are explicable. Moreover, the legislation governing Netherlands Indian labourers was only adopted after consultation of the Netherlands Indian Government, which at that time favoured the indenture system as giving an administration more powers of control and protection. Recent conversations between the administrations seem to indicate that the Netherlands Indian Government has since changed its opinion, and that indentures for the Javanese labourers in Malaya may soon be abolished. In any case, with regard to Netherlands Indian labourers in Malaya, there is consultation between the administrations responsible, which if slow is eventually effective in results.

On the other hand, it would appear that a greater cohesion of efforts between the Straits and Netherlands Indian authorities would benefit the workers usually recruited in Singapore for employment on the Sumatra "panglongs."

The panglongs are small lumbering undertakings making planks, firewood, and charcoal. In 1925 there were 379 panglongs on a belt of almost desert coast along the island of Sumatra and on numerous islands off the coast and in the Riouw-Lingga Archipelago.

Labour conditions on the panglongs are admittedly bad. Inevitably the work is exhausting. Moreover, the Chinese "kapalas" in charge of the operations have been able, owing chiefly to the remoteness of the undertaking, to retain their workers, also Chinese, by organized terrorism. In March, 1925, for example, a coolie was beaten and severely

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injured with burning wood because he was suspected of trying to escape on the ground that he had put on his coat when going to work. When he was shown to the inspector a month later his body bore the scars of twenty-four burns.

Both the British and the Dutch authorities are not unmindful of such conditions. As early as 1896 the Straits Settlements Protector of Chinese submitted to the Netherlands Indian Government concrete complaints concerning the ill-treatment of Chinese lumber-men. For its part, the Netherlands Indian Government has extended labour inspection to the panglongs from January 1, 1925, with the result that conditions have greatly improved.

Nevertheless, the three inspectors detailed for this work, though they have been provided with fast motor-boats, are hampered by the scattered situation of the undertakings and by the ease with which coolies can be smuggled from Malaya. A Dutch official report* states that "in various quarters of Singapore—always quarters of ill-fame—there exist establishments known as 'kedehnasi,' where Chinese looking for work, who have absolutely nothing but their clothes, are boarded and lodged. These coolies pay for their board and lodging when they find work—that is, when they are sold to an employer."

The Malayan authorities have been successful in suppressing "man-dealing" for employment in Malaya by prohibiting the landing of immigrants except at specified ports when officers of the Chinese Protectorate question the immigrants. Similar action on the part of the Dutch authorities appears impossible. The panglongs are scattered in a crescent round Singapore. It appears, therefore, that it should be in Malaya that the control of recruitment should be carried out. To effect this, there are no legislative difficulties, for the Straits Settlements Labour Code provides for the control of Asiatic emigration. But in practice, if the panglong workers are to be adequately protected, some agreement in regard to administrative methods would appear necessary between the Governments concerned. The success of collaboration with the Indian Government should be a factor facilitating such agreement.

Labour Conditions

In this article attention has been concentrated on the principles of labour protection adopted in Malaya. The

* Netherlands Indies. "Kantoor van Arbeid: De Panglongs." By G. Pastor, Weltevreden. 1927.

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results—*i.e.*, the actual conditions of the labourers—have therefore been omitted. It may, however, be stated that the complaints arising on some particular points such as the level of wages and the health conditions, especially on estates under Asiatic management, are being met by legislative and administrative action, and that the general adequacy of the labour supply is a tribute to the satisfactory nature of working conditions.

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THE ASIAN CIRCLE

A SURVEY OF ASIATIC AFFAIRS

THE Asian Circle is conducted by a group with personal knowledge of the various parts of Asia, and through the collective experience of its members aims at giving to the public an informed, progressive, and disinterested view of Asian affairs, both in detail and as a whole. The Right Hon. Lord Meston, K.C.S.I., is President, and its membership includes:

Sir George Boughey, Bart., O.B.E.
Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.
Sir Richard Dane, K.C.I.E.
Sir Patrick Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

The visit to Paris in 1927 of the Secretary of State to the Colonies, where he delivered an important address at the Union Coloniale, and the presence in London last month of Marshal Lyautey, have focussed public interest upon the relative positions of Britain and France in Asia. The Circle now presents to its readers two articles on the French point of view upon this all-important question, the first contributed under the auspices of the Union Coloniale, and the second by one of the leading authorities upon Asiatic affairs in the French Chamber.

I

LINES OF FRANCO-BRITISH COLLABORATION IN ASIA

THE era of colonial conquests is past, and with it has disappeared the rivalry between Great Britain and France for the possession of tropical countries; since then, on the contrary, collaborating together in a common work, and being faced with similar problems, there has arisen between the two Powers reciprocal sympathy for their efforts. To the period of benevolent neutrality, in which each observed the methods and experiences of the other—but from a dis-

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tance and often with a very incomplete insight into affairs—has now succeeded an era of collaboration and mutual assistance.

It is this thought which was uppermost in the minds of the leaders of the "Union Coloniale Française" (French Colonial Union) when, in June, 1927, they received the Right Hon. Leopold M. S. Amery, Chief Secretary of State for the Dominions and British Colonial Minister, accompanied by two Under-Secretaries of State of the British Colonial Minister, the Right Hon. M. Ormsby-Gore, M.P., and Brigadier-General Sir Samuel Wilson, K.C.M.G., K.B.E., C.B., together with high officials of this department; the greater part of the governing members of the Conference, which had just met in London, had also accepted the invitation of the Colonial Union. The presence of M. Poincaré, the President of the Council, and of the Minister of the French Colonies indicated the great importance which the Republic attached to this event.

It marked, in point of fact, the commencement of a useful collaboration. This has been principally characterized by keeping a watch on Bolshevik activities aiming at provoking discontent and disorder among the native populations, in the operations of a Conference held at Dakar between the administrators and doctors of the British and French colonies in West Africa to study methods for combating yellow fever, and in the exchange of information between the colonial administrations of Great Britain and France.

On the other hand, the Empire Parliamentary Association, on the initiative of Sir Howard d'Egville, K.B.E., has established in common with the French Colonial Union an organization for the purpose of making it possible for French and English Members of Parliament, Governors or ex-Governors of Colonies, heads of large colonial enterprises and publicists, to meet and discuss together those colonial problems the solution of which is not purely local, and international questions calling for the joint efforts of the colonizing Powers.

Within the Empire Parliamentary Association there is a committee consisting of members of both Houses of the British Parliament at Westminster, which is charged with the care of questions of interest to those Colonies which are not self-governing. In Paris, under the auspices of the Colonial Union, a Franco-British Committee for the Study of Colonial Affairs has been formed, the President of which is M. François-Marsal, Senator, late President

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of the Council, and the Vice-President is M. Jacques Bardoux. These two committees correspond with each other, and arrange to meet in common session two or three times a year, sometimes in London and sometimes in Paris.

There is no doubt that Franco-British collaboration in the colonial domain will have its effects throughout the whole of Africa, and most particulariy in West Africa; Great Britain and France find precisely the same conditions there, and possess enormous frontiers in common. But the same applies, it may be remarked, also to Asia Minor, where it is very desirable that the two Powers should reciprocally facilitate the exercise of their Mandate by their entente and by their mutual assistance, if not by a common policy.

In Asia, the Indian Empire, the Malay States, and Indo-China are separated by great distances, and no comparison can be made there; the friendship of Great Britain for France will be shown in a general manner by the latter country being given every facility to study British institutions and the successes attained. But there are also certain matters in which the two countries can and must co-operate. In the first place there is the defence which may ultimately become necessary of colonial work against anarchy, and also the defence of this work against the more immediate danger of Communist intrigues aiming at disturbing the peace in Indo-China and Java as well as in India. It is essential that the three colonizing powers act in concert for the defence to be efficacious, that they exercise mutual surveillance, so that the fomenters of trouble may not go for refuge from one country to the other, and thus direct from one country subversive campaigns menacing public order in the other.

In the domain of medicine a mutual policy is also necessary. In the remarkable speech which he delivered at the dinner of the Colonial Union in June, 1927, Mr. Amery emphasized the necessity of establishing contact, particularly in regard to technical matters. "Science does not recognize administrative frontiers," he said; "the Pasteurs, the Ronald Rosses, could not and did not wish to restrict their good services to their own countries alone." But it is not sufficient to exchange scientific works; meetings between English and Frenchmen are necessary for the purpose of collecting together and discussing the various observations, of examining *de visu* the measures taken and the results obtained—for instance, in the struggle against malarial

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disease in plantations and swampy regions—and to establish measures in common to avoid the spread of disease.

Another domain in which collaboration is necessary is that of aviation. It would be expensive and unnecessary to construct different aerodromes, or even, at the beginning at all events, to have different services for the British and French lines in Southern Asia. A Franco-British entente is necessary for the realization of the immense line in the extreme East, through India to Indo-China, through Indo-China to Hong-Kong and Japan. The French line arriving at Beyrouth would join up at Bagdad with the line to India, which will be put into operation on April 1, 1929, and which can be extended from Delhi to Calcutta, then to Rangoon, Hanoi, the capital of Indo-China, and Canton.

The great numbers of Chinese who have settled in the European possessions in the Malay States and Indo-China also present, to Great Britain and France, delicate common problems, not especially urgent, perhaps, but which might become of immense importance on the day when China, delivered from anarchy, again takes rank amongst the Powers.

There are, therefore, no lack of matters—and many more could be mentioned in connection with economic relations—in which Franco-British collaboration is eminently desirable. But let not matters rest there; what is needed is a common programme of action to ensure for the peoples under our charge greater security, a better state of public health, and more rapid progress in every walk of life.

II

FRENCH INTERESTS IN THE FAR EAST

By Léon Archimbaud

(Deputy, Rapporteur du budget des colonies Président du groupe coloniale de la Chambre des Députés)

When in 1921 the Government of the United States called an International Conference at Washington for the purpose of reducing naval armaments and seeking solutions to the irritating problems of the Far East, it first of all contemplated leaving France out of the discussions relating to China and the Far East.

Why? Simply because it considered these would not be of interest to France. It did not occur to the mind of any-

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one—or hardly anyone—either in the United States or in England, that France might be one of the great Powers of the Pacific.

And yet, apart from Russia and Great Britain, no country has such a long stretch of frontier in common with China as the Franco-Chinese frontiers; no other nation has obtained such an intellectual and moral influence in China as that possessed by France, thanks to her Catholic Missions.

And in the Pacific itself, the islands of New Caledonia, the New Hebrides, Tahiti, the Marquises, Gambier, etc., are not negligible. The best means for demonstrating that France has interests to defend in that part of the world is first of all that she should cease to neglect them, that she should at last take some steps towards safeguarding them.

Undoubtedly France is herself responsible for the ignorance of the foreigner in this respect—I am the first to admit it—and, if we do not wish Washington and London to fail to recognize our interests in the Far East, it is essential that those interests should not remain unknown to the majority of the French people.

With this preoccupation is bound up the idea of a High Commissioner of the Pacific. Such an organization would, in fact, give the world the impression that France does take care of her interests in the Far East, and the title itself would appeal to the imagination above all of Anglo-Saxons.

The injustice of which France was a victim at the Washington Conference was one of the reasons why the scheme of a High Commissioner was received with favour, but it was not the reason which called it into being.

The scheme arose from much more material considerations—viz., the distress in the French colonies in the Pacific.

In these islands, whether at Tahiti, New Caledonia, or the New Hebrides, economic development is hindered by scarcity of labour: there are very few Kanakas and Oceanians; up to within the last few years their race seemed in danger of rapid extinction (for the last three years the situation has changed, thanks to French medical assistance, and the births now exceed the deaths) and above all, they have an extreme dislike to all regular work.

Moreover, the considerable financial strain borne by France during the war and her post-war difficulties have given rise to the idea that that country could not for a long time to come resume the work of developing her posses-

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sions. Our Pacific Colonies—the most distant—would, it was feared, have to be sacrificed.

Seeking for some means of saving our Oceanian Colonies, the minds of the Committee of French Oceania turned quite naturally to the assistance of Indo-China, the amazing prosperity of which in 1919 and 1920 had attracted general attention.

"It is necessary," it was said, "that Indo-China should come to the aid of her poor sisters in the Pacific; that she should send them labour and give her signature as security for the loans raised for the purpose of providing them with the necessary economic equipment."

Thus presented, the idea should have pleased the colonists of Oceania, but they did not understand at once, and believed at first that it was a question of placing them under the strict control of Indo-China. This was impossible, especially as regards New Caledonia.

But this misunderstanding did not last long, and soon our Pacific Isles showed great enthusiasm and urgently demanded the creation of the Commissioner.

In Indo-China the welcome was colder, as it could not well be seen what advantage the Colony would obtain from the operation. She estimated that she had not too much money for the carrying out of its programme of public works, and this was true. The hostility aroused by the idea of sending coolies did not come until later when a rise in the price of rubber caused a "rush" to the "red lands," which were very rich but short of labour.

Then the colonists demanded that no more boatloads of Tonkinese should be sent to Port-Vila and Nouméa, and violent campaigns were instituted against what certain people complacently styled the "yellow slave trade."

It was in 1920 that the emigration of Annamite workmen to Oceania commenced; several thousands were thus transported, and relations were thus established between Haiphong, Port-Vila, and Nouméa.

The establishment of these marine connections, which came to play a very important part in the life of our Oceanian colonies, and decided their future, was not, as one might suppose, the work of the Government. It was simply a colonist of the Isle of Epi (New Hebrides), M. Lançon, who took from Haiphong the first Tonkinese emigrants. The following year the Ballande Company created a regular service.

That day marked the birth of the Pacific Commissionership; it came into being from the very fact that commercial

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lines were established between Indo-China and the French Pacific, and there remained nothing but to include it in the programme of administration.

Alas! at the end of eight years we are still practically at the beginning. The coming of the coolies from Tonkin has given a new impulse to the New Caledonian industry, both agriculture and mining; in the New Hebrides it has conferred upon French colonists a privileged position which has completely transformed the archipelago; at Tahiti only 500 workmen have arrived, and a long and hard struggle will be necessary to wrest the archipelago from the Chinese, who are very numerous there (more than 4,000), and who have monopolized the small trade and the little industries. This movement is so strong that it can no longer be arrested, in spite of certain protests which are being raised today in Indo-China. The remainder of Tonkin and North Annam, while far from forming inexhaustible sources for the supply of workmen, is still quite able to supply the needs of colonization in South Indo-China, which at the moment, we must not forget, is suffering on account of the fall in the market price of the products and the delay in publication of a definite régime of rural concessions.

As could have been foreseen, Indo-China has ended by finding a direct interest in her relations with the Southern Pacific, which is good proof that they supply a demand and are not artificial.

Exports from Indo-China to New Caledonia, nil before 1920, were raised in point of fact from 1,565,774 francs in 1923 to 10,745,805 francs in 1926, and they correspond exactly to the transports of coolies; when these go down they go down also.

It is, of course, rice which forms the staple feature of this trade (5,296 tons in 1926 and 3,119 in 1927), and, curiously enough, it is Cochin China which, though hostile to closer relations with New Caledonia, yet obtains from it the greatest profit (6,485,588 francs in 1926 as against 4,260,217 francs of merchandise from Tonkin).

It has been proved, therefore, that a marine service, Indo-China, New Hebrides, New Caledonia, can be remunerative; it has operated effectively for seven years without the smallest subsidy—without the slightest encouragement from the State.

After the question of labour and trade let us now examine the question of money.

In 1920–1921, the financial situation of New Caledonia in particular was precarious, and forbade, in an almost

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arbitrary fashion, the construction of large works of general utility.

Since that date the budget of the colony has been balanced by an excess of receipts, and it has recovered all its elasticity; the Governor, M. Guyon, has been able to construct roads and begin the works at the port of Nouméa.

If tomorrow the colony needs to raise a loan she will be able to guarantee it herself from her own resources without assistance from anyone. The question of guaranteeing Indo-China no longer arises.

Thus today the High Commissionership of the Pacific cannot demand from Indo-China sacrifices greater than those it has agreed to for several years. It can only bring to it considerable advantages, particularly in the political domain.

We now proceed to examine them.

* * * * *

The Emperor of Annam was, for many years, a vassal of Pekin, and when France established herself in Tonkin, more than half a century ago, that country submitted without protest to Chinese incursions.

More than any other country in the world Indo-China has an interest in the prosperity of her great neighbour China, and that China should live in peace; she very quickly feels the effects of the events occurring on the frontier beyond, and the hostilites between the Yunnan and the Kouangsi, for instance, would have a considerable repercussion on the situation in Tonkin.

By virtue of her presence in Indo-China, France has an interest in watching very closely what happens in China.

There is a tendency to pay attention to Northern China exclusively. Until the last few months the intrigues at Pekin centring around the phantom of the Central Government were looked upon as being the most important matter, whereas, in point of fact, the real game was being played out elsewhere.

It must never be forgotten that China is as large as Europe; without losing sight of the general position on this immense chessboard, France must obviously interest herself particularly in those provinces bordering upon Indo-China —she must have a South Chinese policy.

It is not the Minister who resides at Pekin, or even at Nankin, who can define and apply this policy; it is the Governor-General of Indo-China who must look after this; it is from Hanoi, in French territory, that the Chinese situation must be viewed.

Such a conception is sufficiently old and is known in

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Indo-China under the name of "Project of a Minister of the Far East." It dealt with placing under the orders of the Governor-General of Indo-China the representatives of France in the Far East, in particular our Ministers at Pekin, Tokio and Bangkok, in order to arrive at a uniform and at the same time more realistic policy, taking into consideration above all Indo-Chinese interests.

This activity would come exactly within the scope of the High Commissioner of the Pacific. The title of High Commissioner of the Pacific Ocean would, as already said, strike the imagination and place the representative of France above all the representatives of European nations in the Far East. Moreover, politically, the question of China is at the same time the question of the Pacific, and the safety of Tahiti and Nouméa depends, without the least doubt, upon what is happening at Pekin, Shanghai and Canton.

There is, therefore, nothing arbitrary in placing the Colonies of the Pacific under the supreme authority of the Governor-General of Indo-China.

* * * * *

If the problem presented were purely colonial it could no doubt be satisfactorily settled, but it is the question of foreign affairs which has always prevented a solution being reached. The Quai d'Orsay, in fact, considers that the foreign policy of France constitutes a whole, from which one part must not be detached for the purpose of placing it under the control of a colonial functionary, no matter how highly placed.

To overcome this difficulty, therefore, it is necessary to confide the High Commissionership of the Pacific, not to the Governor-General of Indo-China, but to a Minister who would be directly responsible to the Minister for Foreign Affairs and—for certain questions—to the Colonial Minister.

The High Commissioner of the Pacific would spend six months in Hanoi and six months in Paris.

This solution would have the advantage that the interests of Indo-China would be safeguarded in Parliament by a high official with a thorough knowledge of all its needs and aspirations, and this necessity was more particularly apparent in 1927 when the Indo-Chinese Administration was the victim of the grossest calumny.

In short, on every side there are excellent reasons to be found for creating a High Commissionership of the Pacific,

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and it is difficult to see what objections can be raised against it. The causes for the delay are not easy to find.

The real reason, no doubt, is that the Rhine frontiers are monopolizing the attention of the public bodies in France. We trust, however, that when the delicate question of reparations and of her safety have been settled, France will be able to look beyond the Rhine—even as far as the Pacific.

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MARCO POLO

By N. M. Penzer
(Author of "The Ocean Story")

II

We now pass on to Chap. 5, which deals with the Pipino texts. Of all Polian texts those of Francesco Pipino, a Dominican of Bologna and contemporary of Polo, are the most widely distributed. To the previously known twenty-six MSS. Benedetto has added another twenty-four. These fifty must be supplemented by seven more in the vulgar tongue, besides a very large number of printed versions. Nearly all the important European libraries possess one or more Pipino MSS. There are several copies in the British Museum, while others will be found at Oxford, Cambridge, Glasgow, and Dublin.

Of particular interest is the MS. mentioned on p. cxliii, which once belonged to Baron Walckenaer. Benedetto describes it correctly as being in a volume containing other matter, including a version of the *Mirabilia* of Jordan de Sévérac. He regrets that its present locality is unknown, and conjectures that it has probably found its way to America. Both Yule and Cordier had previously made similar statements as regards the MS. itself, yet only a few months ago our friend, Rev. A. C. Moule, "discovered" it properly catalogued and indexed at the British Museum!*

When scholars and bibliographers† can pass over such fully recorded MSS., we can the more easily imagine that many unknown Polian treasures may still lie in European libraries *wrongly* catalogued, or not catalogued at all.

The fame of Pipino's version is well attested to by the numerous translations of it which exist—in French, Irish, Bohemian, Portuguese, and German. The French translation exists in two MSS., one at the British Museum (Egerton, 2176), and the other in the Royal Library at Stockholm. The Irish version is that in the famous "Book of Lismore," discovered in such a romantic manner‡

* *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, April, 1928, p. 406 *et seq.* The MS. is numbered Add. 19513.

† Even when Cordier printed the entire Table of Contents of Walckenaer's volume in *Les Merveilles de l'Asie*, 1925, p. 44, he gave no indication that here was the long-lost Polo text.

‡ See Yule, vol. i., p. 102 *et seq.* of his Introduction.

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in 1814. The Bohemian version forms part of Cod. III., E. 42, in the Prague Museum, and dates from the middle of the fifteenth century. Benedetto considers, however, that the MS. is copied from a still older Pipino text. The Portuguese translation was printed at Lisbon in 1502.*

The first printed Latin text appeared about 1485, while a second edition (1532) was included in the famous collection of travels known as the *Novus orbis regionum ac insularum veteribus incognitarum*. It was edited by Simon Grynaeus, but actually compiled by Jean Huttichius. The text is corrupt, and has been considered by many to be a retranslation from the Portuguese of 1502.

There were several editions of the *Novus orbis*—1535, 1537, and 1555,† as well as translations—German (1534), French (1556), Castilian (1601), and Dutch (1664). Apart from this, Andreas Müller reprinted the Latin in 1671 on which was based the French translation in Bergeron's *Voyages faits principalement en Asie* (1735).

The text of Ramusio (to be more fully discussed shortly) can be regarded as based on a version of Grynaeus, so that it is fundamentally a Pipinian text.

Chap. 6 is very important, as it deals with that portion of the Polian tradition which, according to Benedetto, antedates *F*.

As we have seen, Ramusio's version appeared in 1559. In the letter contained in it, to his friend Jerome Fracastoro, he speaks of his sources, clearly indicating Pipino's text as well as another *di maraviglioso antichità*. Although Ramusio's text was at first ignored, its great importance has been gradually established, until, with the discovery of *Z*, it is a *sine qua non* in helping to trace the earlier stages of the history of the book. At the same time, Benedetto admits that it is a composite text—*sbocco a tradizioni già sicuramente corrotte*—and therefore cannot be used as a basic text, especially when compared with *F*. He would analyze the Ramusio text as containing: (*a*) Pipino as the original and principal base; (*b*) three other MSS., *V*, *L*, and *VB*; (*c*) the newly discovered MS., *Z*, which corresponds to the Ghisi codex mentioned by Ramusio himself.

The history of the Milan copy of *Z*, so far as it is known, is very interesting. It is taken from an old lost Latin

* Benedetto refers to the reprinted version of this as being issued in 1902, instead of 1922.

† Apparently the 1555 is the most complete edition. There is a fine copy of this in the Grenville Library at the British Museum (G. 7034), which contains the map that is so often missing.

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Codex Zeladiano, copied in 1795 by the Abate Toaldo to complete his collection of Polian documents. The original of this copy must be identified with the MS. *cartaceo in*8°, *del sec. xv.*, mentioned by Baldelli-Boni, who says it was left by the will of Cardinal Zelada to the Biblioteca Capitolare of Toledo. A close inspection of *Z* shows it to be a Latin version of a Franco-Italian codex, distinctly better than *F*. But as we shall see when considering the second part of this work, *Z*, as represented in the Milan MS., is by no means complete. We are very surprised that Benedetto has given us no photographic reproduction of *Z*.

The first three-quarters of *Z* seem like an epitome of a much fuller text, but after Chap. 147 *F* is faithfully followed, while the additional passages point to a pre-*F* codex, which must have been considerably more detailed than *F*. Benedetto suggests that the copyist of *Z* began with the idea of a limited selection of passages, but gradually became so interested in his work that he eventually found himself unable to sacrifice a single word.

A point of prime importance with regard to *Z* is that it clearly betrays Polo's mode of thought, showing that, as far as it goes, it is a literal translation of an early text now lost. This is also supported by the fact that the names of people and places appear in *Z* in less corrupted forms than in *F* or subsequent texts—*e.g.*, Mogdasio, Silingi, etc.

The various indications of *Z*'s anteriority to *F* suggest a subsequent suppression of certain passages by a copyist or by the cumulative work of several copyists. A large percentage of these passages occur in Ramusio, while some are found in *Z*. In those cases where *Z* only resembles an epitome, we must conclude that Ramusio had access to a text closer to the archetype of *Z* than *Z* itself. We can call this text Z^1. We can, therefore, agree that if *Z*, as represented by the Milan text (Y. 160 P.S.), can account for unique passages only in the latter part of Ramusio, it is not unreasonable to conclude that he had a complete *Z* text before him (Z^1), and took all the unidentified chapters in the first half of his book from it. At the same time it would be exaggerating to say that Benedetto has identified *all* the sources of Ramusio. He has, perhaps, *indicated* them. The discovery of the archetype of both *Z* and Z^1 would doubtless help to settle the question.

We now come to *V*, *L*, and *VB*. They can be looked upon as coming somewhere between *F* and *Z*. They are of value because they occasionally contain passages neither in *F* nor in *Z*.

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V is a curious Venetian recension (Staatsbib. Berlin, Hamilton 424A) which has undeniable echoes both of a Franco-Italian and a Latin text. It contains about thirty unique passages, and was undoubtedly used by Ramusio. *L* is an interesting Latin compendium represented in the four following codices: Ferrara, Bib. Pubb. 336NB 5; Venice, Mus. Corr. 2408; Wolfenbüttel, Bib. Com. Weiss. 4I; and Antwerp, Mus. Plantin-Mor. 60. They are practically identical, and represent the best compendium of Marco Polo extant. Its Franco-Italian origin is proved by the survival of certain expressions which, not being understood, have been retained unaltered. It was probably used by Ramusio, though this cannot be said for certain.

Taken together, *V* and *L* must be regarded as closely related to, but distinctly a sub-group of Z^1 and *Z*.

VB is a Venetian version (Donà della Rose 224 Civ. Mus. Corr.) differing from any of the Venetian recensions we have already discussed. Two copies exist: one in Rome (Bib. Vat. Barb. Lat. 5361) and the other in London (Brit. Mus. Slo. 251). *VB* shows signs of a Franco-Italian origin, and in two cases contains details ignored by *F*, but preserved by *Z*. On the whole, however, this is the worst of all Polian texts, and it is a pity that Ramusio used it at all.

To sum up, we must not blind ourselves to the undoubted defects of Ramusio. Here is a man who has selected a distinctly ragged garment (*P*), with the intent to make it look new by the addition of various patches (*Z*, *V*, *L*, *VB*). Some of the patches are of very good material, but others are frayed and badly put on, and, moreover, not always in the best places. They do not harmonize well with the cloth to which they are sewn. In some cases they have been trimmed a little, but then again we find in other cases that our repairer has added extra pieces of his own.

Thus altogether, while the finished article contains much material, it does not approximate in any way to a complete and original garment.

In spite, however, of all this, Ramusio remains an essential source in the reconstruction of the richer text by which *F* was preceded. It has continually been assumed that from time to time additions were made to the original work of Polo. The researches of Benedetto clearly show that, on the contrary, as time went on impoverishments have occurred.

Z gives occasional bits of folk-lore and details of intimate social customs; so also does the *Imago Mundi* of Jacopo

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d'Acqui (D. 526 Bib. Ambros.) called *I* by Benedetto. It may be that the church censored some of this material, for in the *Z* passages we have caught a glimpse of Marco Polo as the careful anthropologist, and how can we determine what curious and esoteric information was originally supplied to Rustichello? We do not find it hard to believe that there may well be some genuineness in the passage of Jacopo d'Acqui when he says in Polo's defence: "And because there are many great and strange things in that book, which are reckoned past all credence, he was asked by his friends on his death-bed to correct the book by removing everything that was not actual fact. To which he replied that he had not told *one-half* of what he really had seen."

The gradual decadence of the original text as proved in the cases of *FG*, *TA*, and *VA* must also have occurred in the stage anterior to *F*. The discovery of *Z*, the study of *V* and *L*, the analysis of Ramusio, and the reference of certain elements to the lost Ghisi codex all convince Benedetto that *F* was preceded by more conservative and more exact copies. *Z*, *V*, and *L* not only help to bridge the distance from *F* back to the original Genoese archetype, but also prove the richness of the latter and its gradual impoverishment. They show as well, that each of the three phases (*Z*, *V* and *L*, *F*) is dependent on the same original Franco-Italian text. Thus apart from restoring the lost passages of *F*, they also attest to its unique importance and authenticity.

The last chapter of Benedetto's Introduction is devoted to a few fragments which, however, need not detain us here.

Having reached the end of the Introduction, we look in vain for a list of all the MSS. mentioned, arranged according to Benedetto's groupings. This, we feel sure, will find a place in a revised edition. So too, we would greatly value a genealogical tree of MSS. showing the ante-*F* phase.

The Famous French Text, Fr. 1116

We now turn to the second half of the book, which consists primarily of the *F* text (fr. 1116) correctly transcribed and edited for the first time.

This alone is a piece of work for which we are most thankful, and which has long needed doing in a manner worthy of its importance. It has always been a difficult text, and Yule's decision not to adopt it because of "all its

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awkwardnesses and tautologies" has certainly not encouraged scholars to concentrate on overcoming its difficulties. The irregular spelling and punctuation of the original have now been carefully corrected and standardized, while the *lacunæ* have been filled in either by deduction or with the help of other texts. With but very few exceptions these corrections can be accepted without question, many of them displaying great erudition and ingenuity.

The chapters are numbered consecutively throughout the complete work. There are 234 chapters as compared with the 232 of the printed Geographic Text (*Recueil du Voyages et de Mémoires*, Soc. de Géog., vol. i., pp. 1-288, Paris, 1824). This is due to the fact that Chaps. 95 and 194 are both split into two separate chapters. In the case of Chap. 95, Benedetto has added additional matter (between square brackets) from *FG*.

We much regret that the corresponding book and chapter numbers of Yule's edition have not been given in addition to the present enumeration. Such a simple arrangement would have greatly facilitated a comparison between the amended fr. 1116 on the one hand, and the English translation (chiefly from *FG*) on the other hand. Of even more importance are Yule's invaluable notes, which act as an unsurpassed commentary to Benedetto just as much as to Yule's own translation.

It might appear at first sight that as Yule contains only one more chapter than Benedetto, the difference is due to the splitting up of one of Yule's chapters, or some such similar cause. This, however, is far from the case, and it is merely the balance of alterations that chances to work out at the difference of but a single chapter. Thus whereas Yule, Book I., Chap. 50 = Ben., Chap. 68, we notice that Yule I. 56 = Ben. 71 (not 74.) In order to facilitate correlation we have enumerated the differences below in full.*

* Yule's 235 chapters are divided up as follows: Prologue, 18; Book I., 61; Book II., 82; Book III., 40; and Book IV., 34. In Benedetto these correspond respectively to: 1–19; 20–75; 76–158; 159–199; and 200–234. The differences between the two, finally resulting in only one chapter more or less, are as follows: Y. gives no number to the Introduction of the Prologue, which thus has 18 to the 19 chapters of B. Book I., Chap. 12 of Y. is from *Z. R.* and *V.* and so finds no place in B.'s text (only in his notes). Thus Y. 13 = B. 31. All continues well until Y. 51, which together with Y. 52 = B. 69. Then Y. 53, 54, and 55 = B. 70, and later Y. 59 and 60 = B. 74. Thus, Book II., Chap. 1 of Y. = B. 76. Differences in Y., Book II., then proceed: Y. 6 and 7 = B. 81; B. 85 begins in Y. 10 and continues in Y. 11; Y. 12 and 13 = B. 86; Y. 14 = B. 87 and 88; Y. 23, 33, and 34 are from *R.*, and only occur in B.'s notes; Y. 52 = B. 123 and 124; Y. 60 = B. 132 and 133; Y. 61 = B. 134

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At the immediate foot of the text on each page Benedetto has printed critical notes—by no means a complete *apparatus criticus* (as one reviewer seemed to imagine), but quite sufficient to indicate other important readings, and to give the original of the *F* text whenever it has been corrected in the printed text above.

Beneath the critical notes, at the bottom of each page, are given additional passages from other MSS. not found in *F*. As only to be expected, they are chiefly from Ramusio's printed text (*R*) and the newly found Milan MS. (*Z*), which has proved to be one of the original sources of *R*. The chief interest in these passages, then, is to ascertain how much of the unique portions of *R* can be traced to *Z*, and to try and discover if any light is shed on the *unde derivatur* of such portions of *R* as are *not* found in *Z*. If we can do this we shall fully realize the value of *Z* in helping to unravel the mystery which still surrounds the early history of the Polian texts.

The first thing that strikes us is that in Chaps. 1-75 inclusive neither *R* nor *Z* have unique passages of any length. This surely points to the fact that Ramusio is here chiefly relying on Pipino and only made use of *Z*, or more properly Z^1, later on. This is attested to by the fact that *Z does* afford much more extensive passages in the second half of the work. Of these seventy-five chapters, only Chap. 35, dealing with the Kingdom of Kerman, has an exclusive *Z* passage of over six lines. Of much more interest is Chap. 59. It describes the province of Camul (the modern Hami), and is chiefly devoted to the curious practice of the husbands who offer their wives to any foreigners. Polo explains how Mangu Khan (Mongu Can) in vain tried to stamp out the custom. Now the *Z* MS. contains nine lines (which seem to form a small chapter by itself) dealing with "Carachoco," the chief city of "Icoguristam." These lines come after line 14 of *F*—*i.e.*, just before the mention of Mangu Khan—

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and 135; Y. 63 = B. 137 and 138; Y. 67 = B. 142 and 143; Y. 68 = B. 144 and 145; Y. 77 is from *R*., and so is only in B.'s notes. Thus, by the end of Y., Book II., we find that Y. 82 = B. 158. In Y., Book III., the differences are: Y. 10 = B. 168 and 169; Y. 11 = B. 170 and 171. The chapters then become very mixed. Y. brings the two Ceylon chapters together, hence Y. 14 = B. 174, but Y. 15 = B. 179; Y. 16 and 17 (Maabar) = B. 175; Y. 18 (St. Thomas) = B. 177; Y. 19 (Mutfili) = B. 176; Y. 20 (Lar) = B. 178. After this all continues in order to the end of the Book, where Y 40 = B. 199. In Y., Book IV., there are but few differences: Y. 1 and 2 = B. 200; Y. 28 = B. 226, 227, and 228; Y. 29 = B. 229 and 230; Y. 33 = B. 234; while Y. 34 is the conclusion, which, being from *TA*, is not in B.'s text. It is to be found, however, in his "Postille Supplementari," p. 258.

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right in the middle of the wife-lending portion. This seems curious, but of much more interest is the fact that we may here have a clue to fixing the locality of "Ghinghintalas," which is the subject of Chap. 60 and which has as yet defied identification. Incidentally, we should point out that Benedetto has made a sad blunder* in trying to connect "Carachoco" with "Carachoto." They are two entirely different places, over six hundred miles apart. "Carachoco" is the Karakhōja mentioned by Stein in 1915, during his third journey to Central Asia (see *Journ. Roy. Geog. Soc.*, September, 1916, p. 202, and *Serindia*, vol. iii., p. 1167 and vol. v., Sheet 59†), lying twenty-one miles E.S.E. of Turfān, while Karakhoto is a ruined town on the Etsin-gol, (river), 135 miles N.E. of Mao-mei,‡ explored both by Kozloff and Stein. Now *Z* says that Icoguristam (Uighuristan) "subiacet magno can." Yule thought Karakhōja lay to the N.W. of Turfān, and so pointed out (vol. i., p. 214) that it would be outside the Khan's boundary.

Rashīd-ud-dīn, the famous Persian historian, a contemporary of Polo, distinctly says it was a neutral town on the border line. No direction from Camul is given, but we now know it was due west. Ghinghintalas, says Polo, is "entre tramontaine et maistre"—*i.e.*, N.N.W. from Camul, and is also "au grant can." Yule gives two alternatives for its situation in his map (No. IV.), but neither seem satisfactory. Rashīd gives a point near Chagan-Nor as being also on the boundary. Now if we take this boundary line to run in a semicircle from Karakhoja to Chagan-Nor, we can surely place "Ghinghintalas" in the neighbourhood of Barkul. Thus we shall be both "au grant can" and also N.N.W. of Camul.

* Unfortunately, Filippo de Filippi (who seems, for some unexplained reason, to have obtained practically the monopoly of the English reviews of B.'s work), not only supports B, but actually "proves" that Sir Aurel Stein has wrongly identified it with Polo's "Etzina." *Both* places are given in the map to the very article quoted by Filippi! While going to press, we have received a letter from Sir Aurel Stein confirming our statements about "Carachoco" and Karakhōja. See also *Journ. Roy. Geog. Soc.*, September, 1928, pp. 300-302.

† See also Pelliot, *Journal Asiatique*, Ser. 10, vol. xix., 1912, pp. 579, 603.

‡ Thus, Cordier was correct in his theory (Yule, vol. i., p. 225). He quotes Stein from *Journ. Roy. Geog. Soc.* in *Ser Marco Polo*, pp. 53-55. For detailed maps of Karakhōja and Karakhoto see sheets Serial Nos. 28 and 45 respectively in the map case to Stein's *Memoir of Maps of Chinese Turkistan and Kansu*, Trigonometrical Survey Office, Dehra Dun, 1923, to be re-issued as Vol. IV. of his *Innermost Asia*.

(*To be continued.*)

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THE INNER EAST

This section was initiated a year ago with the object of giving special study to the politics, history, art, and archæology of the Caucasus and Central Asia. The considerable interest which has been taken by readers in this section has caused us to decide to make it a permanent feature of the REVIEW. During the course of this year we have arranged to secure the following papers by writers who are known as authorities on the respective subjects with which they deal:

1. Mongolia under Soviet Rule.
2. The Georgian Church since the Revolution.
3. Historical Studies in Azerbaijan.
4. Recent Archæological Explorations in Central Asia and the Crimea.
5. Georgian Icons: a Study in Mediæval Art.
6. The Culture of Urartu.

TOWNS OF ANCIENT GEORGIA

BY W. E. D. ALLEN

PART I.—COLCHIS OR WESTERN GEORGIA

THERE have always been differences in the culture as in the political history of Western and Eastern Georgia. In the Roman days Colchis, the western country, was more civil., Iberia, over the Suram mountains, was more rusticated. Strabo notes a harder, rougher way of life as he goes eastward from the busy ports of Colchis over the mountains into the agricultural plain of Iberia, and further towards the Caspian into the parts of the half-nomadic Albani. It is the same in the mountain country. The western mountains of Caucasus, draining to the Euxine, were fairly well known to the ancient Greek and Roman geographers; of the eastern mountains, beyond Swaneti and the Daryal, they were quite ignorant. Pliny, writing in the first century A.D., is the first who gives some scanty information of the tribes in Daghestan and along the course of the Terek.

Colchis was, then, in the first centuries A.D. the most civil part of Caucasus—a part, in fact, of that Græco-Roman civilization which was spread round the shores of the Black Sea from the mouths of the Danube to the

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Caucasian mountains. And the country was, indeed, for some decades during the first century A.D. included in the Bosporan kingdom of the Roman clients Polemon and Pythodoris.

Iberia remained the ruder land over the mountains, the up-country part: its kings, cadets of the Persian royal houses, and veering in their politics between the Roman Emperors and the Court of Ctesiphon; their capital was rather ruder, more remote than those of the Armenian kings in the cities on the Araks; their weight in policies much less significant.

The Civil Life of Colchis

When Strabo knew it, Colchis, the civil part, the country by the sea, already had a long tradition of urban life and foreign trading. The days of its commercial history go back to the centuries certainly when the cities of Greece were opening up the Euxine business; the legends of it to much earlier time. It is probable that in the Colchian towns was preserved some remnants of the old Bronze Age culture that covered all the Caucasus before the Cimmerian and Scythian invasions.* The Greeks, in spreading round the Euxine in the seventh century B.C., were only resurrecting the cities, the sea-ways, and the land routes of this former vivid age. The great Hellenic cities of the Cimmerian Bosporus grew up on the foundations of an older and forgotten building. Phanagoria and Hermonassa had been founded before the Milesians came, and Panticapæum was, in the words of Rostovtseff, "*active probably hundreds of years before the Greeks settled there. . . . The Barbarian name of the town, and the legend preserved by Stephanus of Byzantium that it was founded by a son of Aietes, king of those Colchians who appear in the story of the Argonauts, testify to the great antiquity of the town, to its ancient intercourse with the Caucasus, and to its existence as a seaport long before the arrival of the Milesians.*"†

It does not seem fantastic to believe, perhaps, that the Greeks came into the Black Sea, rather as in a later age the Normans and the Saracens broke upon the cities of the Mediterranean, and that they suppressed, imposed themselves upon, supplanted an older Euxine Thalassocracy,

* See author's previous article, "The Ancient Caucasus and the Origin of the Georgians," in Asiatic Review, October, 1928.

† Rostovtseff, "Iranians and Greeks," pp. 18 and 19.

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built up maybe by the natives of the littoral lands, or by some earlier Ægean power.* They may have come upon, disrupted and chaotic, after the ruin of Cimmerian and Scythian invasions, some older state of things, in which Colchis had had the part which later the Bosporan kingdom had during the period of the Hellenic Thalassocracy.

At the time of the Roman conquest Colchis was a rich and prosperous land. Its decline during the subsequent six centuries of Roman-Persian hegemony in Trans-Caucasia was progressive and catastrophic. This decline, as was that of the Græco-Scythian cities of the Tauric Chersonese and the Cimmerian Bosporus, was due obviously to the unsettled political conditions occasioned by the great movements of barbarian hordes over the Eurasian steppe, to the north of the Caucasus, and round all the shores of the Black Sea. But it was occasioned also in part by the recurrent Roman-Persian wars, and the consequent interruption of normal commercial goings along the great Ponto-Caspian trade route up the valley of the Rioni, over the Suram mountains, and down the valley of the Kura.

At the time when Strabo wrote, and Polemon ruled, the territory of Colchis occupied the whole of the great alluvial plain between the main chain of the Caucasus, the mountains of Likh, and the mouth of the Chorokh. The country occupied now by the Abkhazians, between the Kodor and the Ingur, was included, and within it the celebrated city of Dioscurias. This city, until the conquests of Mithradates, had constituted a kind of independent republic, but under Roman rule it rapidly declined.

Strabo has left a picture which conveys at once the prosperous state of Colchis and its old tradition of civility.†

"*The greater part of Colchis lies upon the sea. The Phasis, a large river, flows through it. It has its source in Armenia,‡ and receives the Glaucus§ and the*

* The story of the rape of Medea seems rather to indicate the piratical character of early Mediterranean adventurings in the Black Sea.

† I follow Hamilton's rendering (London, 1856). Strabo, B. XI., c. 2, 17, 18.

‡ Phasis. Hamilton identifies it as the Rioni. Strabo's statement as to its Armenian source indicates a confusion either with the Chorokh or with one of the smaller streams which fall into the Rioni from the south-west. The reference to persons sailing up the Phasis to Sarapana (Shorapan) makes it clear that "the Phasis" was the Qwirala as far as its junction with the Rioni, and then the lower course of the Rioni.

§ Glaucus (Greek γλαυκος = gleaming, glancing). Procopius (ref. Dubois, II. 70) uses the name Reone. This name would appear to derive from the

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Hippus, which issue from the neighbouring mountains. Vessels ascend it as far as the fortress of Sarapana,† which is capable of containing the population even of a city. Persons proceed thence by land to the Cyrus (Kura) in four days along a carriage‡ road. Upon the Phasis is a city of the same name,§ a mart of the Colchians, bounded on one side by the river, on another by a lake,‖ on the third by the sea. . . . The country is fertile and its produce is good, except the honey which has generally a bitter taste. It furnishes all the material for ship-building. It produces them in great plenty, and they are conveyed down by the rivers. It supplies flax, hemp, wax and pitch in great abundance. Its linen manufacture is celebrated, for it was exported to foreign parts; and those who wish to establish an affinity of race between the Colchians and the Ægyptians, advance this as a proof of it.*

"*Above the rivers which I have mentioned in the Moschic*

Greek ῥεῶν = "flowing," "streaming," "gushing," and to indicate the same idea as "Glaucus." The name may have been adopted into Georgian and have superseded the older name "Phasis." Wakhusht favours the Greek derivation of Rioni, and says of the river "it flows with great rapidity and speed from its source as far as Kutais" (p. 347). Dubois (II. 70) identifies the Surium of Pliny with the Rioni. There is a small river Sora, a tributary of the Rioni in its upper course (Wakhusht, p. 379).

* Hippus. "The Tskhenis-tsqali," literally in Georgian "horse's-water" or "river."

† Sarapana, Georgian Shorapani. Wakhusht, "Description Géographique de la Géorgie," p. 365: "Higher up (the Qwirala) at Shorapani the Qwirala receives the Dzirula, coming from the west. . . . Shorapani is built in the angle at the confluence of these two rivers. It is a town and fortress founded by the first King Parnavazi, who made it the seat of an 'eristavi.' The battlements of the place are very great; to the north-west flows the Qwirala, the south-east the Dzirula, and towards the north-east is a little rocky mountain, and a great excavation which reaches the river." Dubois remarks that large vessels could only reach as far as the confluence of the Rioni and the Qwirala; from that point travellers would have to change into smaller boats to reach Sarapana.

‡ Strabo (B. XI., c. 3, 4), in discussing the entry from Colchis into Iberia, indicates that travellers did not then proceed over the Suram Pass, but that they followed the Qwirala to its source, and then descended into Iberia by the valley of the Liakhva (*cf.* Dubois, II. 71 and 72, and III. 163 *et seq.*, who counted nineteen fords over the Qwirala, and suggests that the 120 bridges mentioned by Strabo on this route is a copyist's error for 20). This country is called by the Georgians "Semo-qweqana"—the Upper Country.

§ Phasis. Fasso of the mediæval travellers, Fashe-Kala of the Turks, Poti in modern Georgian. *Cf.* Dubois, III. 66 *et seq.*

‖ Lake Paleastome. *Cf.* Dubois, "Voyage autour du Caucase," III. 71.

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territory is the temple of Leucothea,† founded by Phrixus and his oracle, where a ram is not sacrificed. It was once rich, but was plundered in our time by Parnaces, and a little afterwards by Mithradates of Pergamus. For when a country is devastated, in the words of Euripides:*

'respect to the gods languishes and they are not honoured.'

"How great anciently was the celebrity of this country appears from the fables which refer obscurely to the expedition of Jason, who advanced as far even as Medea; and still earlier intimations of it are found in the fables, relative to the expedition of Phrixus. The kings that preceded, and who possessed the country when it was divided in Sceptuchies,‡ were not very powerful, but when Mithradates Eupator had enlarged his territory, this country fell under his dominion. One of his courtiers was always sent as sub-governor and administrator of its public affairs. Of this number was Moaphernes, my mother's paternal uncle. It was from this country that the king derived the greatest part of his supplies for the equipment of his naval armament . . . the territory of the Moschi, in which is situated the temple, is divided into three portions, one of which is occupied by Colchians, another by Iberians, and the third by Armenians.§ There is in Iberia, on the confines of Colchis, a small city, the city of Phrixus, the present Idessa,‖ a place of strength."

* The mountains of Likh or Suram. They are still called sometimes the Meskhian mountains, and to the south-west they divide the Colchian basin from the high region where the Kura takes its source. Samtzkhe of the Georgians = sa-Mtzkhe—"land of Mtzkhetos."

† Leucothea. Dubois (II. 249, and III.) suggests that either Gwimé, near the upper valley of the Qwirala, or possibly two large tumuli near the embuchure of the Borjomi defile, may have been the site of this temple.

‡ σκηπτουχίας, literally "the bearing of a staff or sceptre," principalities —a reference to the "Kartlosid era" of Georgian history, which came to an end in the third century B.C.

§ Moschi. The territory occupied by the Moschi included the Suram mountains and the upper Kura basin, known to the Georgians as Samtzkhe. This upland region of Samtzkhe passed alternately under the Iberian and Armenian crowns. The Armenian name for the upland country was Gugarkh (Gogarene).

‖ Idessa. Possibly on the site of Suram, where there was in the Middle Ages a small town and stronghold. This foundation was, however, comparatively late (*cf.* Wak., 268, 269). Possibly also Urbnissi, between Suram and Gori. Urbnissi is one of the oldest inhabited sites in Georgia; the tradition of its foundation dates back to the Patriarch Uplos.

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The Towns of Colchis: Kotatissium

All the rich alluvial basin of the Phasis was spread with thriving towns. The site of Kutais of later days, seat of the Imeretian kings, and the capital of Western Georgia—Kutatissi of Wakhusht*—was covered by the two towns of Cytaia or Kotatissium and Oukhimerion,† which are described in fullest detail by Procopius, who wrote, in the sixth century, of the Lazic War. The twin emplacements lay in a curve of the Rioni, a few miles above its confluence with the Qwirala. Oukhimerion was situated to the north on the right bank of the loop of the Rioni; Kotatissium was to the south, in the angle of the left bank. Oukhimerion, the fortress, was situated on a hill at a height of about 250 feet above the level of the river, and it was formed of an acropolis on the summit of the hill, an upper town with battlements and a lower town, opening over steep rocky slopes to the waters of the Phasis. Across the river extended the open streets, the markets, and the scattered suburbs of Kotatissium. Kutais today gives to the traveller this impression of a scattered, loose disjointedness. The few streets, the churches, the houses and the gardens and the orchards of this casual town are littered all around the great rock of the ruined citadel, straddling the two banks of the river. In the last foothills of the Caucasus fineing to the Colchian plain, in the sparkling sunshine—the river gleaming past down from the mountains to the sea—the lovely city stretches, lazy, brave and laughing, like as it were to some free woman who has known so many grasping, dirty masters, and remains so fresh in all her shame.

Rhodopolis

Further down the river, below the conflux of the Rioni and the Qwirala, lay in the classic time Rhodopolis;‡ it is Vardis-tzikhe of the Georgians—in literal translation "the castle of the rose." Situated on low ground, among the woods, it became a favourite winter residence of the Lazic and Imeretian kings. Men dealt badly by it; the natives razed their rose castle in the Lazic War (A.D. 549) to prevent its seizure by the Persians; about twelve centuries later the

* Wakhusht, 371, who attributes the construction (of the mediæval Georgian town) to Levan (Leon), King of the Abkhazians (*c.* A.D. 744-789).

† *Cf.* Dubois, I. 398-400; II. 72.

‡ *Cf.* Dubois, II. 220 *et seq.*, quoting Procopius, "De Bello Gothic," p. 527, ed. Bon.

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Russians smashed the ageing walls of the Imeretian foundation "afin d'empêcher les Turcs d'y prendre position."* And thus, when Dubois visited the site, about a hundred years back, he found that nothing rested but a strong wall of seven or eight feet in thickness, of which a part dated, perhaps, from the time of the Lazes, for it was in their style of architecture.† Lower down, again, in the angle of the conflux of the Tskhenis-tsqali with the Rioni, was "the plain of oaks," Moukherisi,‡ dominated by a fortress of the name, a hold much contested in the Lazic War. And higher up the Tskhenis-tsqali was Onurgurisi, Khoni§ of later days, commanding the way up into the mountains to the Swanian country.

Archæopolis

There was one place in all this country so much older than the others in tradition that the Greeks distinguished it as Archæopolis—"the ancient city"—and the Georgians, through the long years to this present day, have named the site of it Nakalakevi, which has meaning of "where there was once a town." In Wakhusht's time, Nakalakevi was an obscure Mingrelian borough, a residence of the Dadianis, situated on the right bank of the Tekhuri, a small stream which falls into the Rioni, some miles below the Tskhenis-tsqali. Wakhusht describes it as "a town and fortress built by Kuji in the time of the first King Parnavazi." Kuji was the ruler of Egrissi, the old Georgian name for all the western plain. Wakhusht adds that Nakalakevi was destroyed during the Arab wars, "became a town again and was again ravaged."‖ Dubois, who visited the ruins of Nakalakevi, decided that in great detail they answered to the description of Archæopolis of the Lazes, written by Procopius. He found the ruins of a bridge over the Tekhuri, a castle or acropolis, and a great walled area inside which were the ruins of a palace, a bazaar, and a small Christian church, in the earliest style of Byzantine Christian¶ art. Brosset also visited the site and accepted the identity of Nakalakevi with Archæopolis.**

The special antiquity of the town is patent in both the Georgian and the Greek nomenclature. In the *Georgian Annals* the legend of its foundation dates to the first

* *Ibid.*, II. 221. † *Ibid.*, II. 221. ‡ *Ibid.* II. 96.
§ *Ibid.*, I. 405.
‖ Wakhusht, pp. 396-7. Nakalakevi was called also Tzikhe-Godja.
¶ Dubois, III., pp. 51 *et seq.*
** Brosset, "Voyage Archéologique," 7e Rapp., p. 60; 9e Rapp., pp. 22 *et seq.*

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days of the Georgian Monarchy. And it may well be that "the old city" of Procopius was the successor of Æa, the capital of the mythical kingdom of Aietes, where the Argonauts came. In fact, the sparse indications as to the whereabouts of Æa given by Strabo, by Pliny, and by Stephanos of Byzantium, all indicate that Archæopolis, the Lazian capital, and Nakalakevi, the obscure Mingrelian borough of the Middle Ages, rose the one upon the other, upon the site of Æa.*

Many more were the seaports, towns, and castles of the Colchian-Lazian basin, from Bathys†—"the deep anchorage"—round the crescent up to Dioscurias, inland to Petra, the Roman stronghold under the Gurian hills, and to Alexandria, which twin marcher-fort with Sarapana, guarded the ways over the mountains from Iberia.

* For discussion of this question see Dubois, *ibid.* *Cf.* also Strabo, B. I., c. 2, 39; Plinii, "Hist. Nat.," VI., cap. 4; Stephanus of Byzantium, "De Urb.," p. 18, ed. Xylandri.

† Bathys, transmitted into Georgian Batomi = Batum.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

UPLIFT OF THE ABORIGINALS OF CHOTA NAGPUR

By Rev. T. Van der Schueren, S.J., K.-i-H. (1st cl.)

This paper, although written by a missionary and dealing largely with missionary effort and achievement, is not intended to be propagandist. Its object is to give some account of the work, past and present, of the Belgian Jesuit missionaries among the aboriginal tribes of Chota Nagpur, inasmuch as this work makes for the uplift of these backward races.

Presiding on November 15 last at the Annual College Day of the Scottish Churches in Calcutta, His Excellency Sir Stanley Jackson, Governor of Bengal, said:

> It was not until I came to India in my present position that I had the slightest idea of the great educational work the missionaries from various parts are doing out here. I have now seen enough to appreciate the value to India of their unselfish efforts, and I have no hesitation in asserting that they deserve every possible encouragement.

It is to these words of His Excellency that I owe the idea of writing this paper. A short historical review will be needed, but the main theme will deal with facts, methods, achievements and ideals.

Without detracting from the merit or belittling the efforts of the earlier Belgian Jesuit missionaries, who for years had done pioneer work among the Mundas and met with some measure of success, it may be said that the real history of what now constitutes the Belgian Jesuit Mission among the aboriginal tribes of Chota Nagpur begins from the date, November 23, 1885, when Father Constantine Lievens settled down at Torpa and accepted the offer made to him by a friendly jemadar of an empty hut at the end of the police lines. In a short time he had mastered the Munda,

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Ouraon, and Kharria languages and come into contact with thousands of these aboriginals.

Father Lievens applied his great natural talent to the study of the laws and customs of the country, in which work he received valuable help from his friend, the Jemadar of Torpa. He studied the laws governing the land tenure, the extent, and also the limitations, of the rights of the zemindars. He consulted magistrates and lawyers, and soon gained accurate knowledge not only of the obligations, but also of the rights of the oppressed ryots. As a consequence, in many cases justice was done.

Naturally the news spread rapidly through the country, and soon multitudes of people flocked to Torpa from all sides. Father Lievens, while helping them in their material needs, was not forgetful of his own special mission, and used every occasion to explain to them the great benefits Christianity would confer on them if they were willing to accept the Faith: it would mould them into happier and more prosperous communities. There was little or nothing in the cold Animistic cult of these people, devoid as it is of temples and priesthood, to obstruct the Gospel message, and they listened readily to the preaching of the man whom they considered their best friend and greatest protector, and who could have no other purpose at heart than further to promote their welfare. The result was truly extraordinary, and in less than four years the number of Ouraons, Mundas, and Kharrias who had adopted Christianity was in excess of 70,000.

I am unable to quote chapter and verse, for my recollection is of the vaguest description, but I think I do remember that Lord Lytton, the Chairman, speaking one day about Indian Christians, said that in this respect he was not a believer in mere numbers. Perhaps, to start with, these 70,000 were mere numbers, however good their will, but they did not long remain so. Father Lievens immediately set up an organization to change these mere numbers into a compact living Christianity. He picked

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out young men from among them for special tuition and training. Very soon he had a little army of more than 200 educated Catechists and had opened more than 100 schools. This success gave the zealous missionary a claim for further support, and he did not ask in vain. Every available priest in the Belgian Mission was drafted to the Chota Nagpur district, while in Belgium itself, in answer to his earnest and eloquent appeal for willing helpers, it is on record that 163 Belgian Jesuits volunteered for the Mission, and of these 18 started immediately. This was in 1889, and one year later the Irish Loreto nuns arrived in Ranchi to take charge of the education of the girls.

Educational Progress

With the advent of the missionaries from Belgium the vast mission field was divided into districts, with two or more missionaries in charge of each, whilst Father Lievens transferred his headquarters to Ranchi, thence to exercise a general direction. Education made rapid strides: primary schools were opened everywhere, boarding-schools were set up at the headquarters of each district where a higher grade education was imparted to the best boys from the primary schools, while in Ranchi a big central boarding-school, which eventually developed into St. John's High School and St. John's College, was erected for the education of the more promising boys picked from all the schools of Chota Nagpur; by 1892 the number of boys in this school had reached 200.

In 1892 there was a complete breakdown in the health of Father Lievens. Acting on medical advice, he returned to Belgium. He lingered on for some time, and then died at Louvain at the age of thirty-seven years and six months. He had all the qualities of heart and mind which make a great apostle, and his name will live in history as the apostle of the aboriginal tribes of Chota Nagpur. I had lived with him in India in 1884 and 1885 and knew him

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intimately, and I may be permitted to pay this personal tribute to one whose life has been the inspiration of my life, as it has been of so many others who have followed in his footsteps.

The next ten years were not marked by any great increase in numbers, but witnessed important work of consolidation, and in particular a continued rapid growth of education by the multiplication of schools and the more effective training of teachers and Catechists. Then came a period of fourteen years, during which expansion kept pace with consolidation, so that at the time of the outbreak of the war in 1914 the number of Christians had increased to 170,000.

The outbreak of war threatened the whole of this great organization with complete disaster. Suddenly cut off from Belgium, the Belgian Mission in India found itself completely isolated from the source which so far had supplied all the men and all the funds. With no men from home to replace the fallen ones (22 missionaries died between the years of 1914 and 1920, while no new recruits arrived), and with no funds from the stricken fatherland to provide for the maintenance of teachers and Catechists, it looked as if within a very short time the whole fabric must totter to pieces. That it did not do so is due to the truly wonderful help the Mission received in its hour of trial both from the Government and from private sources. Sir Charles Bayley, and after him Sir Edward Gait, successively Governors of the Province, saved the Mission Schools by making special and exceptional grants to keep them in full work. In Calcutta a committee for the support of Chota Nagpur was constituted, with Lord Carmichael as President and Sir D'Arcy Lindsay as Executive Chairman, while among its members were representatives of every race and creed. The Royal Calcutta Turf Club, through its Senior Steward, the late Sir Allan Arthur, sanctioned an annual donation of Rs. 10,000, while all the leading mercantile firms in Calcutta, both European and Indian, year after year subscribed in a lavish manner. Appeals

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were also made in Australia and in the United States, and in both countries the response was most generous. Of course, the war had checked all progress, and 1920 found the Mission much as it was in 1914. There had been much suffering and hardship, but there had been no real set-back, and certainly no disaster.

The total number of aboriginal Catholics in the Chota Nagpur Mission at present is 258,000. The total number of Jesuits in the whole Mission or archdiocese belonging to the Belgian province of the Order is 278. In addition to these, there are 24 Indian priests, mostly belonging to the aboriginal races, while 21 are students in the Ranchi Seminary preparing for ordination to the priesthood. The number of Catechists—*i.e.*, specially trained lay auxiliaries —working in the Mission is 1,081.

I have, during a period of more than forty years, been a close witness of the effect of the Christian ideal on the lives of the aboriginals of Chota Nagpur, and I may be allowed to give testimony to what I have seen. To the convert aboriginals, Christianity gradually becomes a living religion penetrating into their innermost lives and exerting a manifest influence in their homes and families. It brings spiritual ideals to them, accompanied by higher moral conceptions, and thus causing both an intellectual and moral uplift. They take readily to the rites and ceremonies which accompany Christian worship; they sing, in their own aboriginal languages and with their own musical rhythm, the Christian hymns. In those parts, especially, where they form a compact homogeneous community Christianity in time becomes to them practically what it is to the simple rural communities in Europe which have been Christian for so many centuries.

I proceed to what is more directly the object of this paper —viz., to give an account of the actual civilizing work going on in the Mission today. Realizing the importance of doing in this respect the best that can be done and in the very best way, the Mission has, since 1908, appointed one

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of the Fathers to assume the supreme direction of all that relates to the material and social welfare of the converts. His title is "Director-General of Social Works." His headquarters are at Ranchi, but he is frequently out visiting the various stations discussing matters with the missionaries, advising them, making new suggestions, and co-ordinating all their efforts. He is freed from all directly religious ministry, and devotes all his time and energy to his responsible task.

Co-operative Credit

First in merit and importance among the social works under his charge is the Co-operative Credit Society, or, as it is now commonly called, the bank. It is essentially a people's bank, managed *by* the people *for* the people. The Director-General of Social Works is the President, but the whole of the managing staff and every one of the shareholders are aboriginals. I was present at the general meeting of the bank in 1925, and I may be permitted to make some statements based on the notes I then took.

The bank has a working capital of approximately three lakhs of rupees, and the whole of this capital is owned by 14,304 shareholders, all aboriginals. These are grouped into nineteen circles, and these circles contain and control 1,475 village branches of the bank. Each village branch is ruled by a panchayat, or committee, of elected members of that village, and each circle by a panchayat of elected members of that circle. If a villager is in need of a loan he applies to the village panchayat. If the latter approve of it, they forward the application to the circle panchayat, and the latter, when forwarding the application to head-quarters, assumes all responsibility in its respect. The amount of loan money in the hands of aboriginal borrowers in 1924 was about Rs. 120,000, and the interest paid by these about Rs. 10,000. It was pointed out at the meeting, amid applause, that no less than Rs. 60,000 would have had to be paid as interest if the bank did not exist, and

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they had to obtain these loans from mahajans or money-lenders, a net saving therefore in one year to the aboriginal community of Rs. 50,000. Nearly all these loans were taken for excellent purposes; purchase of cattle, purchase of land, redemption of land, improvement of land and setting up or developing trade: these five eminently productive purposes accounted for fully ninety per cent. of the total amount taken in loans.

There is a yearly general meeting of the bank at Ranchi, attended by elected delegates from the village branches. No less than 1,200 delegates from all parts of Chota Nagpur were present at the gathering of 1925. There are general and sectional meetings, and it is not only financial or bank matters which are discussed; every question which bears upon aboriginal interests and the uplift and betterment of their race comes up for discussion and the framing of resolutions. By a unanimous vote the 1,200 delegates representing the 14,000 shareholders decided that no dividends should be declared or paid, but that the whole of the net profits of the year's working should be added to the amount of the undivided profits of preceding years, and that this sum should be added to the working capital of the bank. This brought the accumulated net profits to Rs. 4२,000, and this sum stands in the name of the shareholders and is theirs. Every year at the annual meeting they vote how the interest accruing therefrom should be used for the general benefit and uplift of the community. At the meeting of 1925 they unanimously voted a sum of Rs. 3,000 for scholarships to poor but talented and deserving students of the community. The report of 1925 showed that during the year 1924 no less than Rs. 14,450, or more than £1,000, had been received in new deposits by the bank. To anyone who knows the poverty and the proverbial improvidence of the aboriginal races, this must appear as extraordinary evidence of the wonderful growth of the spirit of thrift among them.

The Co-operative Stores Society, or *gola*, as it is com-

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monly called, is as old as the bank. Its object is to teach the aboriginals the advantage of trade and to divert some, at least, of these advantages from the monopolistic non-aboriginal foreigners to the aboriginals themselves. The *gola* brings co-operation to bear on buying as well as on selling—*i.e.*, on disposing of the produce of the country as well as on supplying its needs—and all this by and through aboriginal officials only, to the elimination of parasitic, foreign middlemen, who carry away the best percentage of the profits.

The bank and the *gola* have their headquarters at Ranchi, and have branches in each of the twenty odd districts into which the Mission is divided. In addition to these, each district has its own special social works adapted to the needs of that district and confined to its limits.

Practically every district has its rice or produce bank. The object is to keep the cultivators out of the hands of the mahajans and money-lenders, and to teach them thrift and foresight. The working is very much like the working of an ordinary bank, but instead of the capital and shares being money, they are rice, and instead of the loans and interest on them being money, they are also in kind. These rice banks are within reach of everyone and are much appreciated by the people. They have saved many a poor family whose supplies of paddy had run out before the sowing-time came or the new crop had ripened. They could get a loan of paddy from their own banks on easy terms, while the mahajan's terms are seldom less than 100 per cent. So well has this been understood, and so readily taken to, that, in many a village, the local panchayat have established their own paddy and produce bank. I know that in one district this exists in no less than thirty-four villages, with a total stock of 200,000 lbs. of paddy. Every grain of this stock belongs to the villagers, and the whole working and management is in their hands, the missionary not interfering in any way beyond merely controlling their accounts.

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Mutual Help Societies

Mutual help societies have been established in several districts. Their object is to procure help on occasions when it is most urgently needed and cannot be obtained through the bank or other ordinary channels. To be able to help one another in such cases, each family in a district is invited to make a little contribution towards a fund, and the fund so raised is administered in that district and for the people of the district only. It is a kind of insurance against times of special need when, through sickness or misfortune, a family may be faced by impending ruin or exposed to fall into the hands of money-lenders. I know of a district where the fund raised by the people to meet such special cases is in excess of Rs. 4,000.

To indulge in further descriptions would make this paper long beyond measure, and I merely add a few headings without comment. For instance: improved agriculture, implying the bringing of more lands under cultivation; the building of dams and making of tanks; the digging of wells for irrigation and consequent intense cultivation; the raising of new and more productive crops, etc. These to an exclusively agricultural population are, of course, of the highest importance. At the bank meeting of 1925 which I attended, Babu N. Katchchap, Agricultural Inspector, had been sent by Mr. A. P. Cliff, Deputy Director of Agriculture, to give a lecture to the 1,200 assembled delegates. He did more than this: he placed at their disposal, free of cost, 10,000 lbs. of two better kinds of rice-seed for experimental purposes, and added that the Government would follow this up by a free grant of artificial manure.

Much attention is also being paid by the missionaries to interesting the people in fruit and vegetable growing. In one of the mission districts more than 200 wells have been recently dug for this purpose with very satisfactory results. Spinning and weaving and other cottage industries are

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being developed, and the designing by one of the Fathers of a wonderfully cheap and yet very effective handloom has done much to popularize this craft. No less than eighteen industrial or technical schools have been opened, and the lace-making schools of Rengarih, Khunti, Tongo, and Ranchi, the latter with over 200 lace-workers, are sending their produce to all parts of India and beyond its boundaries.

From the earliest days the Mission has concentrated on education, and it is in the field of education that the most telling results have been and are being obtained. The schools number more than 700, and the pupils in them a good 24,000. It is a graded system with primary and upper primary schools, culminating in the very flourishing St. John's High School in Ranchi. There is a Director-General of Education with headquarters at Ranchi, co-ordinating and unifying all the efforts made in the field of education.

Migration

The aboriginal of Chota Nagpur is passionately fond of his country, and clings to it and to his little rice-field as long as he can. But extreme poverty and repeated parcelling out of the land consequent upon the rapid multiplication of these races cause thousands of these people every year to leave the country which they love, but which can no longer support them; hence Chota Nagpur is naturally a favoured labour-recruiting ground. The missionaries by social work, by increasing the wealth and population-capacity of the land, and every other means, try to stem this leakage, and, where they cannot stem it, try to organize it and direct it into suitable channels. This is the chief preoccupation of the Director-General of Social Works, and, thanks to his efforts and energy, nearly all, if not all, of the old-time abuses of coolie-catching have disappeared. He keeps in direct touch with the employers, and gets from them reasonable terms and satisfactory

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arrangements, making sure that the emigrants will meet with protection and that their spiritual as well as their material interests will be looked after.

Having found out that the Government wanted labourers to do forest clearing work in the Andaman Islands, the missionaries explained the nature and conditions of the work and the Government terms, with the result that great numbers volunteered for this service. They all gathered at Ranchi, and from there one of the Fathers accompanied them to Calcutta and saw them safely on their way to the islands. It was by batches of four or five hundred that they came, each batch being under contract to work for eight months. Father Merkx and other Fathers visited them periodically while they were in the Andamans, and when they returned there was always a Father to meet them on the arrival of the steamer at Calcutta and take them back to Chota-Nagpur. Father Merkx himself told me that in two years these people came back with more than two lakhs of rupees. This enabled them to redeem mortgaged fields or buy new fields, and was the saving of hundreds of families.

One of the missionaries, whose district is far away in the Feudatory State of Jashpur, has instituted what he calls a special "Labour Office" for his district with the object of procuring lucrative employment for his people during the slack months when there is little or no work in the fields. The Labour Office—*i.e.*, the Father himself—gets all the required information and settles the conditions with the employers. While the men are at the work the Labour Office keeps in touch with them and receives directly from the employers half the salary earned by the men. This is remitted to them on their return. In one season upwards of 230 men secured work through this little Labour Office which on their return remitted to them the aggregate sum of Rs. 13,809, or more than Rs. 50 per individual workman.

Every mission district has at its headquarters a Dis-

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pensary in the immediate charge of the missionary himself, and generally the Catechists or trained lay auxiliaries in the remote parts of the district have a medicine-chest with just the ordinary and most frequently needed remedies. All medical help is given free of charge to all. I remember one missionary telling me that in his district alone over 5,000 sufferers had received in one year medical help of some nature or other. The outbreak of the influenza epidemic in 1918 saw every missionary and every available brother and lay auxiliary at work carrying help to the poor sufferers in every village, even the most remote. I read in the Diary of one of the missionaries that he was on the move for a fortnight from early morning till late at night. The death-rate was terrible, whole villages being wiped out, but many lives were saved where timely help could be given.

Famine Work

During the year 1896-1897 the Chota Nagpur, in common with many other parts of India, suffered from a terrible famine. Every missionary offered his services to the Government, and Government officials and missionaries worked side by side and in harmony to combat the famine. Every mission bungalow became the relief headquarters of a district, and, while relief works were organized for the able-bodied, the bungalow itself became a public kitchen where the old and weak and the women and children were served with food, sufficient at least to prevent starvation. The Fathers appealed to Belgium for help, and an "Indian Famine Relief Committee" was constituted at Antwerp, and the donations received amounted to about £4,000.

Lord George Hamilton, then Secretary of State for India, wrote on June 4 of that year to Monsieur Louis J. Wegimont, the organizer of the Antwerp Movement, expressing his thanks to the Committee and to the Belgian missionaries in India, and conveying a message of gratitude from Her Majesty, the Queen-Empress, to the Belgian

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people and the missionaries for the timely and generous help given to her famine-stricken subjects in India. The famine was followed by an epidemic of cholera, and the letters of Father Eugene Dasnoy, whose district of Katkahi in the Barway was in the very centre of the affected area, are sad reading indeed. Father Dasnoy aided his stricken people through the worst part of the terrible visitation, but, as the dawn of a brighter day began to appear, fell a victim himself. Of a naturally strong and healthy constitution, but completely exhausted, he died at Katkahi in the midst of his afflicted flock at the age of thirty-eight.

While the World War was raging the Government approached the mission authorities in Ranchi with the object of recruiting men to constitute a Labour Corps for the front in France. The Director-General of Social Works, the late Father Molhant, undertook its organization, and every missionary's bungalow became a recruiting centre. The bank undertook the management of the moneys, making monthly allotments to the families and receiving the rest in deposit. The response was excellent, but all who volunteered put it as a *conditio sine qua non* that Fathers should accompany them, and that they should be at all times in the immediate and complete charge of the Fathers. The Government readily agreed to this, and Fathers Ory and Floor received charge and ministered to the men at the front. About 4,000 men, or, to be exact, 3,953 men were enrolled and gave an excellent account of themselves on the battlefields. Their only regret was that they were not there to follow the victorious allied armies in their reconquest of Belgium, the land of their beloved Fathers, and that they did not have the privilege of kneeling before the great Cardinal Mercier to receive his blessing. On their return in 1918 the whole of Chota Nagpur joined in a wonderful demonstration of welcome. The bank accounts showed that the men had earned ten lakhs of rupees, or, more exactly, 989,215 rupees. About half of this total had been given in monthly remittances to their

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families. The remaining four and a half lakhs stood to their credit and enabled them to redeem or buy lands, purchase cattle, and settle down again in their villages in comfort and with a measure of prosperity.

Scientific Work

Naturally, living and working among different aboriginal tribes, each of which has its own language, the missionaries have made a study of these languages and embodied the results of their studies in publications issued at intervals. As long ago as 1891 Father Lievens had composed a short religious Catechism and published it in four languages —Hindi, Ouraon, Munda, and Kharria. The list of missionary authors is quite a long one, and the grammars and dictionaries and other publications in these four languages form quite a little library. Many of these have attained the position of standard works and constitute most valuable contributions, not only to the languages, but also to the habits and customs of these people and their folklore, and the legends and traditions current among them.

Even in the field of botany the missionary has made his contribution. Working in conjunction with Sir David Prain, Superintendent of the Calcutta Botanical Gardens, Father Louis Cardon made a study of the Chota Nagpur orchids. He discovered the *Dendrobium regium*, which secured a first prize and medal at the London Horticultural Show. He also discovered another orchid new to science, a *microstylis*, which in his honour received the name of *Microstylis cardoni*. It is especially gratifying to me to have the occasion of paying this little tribute to Father Cardon. We went out to India together in 1884. In 1888 he joined Father Lievens as his first and most valuable helper, and today he is still in that field, where he has worked for forty years without break and practically without interruption. He was the first to penetrate into the Biru and the Gangpur, and now, at the age of seventy, he

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has still charge of the three mission districts of the Biru with a compact Catholic community of 45,000 in a total population of 48,000.

Government and the Missionaries

This long enumeration of work done and results achieved may seem encouraging reading, but the march onwards of civilization and uplift among these poor aboriginal tribes is in reality still very slow, and certainly very far from answering the hopes and earnest wishes of the missionaries who devote their lives to the welfare of these races.

I have before me the "Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India." Many of its pages constitute sad reading. It is a very long list of what are called in the report "the disabilities of the cultivator." It raises a long, a very long, series of vitally important problems, the solution of which has barely reached the initial stage. It would be beyond the scope of this paper to attempt to tackle any of these problems. But I may be allowed to put forward a plea of a general nature, and it is for closer co-operation between the Government and the missionaries. I must make myself clear.

There is no question of religion here: that purely and solely concerns the spiritual ministry of the missionary. But this spiritual ministry is far from exhausting the activities of the missionary. He has also at heart the purely material welfare and the happiness and general well-being of the peoples among whom he dwells, and this is not limited to those who receive his spiritual ministry, but extends to all.

At the cost of many precious lives and with the generous help of the Belgian people, the Belgian Jesuits have set up in Chota Nagpur an organization which covers the whole of that province and has reached a high degree of development. At the headquarters in Ranchi there is a Bishop and with him a Director-General of Education and a

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Director-General of Social Works. Scattered in twenty-nine districts are fifty-two Belgian Jesuit priests and seventeen Indian priests and about eighty Belgian and Indian nuns. All these are settled in villages, living among the people and in constant and intimate contact with them. As lay auxiliaries there are more than a thousand instructed and specially trained salaried men called Catechists, while education is dispensed to boys and girls in more than 600 schools of all grades. All this little army is mobilized to work for the civilization and uplift of the poor aboriginals of Chota Nagpur. Side by side with it there is another army, the Government army mobilized for the same purpose, with its headquarters and higher officials, with its various departments each having its complete staff, with its own schools and hospitals and dispensaries and institutions of all kinds.

My plea is for closer co-operation of these two armies mobilized for the same purpose. There is no question of the missionary attempting to usurp Government functions or obtruding himself into administrative circles, nor is there question of the Government official high or low becoming mixed up in what is purely the religious side of the missionary's work and activities. I do not advocate fusion of any kind, but merely closer co-operation where the aims and objects are identical and the means and methods are practically the same.

The Royal Commission on Agriculture sees a possible solution which has attracted it greatly in what is called the "Guide" idea. This is a system of village guides devised by Mr. F. L. Brayne, I.C.S., C.I.E., Deputy Commissioner of Gurgaon. Mr. Brayne is a Government official, but manifestly his devotedness to the people in his care has made him a missionary in reality, although not in name or in calling. I cherish the fancy of Mr. Brayne being a Deputy Commissioner in Chota Nagpur instead of in the Punjab, and finding there in the missionaries and nuns and Catechists and school-teachers a ready-made army of

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village guides satisfying his highest ideals and capable of reaching every village and every family in every village.

My plea deals with the future and implies no reflection on the past. The intercourse between the missionaries and the Government officials high and low has been at all times of the best. Side by side with the name of Mr. Brayne in his own sphere, I might mention the name of Mr. H. C. Streatfield, C.I.E., for many years Deputy Commissioner of Ranchi. His name was, and to some extent is still, a household word in every mission bungalow, and his memory still lives among the poor aboriginal villagers as that of the great and good "Zilla Saheb."

Co-operation there has been, individual co-operation at all times. My plea is that this should become an established system of closer or even the closest co-operation pervading all ranks from the highest to the lowest. "To break up the inhibition on the will to live better," write the Royal Commissioners in their report, "there is required a strong central driving force that will encourage enthusiasm, develop public spirit, and provide suitable material for active workers . . . it depends for its success on the enlistment in the cause of everyone willing and able to assist, official or non-official. . . ." If the plea put forward here finds favour and is translated into practical application, I look forward in buoyant expectation to seeing the present snail-like pace changed into rapid progress on the road to civilization and uplift among the aboriginal races of Chota Nagpur.

I have written about the Belgian Mission only, but manifestly what I have written applies also to the other mission organizations in Chota Nagpur.

I may be allowed to conclude this paper with a remark of a somewhat personal nature. Although a Belgian Jesuit when going out to the missions leaves his country without any idea or hope of ever returning to it—and India, in a sense, becomes his adopted country—the feelings of loyalty which attach him to his country and King not only do not

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die out, but seem to grow all the stronger for his voluntary exile. The knowledge therefore that in his distant home-country not only his fellow-citizens but his King himself are deeply interested in him and his work is a source of great encouragement and a stimulus to further efforts. King Albert is indeed deeply interested in the work of the Belgian missionaries abroad. At the end of a private audience His Majesty granted me in July, 1924, the King stood up, and, in telling and impressive words, asked me to take a message from him to the Belgian Jesuit Fathers on the Mission in India. "Please tell all the Belgian Fathers on your return to India," His Majesty said with marked earnestness, "that I take a very great interest in their work, that I admire their devotedness, that I am proud of the honour with which they surround the name of Belgium among the peoples of India, and that I pray to God for their success in the noble and great work to which they devote their lives." When in 1925 the King and Queen visited India, their Majesties, on their way down from Darjeeling, made a halt at Kurseong to meet about thirty Belgian Fathers assembled there, and did them the signal honour of accepting an invitation to be entertained at breakfast by them. At the end of the meal His Majesty rose and, after having expressed the Queen's and his own pleasure at this intimate Belgian family meeting on the heights of the Himalayas, once more paid an eloquent tribute to the work of the Fathers for the Indian people, and expressed the deep interest both the Queen and he were taking in that work and their gratification at its success.

It is also gratifying to the missionaries to know that their work meets with high appreciation in the land of their adoption. Indian statesmen, Indian political leaders of all parties, Indian men of rank and position in all classes of life readily and willingly bear testimony to the value of the work and their appreciation of it. But more than all else do the Fathers value the plain and simple gratitude and the childlike love and affection of the poor aboriginals themselves.

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DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held on Monday, October 15, 1928, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., when a paper was read by the Rev. Father T. Van der Schueren, S.J., K.-i-H., on "Aboriginal Uplift in Chota Nagpur."

The Right Hon. the Earl of Lytton, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., presided, and the following ladies and gentlemen, among others, were present: The Countess of Lytton, Lord Justice Russell, Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir Michael O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Herbert Holmwood, Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., and Lady Walker, Sir Patrick J. Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir William Ovens and Lady Clark, Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir Edward Gait, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Colonel Sir Arthur Dick, K.B.E., His Eminence Cardinal Bourne, Sir Robert Holland, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.V.O., Sir Campbell W. Rhodes, C.B.E., Sir K. Vencata Reddi, the Baroness Beaumont, Sir Duncan J. Macpherson, C.I.E., Mr. Surendra Nath Mallik, C.I.E., Mr. J. A. Richey, C.I.E., Mr. C. H. Bompas, C.S.I., Mr. Henry Marsh, C.I.E., and Miss Marsh, Mr. N. C. Sen, O.B.E., Mr. Alma Latifi, O.B.E., and Mrs. Latifi, Mr. W. Coldstream, Lady Holberton, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. George Pilcher, M.P., Mr. Edwin Haward, Mr. V. Sutton, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Dr. A. Shah, Mr. L. L. Sundara Ram, Mr. A. D. Bonarji, Miss Margaret Brown, Miss Cathleugh, Miss Corfield, Mrs. Martley, Mr. H. A. Shire, Mr. T. Barry, Lieut.-Colonel Osborne, the Right Rev. Mgr. J. Fernandes, Rev. Henry Browne, S.J., Mr. F. J. Richards, Mr. A. F. Day, Major G. W. Gilbertson, Mr. M. M. Hare, Miss E. L. Curteis, Mrs. Mignon, Mr. T. McSheehy, Mr. E. F. Hayes, Mrs. Leggatt, Mrs. John Reid, Mrs. J. McSwiney, Miss Fell, Mrs. Nichol, Miss Nichol, Colonel A. D. Warliker, Mr. C. C. Cubitt, Mr. C. D. Panioty, Mr. H. Norman, Miss Gravott, Rev. O. Withnell, S.J., Mr. Edward Eyre, Miss Balfe, Mr. J. Goodman, the Right Rev. Canon Ross, Mr. G. O'B. Power, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I feel that I owe to you and to our lecturer an apology for not having been here punctually to fulfil the chief if not the only duty of a Chairman, that of introducing the lecturer. I had intended, if I had arrived in time, to encourage you to listen with attention to the lecture which we were about to hear by telling you that, though you had come here expecting probably to meet a stranger, you would find a friend, and a very old friend, one whom we have all known from childhood since it would have been my pleasure to introduce you to "Father Christmas," for that is the name our lecturer is known by to his friends. I believe in America he is known by the name of Santa Claus, but it is the same man, and, whether as Santa Claus or as Father Christmas, in India, in America, and in England, we all love our friend. (Applause.) Father Christmas, as we know, is never late, and he never waits for anyone. He

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may perhaps have asked our parents when we were children what it was that we should like to see in our stockings, but he did not ask for leave to come and visit our houses, nor did he wait for anybody's permission to present his gifts. Therefore, perhaps it is just as well that I was not here in time and that you have seen Father Christmas true to his character. I have no doubt that you recognized him at once, and that you also recognized in the story he has just told you the characteristics with which we are so familiar. Indeed, I think we should congratulate the Belgian Jesuit Fathers on having chosen Father Christmas to tell the story of their work, for he is the greatest propagandist in the world. (Hear, hear.) Whatever doubts anyone may have of the tact of one who seeks to convert another from his religion, no one, I believe, has ever questioned the tact of Father Christmas's propaganda, and so it is in India, as you have learned from his story. Quite apart from the well-known and well-recognized religious communities, there are, both in the hills and in the plains, a number of tribes who cannot really be said to have any religion at all, and by whom the greatest possible benefit can be derived from the gifts which Father Christmas and his fellow-Fathers have brought to them. The work of which the lecturer spoke today was not in the province with which I was connected, and I am not myself familiar with it beyond what he has told us today, but I was familiar with another side of the work of the Belgian Fathers, for they conduct two magnificent schools, one in Calcutta and the other at Darjeeling, and I feel that I should take this opportunity of expressing to Father Christmas our obligations and our gratitude for the work which he and his fellow-Fathers carry on in those two schools. It is a work from which the children of my own countrymen derive benefit, and on their behalf I thank him for it. I thank him also on behalf of the Government of Bengal. He has spoken at the end of his paper about the necessity for and desirability of greater co-operation between the Government and the missionaries. I can assure him that there has been no lack of co-operation between the Government and the work of his Mission, either in Calcutta or in Darjeeling, and certainly no lack of gratitude; for we realized that these Belgian Fathers were doing our work, were saving our money—money which otherwise we should have had to spend—were educating children that were our responsibility, and we were grateful to them for doing it. With regard to the details of the work about which he has spoken, I only desire in a few words from my own personal experience to emphasize how valuable it is. The establishment, for instance, of co-operative credit banks, as anyone connected with the Government of India knows, is perhaps the most valuable service that anyone can possibly render to the Indian peasant, because from his early manhood to the grave, in the absence of this source of help, he is dependent upon money-lenders, and becomes their slave through life. To be redeemed from that slavery and enabled to provide for his own needs and the needs of his family and industry by co-operative banks of the kind Father Van der Schueren has been telling us about is of the utmost value to him. Again, it seems a simple matter in a room like this to speak about weaving—a useful activity, no doubt—but I was shown

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in one part of my province a village which was noted for its criminality—practically every inhabitant of the village, I was told, was a professional highway robber who lived by the commission of dacoities—and into that village there was introduced the industry of silk-weaving. That was an industry which had previously flourished in the village, but through disease among the silkworms it had died out, and in the absence of any other occupation the inhabitants had taken to burglary; but immediately on the reintroduction of the occupation of silk-weaving the entire population found themselves satisfied, well occupied, and without any temptation or desire to resort to any other livelihood. The village was pointed out to me as a very flourishing one, engaged in this silk-weaving business, and I was assured that there was not a criminal in the whole population. That is an illustration of what real moral and social benefit can be accomplished by means of that sort of thing, but it was rather for their educational work that I knew the Belgian Fathers and especially desire to thank them.

I will now invite discussion from the audience. I have been provided with a list of speakers who have expressed their willingness to take part, and I will commence by calling upon Sir Edward Gait.

Sir Edward Gait said that he had served in Chota Nagpur in various capacities, and could testify from his own personal observation to the great improvement which had taken place among the aborigines in recent years. Less than two generations ago they were sunk in ignorance and superstition. Their tribal dialects were unwritten, and they depended for their subsistence on their scanty rice fields and precarious catch-crops of inferior grains. The improvement which had taken place was due to various causes, partly to the development of the railways and partly to the action of Government in undertaking settlement operations and passing an up-to-date Tenancy Act, but mainly to the splendid work of the missionaries of various denominations—Anglican, Lutheran, and Presbyterian, as well as the Roman Catholic Mission, whose activities had been described by the lecturer. In connection with the educational work of the missions, special mention should be made of the college established at Hazarbagh by the Dublin University Mission. By reason of the educational facilities provided by the missionaries, large numbers of aborigines had obtained positions in the lower ranks of Government service, and one of them had recently been appointed to the Indian Civil Service. The missionaries had greatly assisted the aborigines in their long and uphill struggle with the landlords and the money-lenders. The benefit which the aborigines had derived was most noticeable amongst those who had accepted Christianity. (Applause.)

His Eminence Cardinal Bourne said he was very pleased to be able to be present to listen to the very interesting and important paper which had just been read by his old friend Father Van der Schueren. The work which had been accomplished by the Belgian missionaries in India had been remarkable, though little was known about it in England, and he thought they owed a debt of gratitude to the lecturer for having brought to the knowledge of the people of England what had taken place in connection with the Belgian Missions in India. Fourteen years ago England had contracted a debt of gratitude towards Belgium which could never be

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repaid, but few of those present knew the extent of the debt which they owed to Belgium in respect of the missionary work in India. Belgium was under no obligation towards India. Belgium was a small country with a population about equal to that of Greater London, and that Belgium should give men and money to such an extent for the evangelization of India was another reason why they should be deeply grateful to the Belgian people. Nothing had been said in the paper of what the lecturer had done himself. Personally he could not speak with any knowledge of what the lecturer had accomplished in the mission field, but he had some knowledge of the work done by the lecturer in order to obtain the necessary funds for carrying on the work. With his great stature, venerable appearance, and eloquence he had raised large sums of money, not only in his own country but also in Australia and America, for the work in the mission fields. (Applause.)

Sir K. VENKATA REDDI said all Indians present would wish to express their gratitude for the missionary work which had been accomplished in India. The children were being educated by the missionaries, without whom they would have remained uneducated, and every Indian man and woman felt they were under a debt of gratitude to the missionaries. In India so long as one of the aboriginal or depressed classes adhered to his original faith he was not respected to the extent to which he was if he became a Christian. The missionaries had given the aborigines education and a status which they could not have otherwise acquired. He desired to place on record the sense of gratitude of the Indians to all missions, whether from America, Australia, Belgium, or elsewhere. Among other things the Jesuit missionaries had established a college in Madras, which was doing splendid work. Indians would never forget the great debt of gratitude which they owed to the missionaries.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH MALLIK said Indians owed a great debt of gratitude to the missionaries, particularly for their work with regard to education. It was most gratifying to find that strenuous efforts were being made by them on the lines of social and economic regeneration. The starting of the most difficult work of establishing co-operative banks, to save the agricultural classes from the hands of the money-lender, showed the most unselfish and prolonged devotion with which the missions had been carrying on their labour of love. The lecturer was a man who commanded the universal respect and admiration of all in Bengal. He could bear testimony to the great work which the Belgian and other missionaries had carried out. With regard to the lecturer's plea for more co-operation on the part of the Government, he was doubtful if that would be wise. (Applause.)

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER said he had no first-hand knowledge of Chota Nagpur, but the problem which the Belgian missionaries had by their devoted self-sacrifice helped to solve there was not confined to that province; it was common to all the provinces of India. In every province there were the depressed and outcaste classes. The outcastes in the Punjab, some two millions or more, were at a disadvantage compared with those in Chota Nagpur in that they had no connection with

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the land, and in India the lot of the man who had no land and no caste was hapless indeed. In the Punjab in connection with one of the great irrigation schemes it had been thought desirable to give the various bodies who professed to be working for the improvement of the outcastes a chance of settling some of those people on the Government waste land which was coming under irrigation. When Lieut.-Governor, some twelve or thirteen years ago, he had said to those people: "If you will come forward and settle on this land, so many hundred families, we will give you so much land—12½ acres per family—on the most favourable terms. After you have brought half the area under the plough, we will allow you to purchase all on behalf of your people at about one-third of the market value, spreading the payment over twenty years." Most of the organizations had some hesitation; the first to come forward had been the Belgian Franciscan Mission, and after them the Salvation Army. They settled hundreds of families on the land, built houses, taught their people—most of whom were previously ignorant of agriculture—to plough and sow seeds, to reap and mow, and established schools and churches. Two years afterwards, when he visited those settlements, it was difficult to believe that that trackless land had become a smiling garden. On every side neat homesteads and rich crops met the eye. The moral change in the people had been even greater. These poor outcastes, who a few years before had been despised and treated as "untouchables," now faced the world like men, and looked one in the face. They had learned that they were the equals of their caste neighbours before God and man. All this had been accomplished in two years by the labours of the Belgian missionaries. It was not an easy task; the Belgian Fathers had to play the rôle of Father O'Flynn, who kept his flock in the fullest control by—

"Checking the crazy ones, coaxin' onaisy ones,
Liftin' the lazy ones on with the stick."

The stick, of course, was only metaphorical. (Laughter.)

They knew that Father Van der Schueren had now been transferred to America to raise funds for the extension of the good work. They also knew that his heart was in India, and he hoped that when Father Van der Schueren successfully accomplished his work in America he would return to the people and the land he loved to carry on the great work of social and moral regeneration which had brought such credit to himself and the Belgian Missions.

Sir Louis Dane, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Chairman and the lecturer, said that as Private Secretary to Sir Robert Egerton, Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab in 1879-82, and lately as Secretary in the Foreign Department, he had seen much of the personal work of the late Lord Lytton, and had even, with three others, had the great honour of being his host during the period that elapsed between the arrival of Lord Ripon and the time when the long, hard journey to Bombay from Simla could safely be undertaken by the ex-Viceroy and his family, including the present Chairman. He therefore ventured to say that Lord Lytton's father was one of the ablest, most original and far-sighted Viceroys that India had ever had,

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and if the proposals which had been made by him had been carried out a great deal of trouble that had since arisen in India would never have occurred. (Hear, hear.) They all owed a great debt of gratitude to the lecturer for his interesting account of the magnificent uplift work which the Belgian missionaries had done in Chota Nagpur. (Applause.)

The LECTURER, in reply, said that, with regard to Sir Michael O'Dwyer's hope that he would return to India, he intended to work in America as long as he was able, but when he could no longer do the work, which was arduous, he would immediately return to India, because everywhere else in the world he felt himself to be a stranger. He was grateful for the kind remarks which had been made by the various speakers. Missionary work was hard, and a missionary was gratified to learn that his work had been appreciated. He was sure that when the report of the meeting reached the missionaries in India it would encourage them to go on working for the uplift of the people. The life of a missionary among the poor people in their humble villages was the best life a man could live in this world; it was, in his opinion, the nearest approach to the life of Christ when He was on earth, and it was that which made the missionary's life such a happy one. (Applause.)

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INDIAN EDUCATION UNDER THE REFORMS

By J. A. Richey, c.i.e.

Our system of education in India has been much criticized in recent years. Some of this criticism is ill-informed; some of it, though kindly meant, is unhelpful. Among the critics I have met, the commonest types are: the frankly antagonistic, "Education is at the bottom of all the trouble in India"; the less crude but equally obstructive adherents of of some old formula—for example, the official, "If the parents want it they must pay for it; people don't value what they don't pay for"; the non-official, "Girls' schools should teach nothing but sewing and the care of the home"; the public speaker who makes capital of historical untruths, "The British started schools in India in order to provide themselves with clerks"; "The wrong turn was taken when Macaulay pronounced in favour of English in preference to the vernacular"; till one reaches the vague theorist with such impracticable suggestions as "Hindi (or Urdu, if the critic is a Muhammadan) should be substituted for English as the medium for higher education"; or such meaningless phrases as "The system of education should be based on the national culture of India." I shall, I fear, have no time to reply to these critics today, for I propose to give a very brief account of the most important educational developments during the last ten years—*i.e.*, since the era of reform—and to mention some of the most serious problems.

Official reports on Indian education, after treating of administration, deal in turn with University, secondary, and primary education, with supplementary chapters on education of special kinds and classes, such as Indian

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girls, Europeans, and criminal tribes. I shall start with the base of the pyramid, primary education.

First as to quantity—I shall avoid statistics as far as possible, because Indian educational statistics need careful interpretation. If, for example, I were to say that there are over one and a half million boys in secondary schools in India and less than seven million in primary schools, you might fall into the same error as the Inchcape Committee. Treating of educational expenditure in the North-West Frontier Province, this Committee, while dealing not unkindly with primary education, noted that there had been a marked increase in expenditure on secondary education, and demanded drastic reductions. The apparent increase was due to a reclassification of the schools, effected when I was Director on the Frontier, whereby the larger primary schools were converted into lower secondary schools, though two-thirds of their scholars still remained in the primary stage. I find that the same proportion holds good for the rest of India, so that of the 1,500,000 boys in secondary schools in India about 1,000,000 are reading in primary or preparatory departments.

I will confine myself therefore to a few general statistics. Ten years ago there were about 7,350,000 scholars in 162,000 recognized public institutions in India; there are now over 10,000,000 in 200,000 institutions. From the beginning of the present century till 1918 there was a fairly constant annual increase of 200,000 scholars; during the next five years the rate of progress was halved, so that in 1922 the total attendance was 7,740,000. During the last six years the rate of increase has risen to nearly 500,000 a year. The all-India figures for last year are not yet available, but provincial reports show that this rate has been maintained. The set-back from 1918 to 1922 was due to three causes—the period of economic distress which followed the War, the rise in the cost of living which diverted all surplus funds to a revision of salaries, and the non-co-operation movement. These hindrances to progress no longer exist.

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Defects of Primary Schools

Of the children of school-going age in India only 42 per cent. of the boys and 8 per cent. of the girls are enrolled as scholars. And it must be remembered that of this enrolment only a small proportion reach the stage of literacy. Various attempts have been made in recent years to calculate the wastage in Indian primary schools. This wastage consists partly of little children who are sent to school for two or three years to be out of harm's way at home, partly of the duller children, who are unable to make any headway by themselves or in the brief intervals of instruction the master can spare from the more serious work of the upper classes—volatile and stagnant infants as they have been called. A careful census made in one division of Behar showed that of the boys admitted into the first class 72 per cent. were never promoted at all. I was struck on visiting a school in the Punjab, where compulsion had just been introduced, to find how large a proportion of the boys brought in had actually been in school before for a short time. The wastage is clear evidence that the ordinary village schoolmaster is not competent to run a primary school single-handed, even though it may only contain three or four classes.

The Royal Commission on Agriculture have gone so far as to declare the task impossible. "No primary school," they say, "can be efficient which has less than two teachers"; and again, "A village that has a primary school with only one teacher might almost as well be without a school at all." Now, if these statements are true, we may well despair of the future of rural education in India; for nothing is more certain than that if education is ultimately to reach the more backward and sparsely inhabited tracts it must be by means of the single-teacher school; no other type is economically possible. But, of course, these statements are very exaggerated. We have evidence enough in the thousands of good single-teacher schools in

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the United States, Canada, Australia, and South Africa. I have inspected a number of such schools in South Africa, and more, I have visited many good single-teacher schools in India itself. Still, no one will deny that such teachers are set a hard task.

The Commission have made various suggestions to remedy the present state of affairs. Their first suggestion, that the single-teacher schools should be converted into branch or preparatory schools, has been tried, notably in the United Provinces, but is unpopular with the parents and with the masters, who lose both interest and dignity. It is here that we feel most keenly the want of women teachers. To one who has been accustomed to the cheerful animation of infant classes under bright and sympathetic kindergarten mistresses, the infant class in an Indian village school is a dispiriting spectacle—a huddle of scantily clad urchins seated in a corner of the schoolroom or the verandah, spending hour after hour, day after day, and month after month in conning torn fragments of old-fashioned alphabet readers, or laboriously drawing complicated letters on leaves or wooden boards, lucky if they receive half an hour of the master's attention during the day, and learning to look on school as a place where all activity of mind or body is out of place. One even sees some hygienic arguments for the swaying bodies and confused babel of the Koran school. It is beneath the dignity of the ordinary inspecting officer to pay any attention to the infant class, though it may constitute the bulk of the school.

The Agricultural Commission deplore the absence of women teachers, and urge that an effort be made to recruit them; but with the crying need for teachers in girls' schools, it would hardly be justifiable to withdraw any from the small available supply. The Commission are certainly right in advocating better training and a larger supply of trained teachers. Most provinces are now alive to these needs. Even in Bengal, where the status of the

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primary teacher is probably lowest, a system of large, well-staffed training institutions, started long ago by Sir Henry Sharp, is at last superseding the old guru-training school.

Compulsion

Though better methods of teaching may have some effect on the wastage due to neglect, it will have little effect on the wastage due to irregular attendance and early withdrawal. The only way of coping with this evil, as the Commission recognize, is by the progressive adoption of compulsory attendance.

It is ten years since the first compulsory Education Act was passed in India. To quote from the last quinquennial review:

"The feeling that the chief obstacle to India's progress towards a complete nationhood is to be found in the illiteracy of her masses first found expression in Mr. Gokhale's Primary Education Bill of 1911. It was brought to a head by the declaration of the Secretary of State in August, 1917, that India's future lay in the progressive development by successive stages of complete self-government. Responsible Indian thought realized that the rate of progress from a bureaucratic to a democratic form of government must be largely dependent on the evolution of a popular electorate capable of exercising the franchise, and so, ultimately, on the rate of expansion of literacy among the masses. Expansion under a voluntary system of education was proving a slow and uncertain business. The solution appeared to be the early introduction of compulsory education; and Education Acts with this object in view were introduced in rapid succession in the seven major provinces of India between February, 1918, and October, 1920."

These Acts, some of which were introduced officially, some by private members, are all based on the principle of local option; some of them extend only to municipalities; four of them only apply to boys. To those who hoped much from these Acts, the history of the past ten years has been one of profound disappointment. The last available statistics, those for 1926, show that compulsion had been introduced in 97 municipalities and 477 rural areas: but of the municipalities 20 are situated in Madras, 23 in the United Provinces, and 42 in the Punjab; while of the rural areas, 451 are situated

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in the Punjab, and 21 in the Central Provinces. In the remaining six provinces of India, only 8 municipalities and 3 rural areas have availed themselves of the Acts. The effectiveness of compulsory education varies considerably. Ranchi appears to have one of the best systems: nearly all the boys of school-going age are enrolled, and 78 per cent. in daily attendance. Moreover, the municipality have not hesitated to use their legal powers, and, though it used to take them over a year to secure a conviction from the court, 653 cases of infringement of the Act were disposed of last year.

Compulsory education in rural areas is only a live issue in the Punjab. What is the reason of this? I should be glad to think that it was due to some peculiar merit in the Punjab Primary Education Act which I introduced in the Council in 1919; but, except that it allows for the introduction of compulsion in the smallest possible area, the provisions of this Act do not differ widely from those of other provincial Acts. Nor is it to be explained by the satisfactory state of the Punjab's finances. It is due to a difference in the attitude adopted towards compulsion by the Punjab Government. The traditional attitude of Government is that disclosed in the debate on Mr. Gokhale's Bill—namely, that money should not be spent on the introduction of compulsion while it is still needed for expansion on a voluntary basis.

It was Sir George Anderson, Director in the Punjab, who first pointed out that the application of compulsion was, in fact, a far more economical and effective method of expansion than the multiplication of small schools on a voluntary basis. One school with three teachers and eighty boys, all committed to a five-year attendance at school, is an incalculably greater force in the fight with illiteracy than three single-teacher schools each with a fluctuating attendance of thirty scholars, the majority of whom will leave within two years of admission. It is also much cheaper to maintain one large school in full use than three small schools half-empty.

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An even more valuable contribution by the Punjab to the solution of the problem of compulsion was the adoption of the single-school area as the unit. It had always been assumed that the smallest administrative area for this purpose would be the tahsil or subdivision, though the village has from time immemorial formed the lowest unit of administration. In a village where 50 or 60 per cent. of the boys are already in school it is not hard for the schoolmaster and inspector to organize public opinion in favour of compulsion, which will mean a larger staff, better teaching, and possibly even the raising of the school to a higher status if the numbers warrant it. A petition to this end is drawn up by the schoolmaster, signed or thumbmarked by the parents, and submitted to the District Board. It must not be thought that the type of compulsory education which is thus brought about is comparable with the strict systems of compulsion with which we are familiar. It does not claim as yet to bring in more than 80 per cent. of the boys in the school area; and it is enforced by pressure of public opinion, sometimes embodied in a co-operative society, rather than by law. It is, however, a very valuable step in the direction of full compulsory education, and it is the only possible means of preventing the wastage caused by premature withdrawals.

Responsibility of Government

It is not enough for a local government to recognize the importance of compulsion if it is not prepared to take the initiative in introducing it. It is here that we touch the heart of the whole matter. The claims of primary education in India have suffered by being subordinated to those of local self-government—so much so that the Decentralization Commission could actually suggest the transfer of all responsibility for elementary education, even to the prescription of curricula, to local bodies. Although this recommendation was not, of course, accepted, elementary education has always been treated as a matter of local

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concern. This is due largely to the English precedent, though the Indian system of local finance is more analogous to the French than the English, and other parts of the Empire, notably Australia, have developed State systems of primary education. Actually the power exercised by Indian local boards in respect of education is far wider than those enjoyed by similar bodies in England. I remember an important District Board deciding to close all its girls' schools on the ground that female education was a waste of money, and giving a month's notice to all the school-mistresses.

Except in the case of one or two of the larger municipalities, every successful development of primary education in India has been due to the action of Government, direct or indirect; Government must not only supply the initiative but also meet most of the cost. The resources of local bodies in India are, even with the addition of an education cess, entirely inadequate to meet the growing needs of education, and development is only possible where Government recognizes those limitations and is prepared to supply the necessary funds. For example, the spread of com pulsory education in the rural areas of the Punjab is due to the initiative of Government acting indirectly through its subordinate inspecting agency, and has been rendered possible by a financial agreement whereby Government has undertaken to meet a share of all new approved educational expenditure, varying from 50 per cent. in the case of rich boards to 100 per cent. in the case of the poorest.

I suggest that elementary education may be defined as that minimum amount of education which the State considers necessary for all its citizens and which it is prepared to make compulsory. This definition has at least the merit of being equally applicable to advanced countries with an eight-year compulsory period and to India, which aims at five. The Government of India in its last resolution on educational policy (that of 1913) emphasized the importance of breaking down illiteracy; the Royal Commission on Agriculture has

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again laid stress on it; the Statutory Commission cannot fail to do so. Elementary education is now of such vital importance for the political, social, and economic advancement of India that I believe the time has come when Government, with legal authority if necessary, should assume responsibility for it. So long as municipal and local boards supplied the only sphere in which the people of India could show their capacity for self-government, there was some justification for allowing these bodies a greater freedom in educational affairs than is enjoyed by similar bodies elsewhere, but with the introduction of a measure of self-government in provincial administration this policy is no longer defensible. Freedom in the lower sphere should not be allowed to hinder progress to a wider political freedom.

Secondary Education

When we turn to secondary education we are at once confronted with the difficulty of determining what exactly we mean by the expression: Where does secondary education begin; where does it end; what is its aim; and, consequently, what should be its content? In actual practice secondary education is usually taken to mean that which intervenes between the primary course and the university. But it does not always coincide with the curriculum of a so-called secondary school. In the case of our English public schools the entrance test demands a more than elementary study of language, and the test for admission to a university is passed three years before the school course is completed. The Bombay and Madras Governments insist on including all vernacular education under primary, including that which is elsewhere termed middle vernacular or secondary.

All full secondary schools have one point in common—the preparation of the best of their students for the university. In recent years this has come more and more to mean the preparation of the senior boys for the matriculation examination. One realizes how widespread is this evil on

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reading that "the dominance of the matriculation examination is the curse of secondary education" in a report on Esthonia. In India, as the Calcutta Commission reported, "the high schools think almost exclusively of matriculation."

Apart from its injurious effect on the methods of teaching, this obsession has led in the past to a most unfortunate struggle between Government, as represented by the Education Departments, and the universities for the control of the secondary schools. The Education Department uses its powers of inspection and grant-in-aid to try and raise the standard of the schools, but the power of framing the matriculation course and of raising a school to the status of a high school, by permitting its scholars to appear at matriculation, vests in the university. Sometimes this power has been much abused. This was the case in Bengal, where the Calcutta University, anxious to secure a large revenue from matriculation fees, recognized schools without regard to their fitness. Of some 2,400 high schools in India, nearly half are in Bengal; but of what a kind! I know of one case of a high school with a monthly salary bill of Rs. 100, and another in which recognition was granted to a school which was no longer in existence. Yet the increase in the number of candidates was accompanied by the lowering of the standard of the examination, so that in 1922, of nineteen thousand candidates appearing at the Calcutta matriculation, no less than fifteen thousand, or 80 per cent., were successful. This leniency on the part of the university was contrasted favourably by the public with the efforts of the Education Department to maintain some standard of efficiency.

The Calcutta Commission as a compromise recommended the establishment of boards to control secondary education, composed of representatives of the universities, the departments, and various outside public and professional bodies. Such boards have been created at Dacca, in the United Provinces, in Behar and Orissa, in the Central Provinces,

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and in Delhi. They have yet to establish their reputation, but they are making a promising start, as I found from personal experience as chairman of the new board at Delhi. Now if this change meant nothing more than the transfer of control from one authority to another, it would have little educational significance, but it does in fact imply a recognition of the secondary course as something more than a preparation for the university. The new boards have at once enlarged the high school curriculum by the inclusion of a number of non-university subjects. In so doing the boards are attempting to meet the now popular demand for a more practical education. The demand is, of course, really one for employment, brought about by the pressure of candidates for clerical and professional appointments. But education does not create opportunities for employment; it only fits the scholar to take advantage of the opportunities which offer. It is not, therefore, surprising that the only non-university subjects which are at all popular are those, like book-keeping and shorthand, which lead to clerical and commercial appointments.

The largest field for employment in India is, of course, agriculture. Most attempts at agricultural education in India have failed because they have started with the assumption that the farmer will send his boy to a technical school to study farming. Any farmer's son who continues his schooling beyond the primary stage does so in the hope of leaving the land. It is pleasant to find that the Agricultural Commission have accorded their particular approval to the Punjab system of agricultural teaching, which is being copied in other provinces. This was the product of a committee appointed by Sir Michael O'Dwyer under the chairmanship of Sir Patrick Fagan. It is based on two indisputable facts :—that a boy attending a rural secondary school will not deliberately cut himself off from the hope of higher education; that, on the other hand, a majority of rural schoolboys must through lack of means or brains return to the land. By adding agriculture to the ordinary

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course of the rural secondary school it does not interrupt a boy's progress to the university, but it does keep the farmer's son in touch with the land, in the hope that if circumstances force him to return to it for a living he will be at least no worse a farmer than if he had never been to school. It does complicate the curriculum where English is taught; and to my mind the time is not distant when English will be taught in all secondary schools.

The language question has entered a new phase with the general adoption of the vernacular as the medium of instruction in secondary schools. This is, of course, educationally sound, but it leads to difficulties where, as in Behar and Orissa, there are six recognized vernaculars in the province. How is an examining board to assess the comparative merits of answers written in six languages?

It is unfortunate that in dealing with higher education in India some question of examinations is always arising. Since the majority of students work only to qualify for employment—and success at an examination is a definite qualification—the schools have lost sight of the wider aims of education. In England a young man mentions the name of the school he attended as his first claim to consideration. I have interviewed literally thousands of young Indian candidates for civil employment and cannot recollect one who advanced such a claim. The Indian schoolmaster is apt to confine his efforts at character-training to a repetition or display of moral precepts. In these, especially if they are alliterative, he takes a pleasure which is not always justified by their moral worth. Common mottoes for the classroom are "Might is Right" and "Tit for Tat." Among more original mottoes I have met is one which adorned the Sandeman Girls' School, Quetta (from its peculiar inapplicability to small Muhammadan girls I can only suppose it was put up for my benefit or that of the old mullah who accompanied me): "The bottle kills more than the battle." Another ingenious motto from Abbottabad was: "No sweat, no sweet."

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University Education

The Calcutta University Commission complicated their proposals by pronouncing the two years' work following matriculation to be secondary in character. I have shown the difficulty of drawing any line between secondary and university education, and Indian opinion is generally not in favour of transferring the control of intermediate education from the universities. This step has only been taken in the United Provinces and at Dacca. This proposal has been the chief obstacle to the adoption of *any* of the Commission's proposals in Calcutta itself. Both Government and the university have made much of the cost involved. As I started work in that province, I permit myself the criticism that Bengal has a tendency to frighten itself with large figures, forgetting that these can only be reached by degrees, and that large ends may be won from small beginnings. Outside Calcutta the recommendations of the Commission have had wide influence on university development.

In place of the five affiliating universities of 1914 India has now seventeen, eleven affiliating and six unitary teaching universities. These range in type from Bombay, which is still on the constitutional model of 1904, to Dacca, which is post-intermediate and residential, and even include an affiliating university located at a railway junction possessing neither colleges nor culture. They have been formed partly by the disintegration of the original universities into more manageable units, partly as the result of local or communal patriotism. In place of the old university of Allahabad the United Provinces are now served by five separate universities.

The first attempt to secure co-operation between the universities of India was made by the Government of India in 1924, when they were invited to send delegates to a conference at Simla. As a result of this conference an Inter-University Board was set up, but the various universities are still very jealous of their autonomy, and actua

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co-operation between them is little in evidence. One of the chief problems of the future will be the maintenance of equivalence in the standard of their various degrees.

Female Education

To turn from colleges to girls' schools is to pass from a record of flourishing activity to a tale of struggle against prejudice and apathy. "Female education," an inspector wrote ten years ago, "is carried on in response to a demand which does not exist." It is true that there are over a million pupils in girls' schools today, compared with seven hundred thousand when he wrote, but of these over seven hundred thousand are in the infant classes. In the higher stages the advance has been very slow. It can hardly be otherwise so long as a girl is withdrawn from school as soon as she reaches marriageable age, which the Bombay Municipality report to be nine years old in the opinion of parents in that city. So that we find of a thousand girls reading in colleges in India over 500 are Europeans or Indian Christians, 400 are Hindus, 30 are Muhammadans, and some 25 belong to other communities. The matter is one largely of social usage, over which Government exercises no control. If this makes it difficult for a girl to be educated, it makes it still harder for her to seek employment as a teacher. For appointments in the inspecting service recruitment is confined to Europeans, Anglo-Indians, and Indian Christians. With the disappearance of the European element it will be necessary to rely on the product of the mission school. Indeed it is hardly possible to overestimate the debt which the education of Indian girls owes to the devotion of missionary women.

The types of education of which I have been speaking were all by the Act of 1919 transferred to popular control, represented by Indian ministers responsible to the provincial councils. The outlook of the councils was at first narrow, and the questions were about matters of detail or personnel. They now take a wider view. They have

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never been chary of supplying money for education unless it be for increasing the inspectorate. The first provincial governments after the Reforms produced three outstanding ministers of education. All three have unfortunately been translated to higher spheres of work, a fate liable to overtake any minister for education. The most important legislation was a Primary Education Act in Madras, a revision of the Bombay Act and the Acts incorporating the new universities.

Anglo-Indian Education

The education of the domiciled community in India, European education as it is called, was made a reserved provincial subject under the Reforms. The community itself has been agitating to have the subject brought under the direct control of the Government of India. Their underlying motives have been fear lest the local councils might reduce the grants to European schools and a desire to secure recognition of the special claims of the community on the British Government. They have some strong arguments on their side—for example, the non-provincial character of their schools, which use no local medium, draw their pupils from a wide field, and prepare for a common external examination, the Cambridge School Certificate. The Government of India has been content to impress on the community the desirability of throwing in their lot with their Indian fellow-citizens, more particularly if they wish to validate their claim to share in the Indianization of the services. They have just rejected another appeal from this community.

Even if it were desirable to centralize European education, it is certain that the Government of India would not consider such a step at the present time. Their policy since the Reforms has been to divest themselves so far as they could of even that small amount of educational responsibility with which they were entrusted by the Act of 1919. The Government of India cannot escape the duty of maintaining schools in the areas financed from central revenues, such as

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Delhi, Ajmer, and the Frontier, though it did until last year starve them of money. It has also direct relations with a few all-India institutions, notably the Hindu and Muslim universities of Benares and Aligarh and the Chiefs' Colleges. The powers of control over university legislation which they possessed under the Act of 1919 they have now unfortunately surrendered. They were also responsible for maintaining a Bureau of Education and a Central Advisory Board. The former was an office under the Educational Commissioner, modelled on the much larger Bureau at Washington and the Office of Special Enquiries and Reports in Whitehall.

The Central Advisory Board of Education was a body of educational experts, official and non-official, which met twice a year at different centres for the consideration of problems of common interest to India. I was chairman of this body for the brief two years of its existence, and received ample evidence of its value. Both the Bureau and the Board were abolished by Government on the score of economy. I am glad to say that the Royal Commission on Agriculture have gone out of their way to recommend the revival of the Board. It is to be hoped that the Statutory Commission will do the same.

Education in India will never exercise the vital influence which it should on the economic, social, and political advancement of India until it ceases to be treated as a matter of purely local or provincial concern. Other Federal Governments like the United States have learned this lesson. In spite of the aggressive autonomy of the individual states of that Union, the Federal Government now makes large appropriations for particular types of education which it considers of national importance. Canada is moving in the same direction; South Africa has already moved far. It would be a great pity if India should repeat the mistakes of other lands. We may, however, safely leave it to the expert committee, under that able and experienced educationist Sir Philip Hartog, and to the Statutory Commission to indicate a wise policy for the future.

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DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, November 12, 1928, at which a paper was read by Mr. J. A. Richey, C.I.E., entitled "Indian Education and the Reforms." The Right Hon. the Earl Winterton, M.P., was in the chair; and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggree, K.C.I.E., Sir Herbert Holmwood, Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., and Lady Walker, Lady Chatterjee, Lady Tighe, Sir Clement Hindley and Lady Hindley, Sir Michael F. O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Patrick J. Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Ganen Roy, Sir Henry Sharp, K.C.S.I., Sir Mark Hunter, Sir Walter Willson, Sir Edward Maclagan, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Lady Maynard, Sir Selwyn H. Fremantle, C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Henry Wheeler, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Mr. C. H. Bompas, C.S.I., Mr. Surendra Nath Mallik, C.I.E., Mr. M. Hunter, C.I.E., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, C.B.E., Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Lindsay, Mr. G. F. Boag, C.I.E., Mrs. Richey, Mrs. J. J. Nolan, Mr. C. F. Strickland, Mr. F. J. Richards, Mr. J. K. Metherell, Rev. T. Van der Scheuren, K.-i-H., Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. R. K. Sorabji, Miss L. Sorabji, Mr. A. Latifi, O.B.E., and Mrs. Latifi, Mr. A. P. Das Gupta, Miss E. W. Gray, Mr. E. F. Harris, Mr. H. M. Harris, Mr. W. G. Bason, Mr. Percy M. Wallace, Mr. B. W. Perkins, Mr. M. M. Akram, Mrs. A. Holloway, Mr. B. N. Kaul, Mr. H. G. D. Turnbull, Mr. H. A. P. Genge, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mrs. W. G. Martley, Miss Curteis, Miss Gravett, Dr. A. Shah, Mrs. Herron, Mr. and Mrs. Gray, Dr. Paul Saveriroyan, Mr. K. M. Ashraf, Mr. Joseph Nissim, Mr. Van Wart, O.B.E., Mr. A. Sabonadière, Mr. F. C. Turner, Mr. F. W. Brownrigg, Mr. Maun Kaung, Mr. Kumar P. D. Shah, Mrs. Coatman, Mr. and Mrs. E. Tydeman, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is my pleasure this afternoon to preside at a meeting, which is to be addressed by Mr. Richey, on "Indian Education under the Reforms." To an instructed audience like this it is hardly necessary to refer to Mr. Richey's great public services to the Empire; but I should like to give a short résumé of them for the benefit of those who are not so well acquainted with them.

Mr. Richey is the son of the late Sir James Richey, who was for some time in the Indian Civil Service in Bombay. Mr. Richey has had practical experience of teaching, both in Scotland and in the Transvaal, before he went to India. I think that it is true to say of him that he left a mark on the educational system of each of the provinces to which he was posted. He reorganized the school system both in the North-West Frontier Province and the Punjab. He was one of that band of men who helped to bring about the development in primary and secondary education which

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has had so conspicuous a place in Indian education in the last few years, and which has no doubt contributed to the welfare, progress, and prosperity of the Punjab. Perhaps I do not put the case for Mr. Richey's services sufficiently strongly. He was the man who carried out that organization. When Mr. Richey became Educational Commissioner in India, he did so at a time when a great deal of the work had fallen to the lot of his predecessor, Sir Henry Sharp, who was removed under the rearrangements following upon reforms. But, of course, a new field lay open to the incoming Educational Commissioner in the matter of advice, co-ordination, and research, and of that it may be truly said Mr. Richey made full use. He was instrumental in organizing, by means of the Inter-University Congress of 1924, the formation of a permanent Inter-University Board.

In conclusion, I should like to say that in my judgment Mr. Richey's services in India did not come to an end with the extensive technical knowledge which he possesses. His sympathy, his tact, and his common sense made him a valuable adherent to the movement, unorganized and often unrecognized, but, nevertheless, conscious and definite, which has been going on for years past to produce mutual sympathy and understanding between the men of different races working in the service of the Government of India or Provincial Governments. No one who has studied public affairs in India for the last six or seven years, as I have done, can fail to realize, despite all difficulties, that this movement has had most beneficial results on the public weal of India.

It only remains for me to mention a fact which is known to all of those who have studied Mr. Richey's public career in India, that Mrs. Richey has always been to the fore in charitable and social work throughout her husband's career in India. (Applause.)

Mr. Richey has been good enough, following an admirable custom which has grown up in recent years, to send me a printed proof of his paper, and I have had the pleasure of reading it. But that will not in any way detract from the pleasure of hearing it today, because it is an address which may well be read, marked, learned, and inwardly digested by all who have the interests of Indian education at heart. It is high time that somebody with the knowledge and authority possessed by Mr. Richey did read a paper on this most important subject, and thereby assist to disperse a great deal of the ignorance which exists on the subject in England.

(The paper was then read.)

Sir HENRY SHARP, in opening the discussion, said that he thought that the most impressive part in Mr. Richey's very admirable paper was that contained in a sentence almost at the end, when he told them that education could not safely be treated as a local or a provincial subject.

He heartily agreed with him when he deplored the disappearance of the Central Advisory Committee and of the Bureau of Education—and he would like to add, still more, the Indian Educational Service. (Hear, hear.)

The picture which Mr. Richey had drawn was chequered with light and shade. A good deal of light emanated from the Punjab. (Hear, hear.) There was also a good deal of shade in it, and one heard of those things from other sources. One read of them in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report;

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one read of them in the excellent réports by the Director of the Bureau of Public Education, and in the reports emanating from the educational authorities in India. There could be no doubt as to the paramount importance of education—the corner-stone, so to speak, of the reform scheme, and one which the Simon Commission and Parliament would have very carefully to consider. That applied to all sorts of education, and he would like to speak of primary education, because it was most important, and it was a matter which greatly interested him. He was very glad that Mr. Richey had put in a word for the one-teacher school. It might sound a detail, but it was not. The one-teacher school could be a very admirable school if the one teacher was allowed to have one or two pupil-teachers. It was a pity that the name "pupil-teacher" had become unpopular. Pupil-teachers were abolished simply on account of prejudice. He had seen admirably managed schools with one teacher and a couple of pupil-teachers, who were quite easy to raise in the schools.

With reference to the question of compulsion versus voluntary effort, he was not quite in agreement with Mr. Richey. He knew the dangers as well as the advantages of compulsion in other parts of India than the Punjab.

On one occasion he was touring through a very rich district, when he found the schools most lamentably attended. There would not be five boys out of twenty present. Then he went up to a poor hill district, and found the schools absolutely full. The district was looked after by a deputy inspector who had sprung from a peasant family—a Kurmi; he was a most admirable and public-spirited man, and was very much liked. He asked him what the meaning of it was; they had just left a good part, and the schools were all empty, and now, where they would expect to find the schools empty, they were full. The inspector said: "I have a way; when the children will not come to school, I beat the parents!" There were possibilities in compulsion which had to be avoided.

In conclusion, he desired to say, with regard to the education of women, it was a matter on which they would specially miss the value of the Indian Educational Service, not only as to the women, but also as to the men. They had to keep fresh the impact of Western education in India. It was Western education which India wanted, although some people said it was not.

There was at present a good deal of artificiality about Western education in India, and no doubt the dose had been too undiluted. But a frontal attack on the illiteracy of women in India would never succeed. What was desired was a lateral attack through the education of the men, and that must not be an artificial affair, but a deep-going and very true affair. He felt convinced that even if a Kemal Pasha were to arise in India and supply motor-buses for all the girls to go to school, establish fifty universities, and order all women to bob their hair, nevertheless, he would not succeed. It had to be done by making men desire that their women should be educated. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Yusuf Ali said he would like to bear testimony to the excellence of the paper, and his agreement with most of the points raised by Mr.

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Richey. He had seen some of Mr. Richey's work in the Punjab in the educational sphere. Although he had not found the name "Richey," he had found his work everywhere. When he met Mr. Richey in Simla he was able to say, "Now I have traced the man."

Mr. Richey had given them opinions on various points, with most of which they must agree. He had much too modestly made a few suggestions, but they did not go far enough. Anyone acquainted with Indian education would not doubt that the whole educational field bristled with difficulties and controversies. Beginning with elementary education, they found people who believed in a thoroughgoing compulsory system. There were others who thought they should march gradually. Then there were such questions as organization: single-teacher schools and many-teacher schools; pupil-teachers; aided schools against State schools; control of them by district boards or by smaller areas, or directly by the educational department. The question of curricula was also a thorny question: should those for boys and girls be different, or for towns and rural or agricultural areas; and how were moral or religious instruction to be dealt with? The appointment, grading, pay, and training of teachers, and especially of women teachers, claimed urgent attention. A number of other questions arose in elementary education, which were also common to other grades of education; they could not be solved merely by the opinions of experts. They had to consult the people whom the system touched: those who would take the benefits of education, or suffer from its defects. Then there were special questions connected with secondary education, which perhaps suffered under more controversies even than elementary education. As Mr. Richey had truly said, they did not really know what secondary education meant in India. The matriculation examination was in itself one of the most unsatisfactory examinations that could be imagined. (Hear, hear.) They had neglected the real channels into which the mind of India should be directed. They were not doing anything to supply the growing need which was felt day after day—the need of the student, the middle-class boy, to learn something useful, so that his career in future life could be said to owe its success to secondary education.

In university education they had even more thorny problems. They had new problems raised by the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission, which had not been adopted, except by two universities, although the newer universities were greatly influenced by them.

There were fresh questions and lines of enquiry opening up every day, and he asked Mr. Richey if it was not natural to expect that the whole of the educational field should not now be surveyed by a Royal Commission. He was not in love with Royal Commissions as such. There were many Royal Commissions which had not produced any results; there were others which had groped more or less in the dark; others again which put forward schemes based on foreign ideas and imperfectly adapted to Indian conditions. But the Royal Commission which he contemplated would be one manned mainly by Indians, not only educational experts, because

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they looked at education from only the educational point of view, but also others who looked at education from the point of view of life, of the future, of the past, of their social system, and of all the different needs which arose in modern India—men who would look at university education from a broad, practical, national point of view. They wanted culture; they wanted higher education; but at the same time no country could live on mere ideal culture. They must have that culture throwing its roots deep down into every department of life. He did not like to hear people say, "We are now going to work for self-government; therefore let us have education." That was a false idea. Education should serve a wider need than politics. But, at the same time, it must be recognized that real education as opposed to education in the air must take count of every concrete fact—political, social, economic, religious, and physical—and every living movement. For his part, he would support a movement for the appointment of a Royal Commission consisting mainly of people who were thoroughly acquainted with the educational machinery and needs of India, with its social life, with its past, with its prejudices and predilections, men who would not merely make a report, but would have a hand also in moulding India's future. Of course, he would not exclude Englishmen. He had the greatest admiration for the workers who had come from England. But in the investigation of such a big question as the one before them, it was most important that they should have the decision resting mainly in Indian hands. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

Lady CHATTERJEE said that she had not intended to speak on the paper, but felt that she must say a few words principally on the point of adult education, which she was sorry to find Mr. Richey had not mentioned. Unless there was a great deal done for adult education, primary education would never go forward at all. It was hopeless to think that a mother-in-law would encourage a girl to read and continue her education if the mother-in-law herself was illiterate. It was not human nature. What was needed was that adult education should be brought into the villages, and there lay a very big field for social service in India. If the large numbers of educated men and women were to take up this work in villages and make education popular in the homes, then there would not be such a great need for compulsory education. The parents, instead of having to be whipped, as in the story related by Sir Henry Sharp, if their children did not go to school, would be only too glad to send them. (Laughter and applause.) India was at that stage of political development where it simply could not wait for the time to come when the children in the infants' school would be educated. It had to be remembered that girls left school at a very early age, and they lapsed back into illiteracy. An uneducated womanhood was very dangerous in India, where the women had so great an influence in their homes. (Applause.)

Mr. TURNBULL said he desired to add a few words from the angle of his own experience of college and university life in India. They all knew that the original idea of education in India was that if India was educated at the top, the education would filter through the pores until it reached the lowest level. That theory had proved a fallacy. It had not

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filtered down, and it was no wonder that the Government was frightened by the appalling difficulties of tackling the problem of education direct. After some years' experience in Indian college education, his conviction was that it was hag-ridden by examinations; secondly, there was a constant tendency to lower the standard by a mass-production of graduates; but, thirdly, English education had produced very far-reaching effects. Our education had given Indians very little in the way of a substitute for their *dharma* and religion. The result was a great deal of mental and moral confusion. A great deal of education in every country in the world, considering the time, money, and energy put into it, must be called a comparative failure. He would not say that English education in India had been a failure if one only looked at the number of very distinguished men, intellectually and morally, it had produced in recent years, and forgot the number of unfortunate failed B.A.'s and failed intermediates.

Mr. LATIFI said that at the beginning of his illuminating paper Mr. Richey had enumerated the criticisms which he had heard of our Indian system of education. Mr. Richey might have added to his list a case that had come to the notice of the late Sir James Wilson. An old Punjabi peasant complained that he was alone in the world, and had no one to help him on his land. "But what about your two sons?" asked Sir James. "Oh!" replied the old man, "one of them died last year of the plague, and the other has passed the middle-school examination." That was the attitude of the average Punjabi a generation back. If Sir James could come amongst them now he would be astonished, as those of the present generation were astonished, at the change that had come in the attitude of the Punjab masses towards the education of boys. Many causes had contributed to this result, and perhaps the most important and the most comprehensive was the time-spirit working through the medium of the tens of thousands of Punjabis who during the war came into contact with the greater world beyond the seas. Another important cause was the effort made in the Punjab to enable the various communities, especially of the rural area, to take their share in the administration of the educational department, and thus serve as centres of encouragement and uplift to their clansmen. He desired to express his entire agreement with Mr. Richey with what he said with regard to compulsory education. No system of mass education could succeed unless it was accompanied by the adoption of the principle of progressive compulsion. He also agreed with Mr. Richey that the administrative unit for compulsion should be the village and not any larger area.

Another matter on which he agreed with Mr. Richey was the apathy which was encountered in India generally in the matter of female education. He would like to make a suggestion: one way of popularizing female education among the masses was to encourage religious education. That proposal, no doubt, would be met immediately by an array of difficulties; but he was convinced that these difficulties were not insoluble. The introduction of religious education would do more to reconcile the village mother and, what was more important, the village grandmother to the schooling of the girls.

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In conclusion, he desired to join cordially in what had fallen from the various speakers, including their Chairman, with regard to the work which Mr. Richey and Mrs. Richey had done for the uplift of the people in the Punjab and elsewhere. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

Mr. E. TYDEMAN said he would like to hearten Lady Chatterjee with regard to adult education by a brief reference to what had been achieved in the Punjab. The two pioneers of the Punjab Primary Education Act were with them—Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Mr. Richey. That Act was responsible for a vast movement with regard to rural education. They had in every district what was known as a Rural Community Board, a purely unofficial body of those interested in the education and uplift of the people in the district, and these local Boards were affiliated with a body at headquarters at Lahore, known as the Rural Community Council. This organization arranged to bring light to the people in the villages in many ways, such as lectures, cinema entertainments, magic-lanterns, and discussions on the village green. By these means the people in the province had been largely encouraged to take to take advantage of the Primary Education Act, which had had such striking results. But the activities on behalf of adult education had not ceased at that point. In the year 1922 the Provincial Report on Education stated with some pride that there were over a hundred adult schools in the province. Last year Sir George Anderson informed a conference of Directors in Delhi that there were then in the Punjab 3,208 adult schools, with 85,000 pupils. (Applause.) The effect that those institutions had on the people in supporting and helping officials and non-officials in making a success of the Primary Education Act was incalculable. (Applause.)

Mr. J. H. LINDSAY said he was afraid he came from a distressful province with regard to education, where there were over a thousand secondary schools, and where much more was spent on university than on primary education. He wished to emphasize the importance of facing the question of taxation with regard to education. Although everybody was frightened at the idea of putting on taxation, there was no need for fear so long as the money was earmarked for primary education. When he was going amongst the Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal they said to him again and again, "Put on a cess, but give us real primary education among the villages." That being so, there was every hope of success in going forward on a recognized system of taxation, earmarking the money for primary education. In Bengal they had put this idea into a Bill, and proposed to raise a crore a year by taxation, mainly on cultivators. That Bill was now before the Bengal Legislative Council.

The importance of primary education could not be over-emphasized, especially in the present political condition of the country. In Bengal today it was indeed in a parlous state. Out of about two million in primary classes only about 5 per cent. got to class four, which was the first stage at which literacy could be reached. That was a terrible figure. It meant that almost all the money spent was thrown away.

In this connection the speaker referred to the necessity of re-organizaing the inspectorate. Education officials above the rank of a sub-inspector

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thought it beneath their dignity to enter a primary school. The inspectorate should be split from the bottom to the top, so that some of the better brains would be available for primary schools.

With regard to girls' education he mentioned one hopeful sign, that educated young men now wanted educated brides.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—We have had some very valuable points put by those who have spoken, and I propose to make only one observation, in making which I shall confine myself to the limit of time I have laid down for those who have taken part in the discussion. I would introduce the subject by an apparently irrelevant reference to something of which it really forms a part. There has been going on in the world for many years past, and especially since the War, in all countries where agriculture forms an important part of that country's work, a great struggle between the country and the town. We have here today a number of educational experts and others like myself who sit at the feet of those education Gamaliels, but if this was a gathering of economists I should, I think, get everyone of them to agree with me that it is one of the most interesting struggles of the present time. The complaint of the agriculturalist is that he is not getting a fair deal from the towns; that he is being paid for his produce an amount very little larger than he received before the War, and the manufacturer in the towns is demanding a much larger price for his goods. The struggle on the part of the educationalist is part of that bigger struggle. In all agricultural countries there is a certain amount of suspicion still existing—though I am happy to hear that in the Punjab, at any rate, it is less extensive than it was—on the part of the cultivator towards the educator. That attitude is largely based in all countries on this point of view. The agriculturalist says: "It is very hard to keep the younger man upon the land. In every country there is a pull from the country to the towns. You people who wish to educate our sons make it harder, and you deprive us of their services at home when they are exceedingly valuable to us." In Europe, where this struggle is going on, the education departments suffer quite as much as they do in India. That should be encouragement to India. There are countries where compulsory education is honoured much more in the breach than in the observance. It is exceedingly hard to explain to people in this country, where the vast majority of the population have for more than three generations lived in the towns, and know of nothing except the town, and only look upon the country as a place in which to play football or tennis or to shoot, how acute this struggle is in predominantly agricultural lands. One of the problems in India is to persuade the cultivator of the value of education. (Applause.)

Sir M. M. BHOWNAGGREE, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Lecturer and to the Chairman, spoke of his friendship with the Lecturer's father, the late Sir James Richey, of the Indian Civil Service, Bombay, and sometime member of the Bombay Government. He said that he had followed with great interest not only the Lecturer's address, but what had been of equal value—namely, the discussion from so many experts. It was a very large

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subject, which he knew could not be dealt with fully in the limited time at the Lecturer's disposal. The Lecturer had dealt with primary education, secondary education, and university education; but where was the question of industrial education? Education in itself was not sufficient; it was the use and applicability of the education of a nation which really mattered. He therefore would have liked to hear some indication of the stage at which industrial education could find its place in the system of public instruction in India; because the development of industries was the crying need of the country, and had been too long neglected. (Hear, hear.)

Lord Winterton had not only by his presence but by the instructive comments he had made on many of the topics dealt with in the paper proved to them the deep interest he took in this all-important subject, while others of seemingly greater consequence must be engaging his attention. He had much pleasure in asking the Meeting to tender to the noble Chairman and Lecturer a hearty vote of thanks. (Cheers.)

Mr. RICHEY: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I thank those who have made some very kind references to myself this afternoon, and more particularly for the extremely generous way you have spoken of my work. May I thank you for mentioning my wife's name as well. I will not detain you any longer at this late hour.

Mr. R. K. SORABJI writes:

I would like to reverse the plan of those who spoke in the discussion—I shall first criticize, and then praise the very able paper. I feel that Mr. Richey did not deal with three important M's—money, morals, muscle. The chief difficulty with regard to education in India is money. Where is it to come from? Increased taxation would be vigorously opposed, and parents will not pay for education on anything like a reasonable scale. The spirit of educational benefactors which has so blessed the schools and universities in the West is greatly lacking. I wish the paper had indicated means.

And next, and no less important, morals. The paper told us of school mottoes delightful in unmeant humour, but of no use in character-building. It is the school chapels and the tone and the principles of Western institutions which make character—which teach boys and girls, young men and women, how to play the game *straight*, to say nothing if they lose, and less if they win. The paper was silent as to how we can introduce a system of character-building into the education of India. Without that, education is vain.

And lastly, muscle. The sound body is needed to hold the sound mind. The paper hardly touched on this.

But now for the praise. I would give my greatest praise to the suggestion that education should be a reserved subject. If law and order be reserved, that a man or woman should keep himself or herself by law in order, is part of the subject. Unless the individual can control himself, the control of the community is hopeless. Education is at the base of

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the whole question of dominion status and eventual home rule. I would go even further than Mr. Richey, and demand that the educational service should be put on the same level as the Civil Service. Education should not be liable to rise and fall according to the political barometer. A high-brow is a man educated beyond his intelligence. Heaven send India the best men to find the intelligence of our youth and to proportion education to it.

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VILLAGE UPLIFT IN THE PUNJAB

By Mr. F. L. Brayne, m.c., i.c.s.

The Gurgaon district, which was the scene of the work I wish to describe, adjoins the Delhi Province on the south and south-west, but belongs to the Punjab. It has a population of nearly 700,000 people living in 1,400 villages, which vary in size from half a dozen huts to a thousand houses or more, and are composed of all the usual Hindustan tribes of Meos, Ahirs, Jats, Gujars, Rajputs, Brahmans, etc.

Mrs. Brayne and I went to Gurgaon at the end of 1920. She was new to India and I had been away for six years. We arrived, after a failed monsoon, in a district labelled, ever since the British first took it over, as "very insecure." Influenza had recently got a record bag in the district; the Indian Army was being demobilized as fast as the soldiers' papers could be signed, and the winter rains then failed altogether. Every village we visited presented a more gloomy picture than the last. There were thousands of ex-soldiers with nothing to do and not a great deal to eat. Many people were undoubtedly on short commons. The canal only gave about 40,000 acres of crops, and the only other green fields in sight were on the wells. There was a little political non-co-operation in the towns, but it soon yielded to treatment, and we were able to devote the rest of our spare time to the study of the problems of village life.

The people were poor, desperately poor, desperately dirty and unhealthy, with no conscious desire for anything better because they had no idea that anything better was possible. The problem was not only to find remedies for the evils we saw around us, put them into practice, test them and prove their value, but to win the confidence of the villagers convince them that we were both out to help,

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and could really help them, and finally make them want to help themselves.

Study and Experiment

The whole problem did not present itself to us in a day, and the cure did not come to us in a year or in several years. It took seven years of study and experiment on the part of ourselves and all our fellow-workers, official and non-official, to work out what is called "the Gurgaon Scheme." It is briefly sketched in the report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, and is fully described in my book, "Village Uplift in India," particularly the second edition just published by the Oxford University Press. Our method of dealing with the villager is dealt with in a book called "Socrates in an Indian Village," also just published by the Oxford University Press. Early in October last the Punjab Government published a pamphlet called "Rural Uplift in Gurgaon," press reviews of which I have seen. The Gurgaon Scheme claims to deal with the whole life and activity of the peasant and his family and to present a complete remedy for the present terrible condition in which he lives. At the same time, the remedy is simple and cheap and can be easily applied by the peasant himself if he can be persuaded to do so, and the methods of persuasion have been worked out in the fullest detail.

That we have "delivered the goods" in Gurgaon district has been admitted by the many hundreds of visitors from all parts of India—officials, missionaries and non-officials, ladies as well as gentlemen, Indians and Europeans—who came to see the work. Perusal of the newspaper notices of the first edition of "Village Uplift" and of the work itself will show that the Press is enthusiastically unanimous in acclaiming that the foundations of a new India have been laid in Gurgaon.

Briefly stated, our object in Gurgaon has been to jerk the villager out of his old groove, convince him that

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improvement is possible, and kill his fatalism by demonstrating that both climate, disease and pests can be successfully fought. He must be laughed out of his uneconomic and unhealthy customs, and taught better ways of living and of farming.

Propaganda

Our method is intensive propaganda, aided by laughter and often by song. Once you have gained the confidence of the villager, you can poke fun at him; and once you can use the great weapon of ridicule, the battle is won. If you will take a glance at "Socrates," you will see that the most successful form of lecture is a stream of good-humoured chaff and banter. As a friend among friends, once you are admitted to friendship, you can go anywhere and say anything, no offence is meant or looked for, and you can achieve your great object of making the villager think and argue. Once he does that, he is lost—rather saved, as very few of the old customs that impede his progress will stand the light of reason.

The secrets of our success were to deal with the whole of village life, to take the whole district as the field of operations, and to deluge the area with every form of propaganda and publicity that we could devise or adopt or afford. Uplift is a mass movement, a combined assault, and no area, no part of life, and no method of attack can be neglected.

There are several essentials in the campaign. No custom must be attacked until we have found a satisfactory substitute, or we shall merely replace one devil with seven. Every position must be assaulted from as many directions as possible—for instance, the filth of the village can be dealt with both from an agricultural and a health point of view—but religion must be left severely alone. Barring religion, however, everything in village life is fair game.

As everyone knows, propaganda will move mountains; there is no habit or custom that cannot be undermined with

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propaganda, and no new method that cannot be popularized with propaganda, as long as the campaign is sufficiently intensive and continuous and sufficiently lively.

Wireless broadcasting we never had, and loud-speakers only once, but once we can have this last discovery of science, it will be worth all the rest put together. In fact, village uplift in India will only really begin when village broadcasting starts. Once or twice we had the cinema, but that was too expensive for us. In any case, our great ally, the magic lantern, is really a far better weapon for village-to-village lecturing, and infinitely cheaper and easier to work; and the cinema might easily kill it if it became too common.

"A Live Issue"

Next to the lantern come the strolling minstrels and glee singers, an indigenous institution roped in and bribed to sing our "dope." They cost very little, and hundreds of villagers will sit enthralled for hours while they tell them in song how to wash the baby, or what sort of wheat to sow! We plaster the walls with cartoons and posters, distribute leaflets, handbills and poems, organize shows and demonstrations and competitions—the Palwal ploughing championships are the best thing of their kind in India —and prizes are even given for poems and essays.

Uplift is a live issue and no one is allowed to forget it. We preach in season and out of season. Not a village or villager but knows all about our campaign and is compelled to have an opinion about it, to take sides and argue one way or the other. We got the district talking and thinking, and that was all we wanted, as the evils we fought were so obvious and the remedies so simple that they were bound to be accepted on their merits before long, if only we could get the people to discuss them. No detail of village life was omitted, no form of publicity neglected, and no village spared.

We make a great bid for the help of Youth, and the

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Boy Scout, when well trained and well led, is our greatest ally. He delights to shock his parents by driving a coach and four through their pet prejudices, and his elders can do nothing but look on and smile with approval.

Official and Non-Official Agency

To avoid misunderstanding I must here make a confession. I was the head of the district. I always worked hand in glove with the rural leaders, but once I had them with me in any new departure, I did not hesitate to use the whole of my official influence to obtain acceptance for it and to get it carried out in the villages. I expected my subordinates to help me loyally and they did so. No one knew better than they did that our only object was to uplift rural India, and no one knew better than the Indian officials and the rural leaders that we were on the right path. Had they not threshed out with me every detail of the programme and discussed a thousand times every possible objection and every possible alternative? It was their hearty approval and their close co-operation and staunch loyalty that enabled us to put our programme into such complete operation all over the district. Without the help of my official position, what we did in seven years might well have taken twenty-seven.

The advantages of being able to work out and put into practice and test, and finally confirm a complete regeneration of Indian village life in the period of one official headship of the district, are so obvious that I need hardly defend myself here. We forced the pace deliberately. We were told inside and outside the district that the squalor of the village was incurable, and, even if there were a remedy, its application was impossible. In the short time at our disposal—and we never knew how short or how long it would be—we had to disprove both statements and establish a *fait accompli* to the satisfaction both of the district and of the world at large.

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Simple Remedies

The programme itself is simple. The village must be cleaned by the villagers, not by the menial castes, and the pit is the solution of the problem. Pits six foot deep are dug by every cultivator, and there is collected—for future use in the fields—everything that now poisons the village, and one end is fitted up as a rustic latrine. The dung-cakes, so commonly used for fuel, must be abolished. Substitutes can be and are being found, and all cow-dung must go back to the fields. The houses must have windows, and so on; simple remedies for simple ailments.

The centre of the problem, however, is the uplift of the women. Without properly trained and properly respected mothers, you cannot have properly brought-up children. The women must be taught to make their homes comfortable and bring up their children properly. They must be made worthy of respect, and the people must be taught to give them the honour they are due. Unnecessary drudgery, such as the flour-mill and the dung-cake, must be eliminated to give them time to look after the children, to make and mend their clothes, and to tidy and brighten the home. Thus and thus only shall we have the children brought up as good citizens and worthy of the future we hope to give to India. Train the woman, and the village will uplift itself. Neglect her, and we are ploughing the sands. The best teacher of the child is its mother. Let it learn uplift at its mother's knee.

The Domestic School

The training of the girls presented difficulties, until the villagers recognized that the village school was just as much open to the girls as to the boys. With the well-known high standards of the Indian village, the girls could safely be sent with their brothers; and the next problem speedily arose, how to teach them the domestic sciences. For that we had to found a special School of Domestic Economy, where village women, teachers' wives and other relations

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were taught the rudiments of hygiene and sanitation as well as sewing, knitting, cooking, and bringing up of children, and then sent back to teach in their village schools. At present they teach the little girls only, but it will not be long before they are in charge of the infants class as well.

The Domestic School aims at teaching all that a village mother should know, and so popular has it become that the wives of the rural gentry now insist on being admitted for a short course, not to enable them to earn a living as teachers, but to enable them to run their homes better and help a bit in the village. Could we have a more promising sign of the times?

The other special school, known as the School of Rural Economy, trains the male teachers and also the Village Guides, an institution of which you have read in the report of the Royal Commission. Our hope is that every official who comes in contact with village life will, before long, be compelled to go through a course at this school, and for future recruitment of rural officials none will be taken who have not graduated in this most necessary training. When everyone who visits the village is inspired with the same ideals and preaches the same gospel, our attack on the villager will be irresistible.

The Lady Superintendent

So important is the uplift of the women, and such progress was made in Gurgaon, that it became necessary to employ a special Lady Superintendent to co-ordinate. organize, and develop this side of the movement. Miss E. M. Wilson, an English lady of high courage and ample qualifications, was engaged, and she is in sole charge of everything connected with women and infants' welfare work, including the health visitors and health centres, the training of midwives, the Domestic School, and the co-educational work going on in the village schools.

This appointment has been a rare success; it has caught the imagination both of the women and of the men. The

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women have complete confidence in Miss Wilson, and are as keen as she and all of us are on their own betterment. The lady superintendent, however, is not a cheap institution. There are five essential qualifications: maternity, midwifery, nursing, education, and physical training, and the incumbent must be qualified in as many as possible. Miss Wilson holds diplomas in four of them. The women's work, generally regarded as so difficult, has been perhaps our greatest success, possibly because the women are so keenly alive to the interests of their children that, once they trust us, they are ready to grasp at anything which may relieve their present condition of suffering and ignorance. The foundations were laid by the devoted work of Mrs. Brayne, and the way in which she stood for hours in village after village inspecting the babies and advising their mothers soon won the confidence of the village women.

An Intensive Campaign Needed

People say the East is changeless. It may look so from the outside and *plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*, but since the war opened up the world to the peasant soldier and modern science annihilated time and space, the Indian villager is changing very rapidly indeed. India—at any rate, Northern India—is ready for a general assault upon all its bad old ways. A five years' intensive campaign would see the beginning of the end of child marriage, the open well, the filthy village, the dung-cake, the wearing of jewellery by children and men, the excessive use of it by women, of wasteful agricultural finance, and of all the uneconomic and unhealthy customs we were brought up to speak of with bated breath. I say this deliberately and after years of discussion and experience. I have raised just as hearty a laugh against all these customs from crowded audiences in colleges and large cities of the Punjab and United Provinces as I have in half the villages of my own district.

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The slogan has hitherto been "hands off Oriental customs," but when our whole system of education and of administration, and our whole life in India is one big attack on Oriental habits of thought and action, surely it is better for us to form definite objectives and try and mould the changes into profitable directions, instead of trying to ignore the fact that the whole fabric of Eastern life has been undermined and is crumbling before our eyes. Much of the change is for the better, but some is for the worse. Dare we shut our eyes to it, instead of trying to use our influence to assist in directing it?

Such are the very briefest outlines of the objects and methods of the Gurgaon Scheme. It is a mass movement, and loses much of its force if applied on a small experimental scale or to only a part of village life. It is a general attack, a large-scale offensive, and not a series of trench raids, that is going to roll back the forces of dirt, squalor, and ignorance in village India. The details will vary from district to district, but the main lines are, I think, what have been laid down at Gurgaon during the last seven years.

An All-India Task

Should this work be extended over the whole of India? I am certain of it. We are pledged to democratic institutions. India is a land of villages, and our voters must always be predominantly peasants. At present the peasant's horizon is bounded by the next meal or the next harvest. He is sunken in debt and the slave of dirt and disease. He is obsessed with the struggle for existence, while that existence is made infinitely difficult and complicated by a mass of unhealthy and uneconomic customs in which he can conceive no possibility of change or improvement. How can he exercise his vote with intelligence and discrimination, until he has been lifted out of the slough in which he is at present sunken? Village uplift will not only teach the peasant to understand his own interests, but

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will also make him ready to vote for, work for, and pay for his own betterment.

Answer to Criticisms

There are three main lines of criticism of the Gurgaon Scheme. First the personal equation, and the difficulty of securing continuity, secondly finance, and thirdly the population problem.

The third is easily settled. The main end of the Gurgaon Scheme is not to increase produce—that is only an incident of the campaign in a poor district—but to raise the standard of living, and no rise in the standard of living has ever yet been accompanied by an abnormal rise in the birth-rate. The "uplifted" villager will never be submerged by an increase of population. We do increase produce and we stop waste, but we teach how to spend as well. We do not replace silver ornaments with gold, but with mosquito-nets and warm clothes. The mere increase of wealth is no goal of village uplift; the villager's whole outlook and manner of living is changed. We relieve the mother of the drudgery of grinding the corn, not that she may loaf about the village in idleness, but because we have already taught her to devote more time to looking after her children.

The other two problems go together, and depend upon the agency to which we entrust this vast work. Are we going to regard uplift as a hobby for enthusiastic officials and their wives to dabble with in their spare time, or do we conceive it as the most important duty—after the maintenance of law and order—of the Government of a village-dwelling country? Do we regard village uplift as a stunt, or do we recognize it as the essential forerunner and accompaniment of a Government based on peasant suffrage?

Departmentalism Inappropriate

For myself I have worked long enough at this vast business to be quite convinced that it cannot just be tacked

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on to the duties of the district officer. He already has more work than he can do, and is already slipping out of touch with the villager owing to the multitudinous calls upon his time at headquarters. Moreover, the work, besides being of unlimited extent, requires special qualifications and special training.

Nor do I think that it is possible so perfectly to co-ordinate all the present departments of Government that this work can be left to them alone. Had this been possible it would have already been done, as there is nothing new in the details of the Gurgaon programme. The only new thing is the co-ordination of effort, or rather the popularization and application, by a specially trained staff of propagandists, of the many benefits which the various departments of Government have in store for the villager. The uplift worker is, in fact, the village publicity agent of all the departments of Government. He tells the villager in his own language of the good things Government has discovered for his benefit, and shows him how to avail himself of them. He finds out what the villager's trouble is, and suggests a remedy. He is not a specialist, but has a general working knowledge of the results of the work of all the specialist departments, and this he passes on to the villager as required by the particular problem he is trying to solve for him. The uplift worker is the interpreter of the good intentions of Government for the betterment of the villager.

The villager has little use for specialists. Just as all the threads of Government activity emanate from one source at the fountain head, so when they reach the village must they be all collected together again and presented to the villager as a connected whole. The villager will never appreciate the details and ramifications of departmentalism; the only way of helping him is to send him people like himself, who look at village life as one big whole and can advise him generally about the many problems of his life.

Besides, the work is too vast to be anything but a "whole-time" job. There is an immense amount to be done besides

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preaching and demonstrating from village to village. Work has to be inspired and co-ordinated from district to district; district workers must be trained, and there must be training establishments within the district for the village workers and the schoolmasters and the schoolmistresses. There is research to be done, cinema films have to be made, and village newspapers organized not only for men, but for women and even for children. Every fair must be flooded with every kind of propaganda. Districts will require help in designing and printing cartoons and posters and in making lantern-slides. Above all, village broadcasting must be organized.

Proposed Special Agency

There is no doubt whatever in my own mind that if village uplift is going to be carried out on the universal scale that is necessary to prepare India for self-government, it will have to be entrusted to a special agency, with its own staff, its own training institutions, and its own money. It is a special kind of work demanding special training and special qualifications, and it dovetails into the work of every department of Government, just as the existing departments already dovetail into each other.

In the Punjab the nucleus of this new agency already exists in the provincial Rural Community Board and the district Rural Community Councils. The various officials of Government already have their hands full. The district boards have their statutory duties and their statutory limitations. These new rural councils have filled a gap and are making good, and, inspired and directed by the special uplift staff, will easily and naturally develop into the village uplift agency.

Not that the establishment of such an agency will absolve the district officer or any other official from his primary duty of doing all in his power to uplift his fellow-men. Just as the Royal Commission on Agriculture laid it on every official to help the co-operative movement, so it is

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and ever will be the bounden duty of everyone, official or non-official, to help forward the great movement of village uplift.

Finance

The financial problem will solve itself, if we create a special uplift agency. The villager is an excellent tax-payer, but nowadays he is getting critical, and when he sees his village as dirty, his crops as poor, and his family as unhealthy as ever they were, he is beginning to wonder where his taxes go, and so far from suggesting that he should pay more, he and his elected representatives are sometimes inclined to suggest that he should pay less. Give the villager his own special helper, living and working in the closest touch with him, tackling his everyday difficulties and problems, and not only tackling but succeeding in solving them—and Gurgaon has proved that success is certain—and he will gladly pay whatever is needed to finance the uplift campaign. Gurgaon is poor enough, but it demonstrated the truth of this again and again. The villager does not lack intelligence; convince him that you are out for his betterment, and that you can deliver the goods, and you will never lack for funds.

Organized Support

The question next arises whether, if Government has established a special agency to co-ordinate, organize, and inspire this great work of rural uplift, our duty has been done. I think not. There is room for private effort and very ample room. There is much interest being displayed both in India and in England at the moment, in the welfare of rural India, and there is a very widespread desire to help, but no one knows quite how to set about it. If we could organize some sort of association that could head up all this philanthropic enthusiasm and turn it to proper account, invaluable assistance could be rendered to India.

Apart from arousing interest and disseminating informa-

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tion, the collection of money is extremely important. Pioneer work is always difficult to finance. Governments and local bodies work by budgets carefully calculated long in advance, and new and experimental work can rarely claim a place in the estimates of future expenditure. There is a very real need for an organization which could help experimental work till it has sufficiently justified itself to be included in official budgets. The Carnegie Trust in England has recognized this need, and makes special provision for the assisting of pioneer work. Two of the principles governing its policy are: (1) "The Trustees' purpose rather is to provide the initial expenditure for the efficient inauguration of projects which are likely to have a permanent material value"; and (2) "new projects of a pioneer order take precedence of old-established schemes, the value of which is generally recognized, and which, therefore, can legitimately look for support from the general public or are the objects of statutory provision."

This is my idea of the function of an Indian Village Welfare Association. It would not relieve Government or any local body of a penny of their proper expenditure. It would finance promising experiments and give a start to work which otherwise might never have a chance. As soon as the work had made good and proved its value, the Association would drop out and leave Government or local bodies to finance it. A typical instance of the manner in which the Association would work can be seen in the way the Carnegie Trust has helped rural community councils in England with initial grants for a term of years.

The encouragement that such an Association would give to the workers in India would be beyond all calculation, and out of all proportion to any financial assistance it could render to the actual work. To realize that they had at their back an organized body of friends and supporters both in India and England would be an immense stimulus both to officials and non-officials working in this great field.

There is already work of the kind I have described waiting

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to be helped. There is Gurgaon with its many institutions and its many experiments, and there are the rural community councils in the Punjab, which, as I have said, might easily be expanded into a great rural uplift agency. In fact, there is ample ground for the Association to start on in the Punjab, and it would probably be advisable for it to confine its labours at the outset to establishing the work in Gurgaon and the Punjab and Delhi Province. One well-cultivated crop is worth many scatterings of seed, and before spreading to other parts of India it would be well to make a success of one place first, and that a place that we know is thirsting for our help. Once "uplift" has taken firm root in the North it will soon spread over the rest of the country.

There are branches of the work where the Association can provide immediate help. Village broadcasting must be established, and there is a big field for travelling cinema shows. If they make good as means of uplift—as undoubtedly they will—the Association will soon be relieved of them, and its funds released for further pioneering. An even greater opening for the immediate attention of our Indian Village Welfare Association is the women's welfare work. This sort of work is and always will be hard to officialize, and offers a perfect field for unofficial enterprise. The Lady Superintendent at Gurgaon is even now being financed from public subscriptions raised spontaneously by the people of Gurgaon on the eve of my departure from the district as a proof that they were determined to carry on the uplift work. But this fund will not last for ever, and it would be a great thing if the women's welfare work could be made the special object of such an Association as I have outlined. I am far from suggesting the pauperization of the Indian villager, and those who know him will agree with me that he does not want it either. The villager will pay all right, but he must first be convinced that he is being asked to pay for something worth having, and he must be given a lead and he must be organized.

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I have pointed out the immediate need for such an Association and suggested some of the splendid opportunities for service that await it. There is no doubt that we could do an immense amount of good by organizing ourselves to give a lead in this vast work of rural uplift, and to demonstrate in a practical shape our goodwill towards India. There is a very general desire for rural uplift work in Northern India, and the presence of an Association strongly supported in India and England would put heart into all those who wanted to get on with the work, while the fact that money was available, in however small quantities, for approved enterprises, would often bring about the starting of these very enterprises.

I do not wish to claim that Gurgaon uplift is the only possible scheme for the regeneration of rural India. I do claim—and in this I am supported by the many visitors to Gurgaon, the Press, and the very considerable correspondence which the writing of a book about it has produced—that the Gurgaon Scheme is a complete and logical whole, and does provide a satisfactory and practical remedy for the existing state of affairs. In this paper I have endeavoured to explain its principles and practice, and to point out how I believe it can be extended to a far larger area than the Gurgaon district, and how the difficulties which have been suggested from time to time can be overcome.

Gurgaon is only a demonstration. If the work has any value at all, it is as an indication of what it is our duty to do for the whole of India. One thing is certain. We hold India in sacred trust, and whether as officials or as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, it is our solemn duty to leave no stone unturned to secure the uplift and betterment of her village population. If, as I have dared to hint, and as has been directly suggested in the Government pamphlet on the subject, the new India has begun in Gurgaon, the task now before us is how best and quickest to establish it firmly there, and then to extend it throughout the length and breadth of that great country.

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DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING was held on Monday, December 10, 1928, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., when a paper was read by Mr. F. L. Brayne, M.C., I.C.S., on "Village Uplift in India." The Most Honourable the Marquis of Linlithgow, K.T., presided.

The following ladies and gentlemen, among others, were present: The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., The Right Hon. Lord Winterton, M.P., The Right Hon. Lord Lugard, G.C.M.G., Lord Sinha, The Dowager Lady Minto, The Hon. Miss Gertrude Kinnaird, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Reginald Craddock, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Herbert Holmwood, Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., Sir Patrick J. Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Henry Lawrence, K.C.S.I., and Lady Lawrence, Lady Dane, Lady Hirtzel, Lady Lyttelton, Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir James MacKenna, Sir William Ovens Clark and Lady Clark, Sir P. Mitter, The Right Hon. Sir Horace Plunkett, K.C.V.O., Sir Edward Maclagan, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Henry Wheeler, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Ganen Roy, Mr. Surendra Nath Mallik, C.I.E., Mr. H. A. F. Lindsay, C.I.E., C.B.E., Mr. C. M. Baker, C.I.E., Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. W. Rajwade, Mrs. F. L. Brayne, Mr. and Mrs. C. F. Strickland, Mr. F. W. Brownrigg, Mr. M. A. Rahman, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Mrs. Farquharson, Commissioner and Mrs. F. Booth Tucker, Mr. Scott Bremner, Mr. George Pilcher, M.P., Miss Corfield, Rev. Dr. H. W. Stanton, Mrs. Martley, Rev. A. H. Brayne, Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Lindsay, Mr. Lanka Sundaram, Mr. A. P. Das Gupta, Mr. R. K. Sorabji, Miss M. Sorabji, Miss L. Sorabji, Mr. Henry Howse, Mr. P. Henry, Dr. A. Shah, Mrs. W. G. Martley, Miss E. L. Curteis, Mr. F. J. Richards, Rev. H. Halliwell, Mrs. Herron, Mr. T. D. Kansara, Mr. H. O. Boger, Mrs. Collis, Mr. and Mrs. P. J. H. Stent, Mrs. J. A. Richey, Mr. T. V. Desai, Mr. W. L. Gray, Mr. W. T. Bechan, Mr. J. J. Nolan, Mr. M. L. Metcalfe, Mr. Arnold Lupton, Mr. A. Sabonadière, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. B. W. Perkins, Miss K. C. Barnard, Mr. G. T. Boag, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen, before we proceed with the business of the afternoon I am quite certain that you would desire that I should express the anxiety that all of us feel on account of the health of His Majesty the King-Emperor. In no part of His Majesty's dominions will that anxiety be more really or deeply felt than in India.

I am very grateful to the East India Association for having given me the opportunity of taking the Chair this afternoon. Having seen something of the work of Mr. and Mrs. Brayne, I am persuaded that it is to the advantage of rural India that the methods devised by them in their efforts to promote the welfare of the villagers should be widely

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known. That those methods are incapable of improvement Mr. Brayne himself does not suggest, yet no one who has seen the results achieved can doubt that the scheme is full of promise. The progress recorded in the paper has been attained within a period of eight years. If those efforts that have brought about these beneficent changes be continued with vigour unabated and over an ever-widening area for the next twenty years, the beneficent results will, I believe, become permanent. If those efforts are discontinued tomorrow, in ten years' time no trace of the work so far accomplished will remain. To make the future safe it will be necessary to persist until the leaders of the village, women as well as men, are those who from childhood have known the new and better ways. Continued effort over a prolonged period of time is, I am convinced, essential. (Hear, hear.) Some people tell us that the villager is happy in his lot and that true kindness lies in leaving him alone. No doubt habit and ignorance of better things help him to face his life with all its difficulties in a spirit of greater resignation than might be possible in other circumstances, but that the peasant enjoys his difficulties I for one do not believe. Do devoted parents suffer no anguish when child after child is taken from them by the cruel hand of a painful disease? Does the young mother, in a home that is in some cases surrounded by conditions intensely unhealthy, endure no wretchedness or pain at the hands of an ignorant neighbour who happens to style herself a midwife? Does the devoted father of a family relish the spectacle of a home broken up by the loss of his working bullocks? Is it by choice that poor humanity leads a precarious existence in which the slightest buffet of fortune, failure of the rains or the vagaries of some moneylender, can shatter in a moment and for ever the little cup of happiness? I do not believe that, and no one, I think, does. Give the Indian peasant the opportunity of enjoying better things and better health and you will find him very ready to appreciate them.

In the Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, over which I had the great honour to preside, we tried to make plain our view that there is the closest relationship between a desire for better living in the villages and any substantial improvement in agriculture. It is clear that the extra effort on the part of the individual cultivator required to enhance the outturn is not likely to be forthcoming unless the cultivator is urged forward by an intense desire for a higher standard of living. I believe that that conclusion is sound, and it is immensely important. It means that village uplift as well as being good for the peasant is good business for India. I commend it to those who now or in the future may have responsibilities of government. It bears closely upon a problem which is certain, in my judgment, to present itself with growing insistence as the years pass, that of providing a sufficiency of food for the ever-increasing population of India.

It is greatly to be hoped that the public in Great Britain may not

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forget the heavy responsibilities they bear towards India. Let them think of India and her future with hopefulness, and let them think and speak well of their Indian fellow-citizens. For many years their interest will be vital for India's good, nor is the time at hand when Indians will cease to put a high value upon the labours of those of our countrymen who can show qualities of kindness, of skill, of enthusiasm and of self-sacrifice in the service of India and her people. (Applause.) It is because from personal observations I know that Mr. Brayne and his wife are among the number of those who are prepared to do service and make self-sacrifices that I introduce Mr. Brayne with confidence to this important audience. (Applause.)

Mr. Brayne then read his paper.

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER said he was sure that all those who had served in the Punjab would have heard with great pleasure the lecture on the Gurgaon scheme by one who had made it such a success. From his knowledge of Gurgaon and its sturdy tribes, who had provided 16,000 fighting men in the Great War, he was able to follow Mr. Brayne's description of how he had accomplished this very wonderful work of village uplift. There was, however, one matter as to which he did not quite agree with the lecturer—namely, that the scheme was the first act in the drama of village uplift. From his forty-two years' recollection of the Punjab he would prefer to say it was the fifth of a series of acts by which the British administration had gradually effected the emancipation of the Punjab peasantry from a state of semi-servitude. The first stage was the Land Alienation Act of 1901, which secured the peasant against expropriation by the moneylender. The second stage was the Co-operative Credit Act passed five years later; it was supplementary to the Land Alienation Act, and it had achieved a success in the Punjab which was simply marvellous. There were now some 18,000 credit societies in the Punjab nearly all rural, whereas eighteen years ago there were only 3,000. These societies provided loans to the peasant at reasonable rates and saved him from the clutches of the usurer. The third stage was the Act passed by the Government of the Punjab in 1919 to make primary education, in rural and other areas where the people desired it for boys, compulsory. That too had proved a wonderful success in the Punjab, and had been copied by other provinces in India, though so far with no very substantial results. The fourth stage was the report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, over which the Chairman had so ably presided, which he was convinced would be readily accepted in the Punjab, and would do much to promote rural prosperity. The fifth or final stage, which would crown all the others, was the scheme of village uplift which the lecturer had outlined. It had been said with some truth that, like all reforms, the scheme had been received with official apathy. That had been the case with most new schemes: for instance, the Land Alienation Act was opposed by the trading and capitalist class, and had but lukewarm support from the Punjab Government;

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the co-operative credit movement had been opposed by the money-lenders, and not only did they put up a strong opposition to it, but they had for a time the support of the subordinate judiciary. The scheme for village uplift might have been criticized in certain quarters and looked on with suspicion in others; but it stood a much greater chance of success than any of the other reforms referred to, because all classes of the community without distinction by caste or creed were equally interested in the improvement of the villages. The scheme therefore started with everything in its favour. From his experience of administration he thought that official support would be more readily forthcoming if the scheme were presented not as a new departure, but as the logical and essential development of a consistent policy. He entirely agreed with the lecturer that if the scheme was to be successful it should have a separate organization with a practical enthusiast like the lecturer at the head. If the co-operative trading movement had been left to the Collectors or to the Revenue Department to develop, it would not have met with the marvellous success it had achieved. He therefore hoped they would all exercise such influence as was in their power in support of the lecturer's contention that his scheme should receive the strong support of the Government and should be started as a separate organization. (Applause.)

Commissioner F. Booth Tucker, speaking from forty years' experience in India, said he was acquainted with the life of the villagers as probably few Europeans had been, and he could heartily endorse what the lecturer had said with regard to the matter. While the villager asked for explanations when a new scheme was introduced to him, he was not a difficult man to deal with. The Salvation Army were interested in the co-operative credit village bank movement, and they had formed a central bank. In one case a village had come to them for a loan of 500 rupees for the purpose of buying a field, offering to repay it in two harvests, which they did. They then asked for another loan of 700 rupees to build houses, which was granted and which was repaid in the same way. The Salvation Army had established three villages, two of which at present had a population of over 2,000, and they were self-supporting concerns.

Mr. C. F. Strickland said that he had perhaps had the opportunity of actually seeing Mr. Brayne's work at Gurgaon more fully than anyone present. He remembered the district twenty years ago, and again just before Mr. Brayne went to it, when a more spiritless, unenterprising crowd of peasants could not be imagined. All that had been changed in eight years by Mr. Brayne. Similar efforts had been made elsewhere, especially by the Rural Community Councils, but in no district so effectively. Co-operators had done their best and had formed Better Living Co-operative Societies in Gurgaon and elsewhere, but it was really the function of a special organization to promote rural welfare. He wished to emphasize the agricultural aspect of Mr. Brayne's work. Inspirited by him, the villagers had

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undertaken the enclosure of pastures, the afforestation of bare hillsides, the introduction of new crops, the substitution of waterwheels for the old uneconomic drag-rope well, and above all the use of good bulls. Mr. Brayne had brought in 700 pedigree bulls which had altered the entire appearance of the cattle in the district.

The full scheme of rural welfare could not successfully be carried through by a district officer. Some men lacked the enthusiasm or the driving power; all lacked the time. Moreover, uplift required a large amount of money, and some forms of it did not give a cash return. The villager could not at present be expected to tax himself for objects of health or the welfare of women. Government should provide some of the money, but not all, and he hoped that a man of great wealth might come forward to endow a welfare association on the lines of the Carnegie Trust.

It must, however, be remembered that enthusiasm alone was not enough for welfare work; the people engaged in it must be fully trained. The untrained enthusiast was a danger.

Lord WINTERTON said he had seen something of the work which had been done at Gurgaon, and expressed his entire concurrence with the remarks of Mr. Strickland, who, he thought, had crystallized the arguments which had been put forward with regard to Mr. Brayne's scheme. He thought that some of the speakers had not quite realized the point at issue. Nobody denied that Acts had been passed in the Punjab, some of them in Sir Michael O'Dwyer's time, some before it and some subsequently, to improve the position of the people; nor did anybody deny that good work had been done by the Salvation Army. But the experiment at Gurgaon was unique, inasmuch as it was the first occasion upon which any officer of the Government had, by his personal efforts, associated himself to such an enormous degree with the welfare of the people and had achieved, with the assistance of the people whom it was his duty to govern, such remarkable results. He agreed with Mr. Strickland that they must not allow enthusiasm for the great work and the chances of its being followed elsewhere to blind them to the basis upon which alone success could rest. One was the personal equation of the man at the head of the district. It would not be easy to find, either among Europeans or among Indians, persons with exactly the same qualities as those possessed by Mr. Brayne. The second basis was the question of finance, which was, in fact, the core of the whole matter. He supported Mr. Strickland's suggestion that they should try to induce some wealthy man to come forward and find part of the money. He much commended the work done by Mr. Brayne, and said that it would be an excellent thing if people interested in India would go to Gurgaon and see what had taken place. As a farmer, he had been much impressed by the statement of Mr. Strickland with regard to the 700 pedigree bulls, which was a larger number than there were in the whole of the Province of Madras.

Sir PATRICK FAGAN: My Lord, I listened to the lecturer's very sug-

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gestive paper with peculiar interest because it is just forty years ago since I made my first acquaintance, in the very early years of my service, with the Gurgaon district. I worked there for nearly two years, during part of my time as deputy commissioner. In the light of that experience, now of course somewhat out of date, I am disposed to think that the lecturer has given rather too dark a picture of the economic condition of the district. But however that may be, it is certainly the fact that as regards the virility of its population, the security of its agriculture, and the general standard of living, it is distinctly behind those other prosperous tracts in the Punjab. It is for that reason perhaps that it is an appropriate area for the inception of a great enterprise such as the lecturer has so eloquently described.

Doubtless his description, his suggestions and his anticipations, as well as the contents of his remarkable book on uplift in India, will provide material for the exercise of that faculty of destructive criticism with which the pessimist, official and non-official, is generally amply endowed. But, after all, the world is moved by the live optimist; and Mr. Brayne, I take it, is a live optimist of the most vigorous and enthusiastic type, though in his paper he is fully alive to the great difficulties and limitations which at present and must for some time to come surround the immensely important work of the uplift of the rural masses of India.

As we all know, projects and visions of rapid and early political and constitutional development at present occupy—some may be inclined to think obscure—the horizon of India. Whatever may be the right view, it is certainly true, and the lecturer has wisely emphasized the fact, that the indispensable accompaniment, if not indeed the essential preliminary, of any such process must be a widespread and far-reaching uplift, moral, social and economic, of the vast rural population which alone can form the foundation of any sound development of self-government in India.

There are at the present time evident signs that in the Punjab, and I doubt not in other parts of India also, the rural masses are groping after a better and a fuller life; groping, it may be, blindly, vaguely, instinctively, but still groping. That attitude is, I think, largely due to the inspiration received by the very numerous returned Indian soldiers who during the War and later have had enlightening experience of foreign countries and of foreign ways of thought and life. What is urgently needed is co-ordination and guidance by means of an agency imbued with an ideal of social service and a sense of social responsibility. Such is, I understand, the fundamental principle of the scheme advocated by the lecturer.

Time is not available for examining its details, though very numerous and important questions present themselves for consideration and discussion. As regards agency it is, I think, perfectly clear that it will be quite impossible, as the lecturer himself has insisted, for the district officer to undertake personally the charge of rural uplift

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operations in addition to the already more than sufficiently heavy burden of his ordinary official duties, of which by far the greater portion, if not all, is inevitable. But even so it is clear that though not in personal charge of, and not personally responsible for, uplift work, he must necessarily be in the closest possible touch with it. To me, personally, it is a marvel that Mr. Brayne should have found time to do all he did while preoccupied, as he doubtless was, with the civil administration of a district such as Gurgaon.

The provision of the liberal finance which will certainly be needed for rural uplift work on an extensive scale is another large question. Additional local taxation of a miscellaneous kind will not, I think, be found to be practicable. What appear to be needed are the means and munificence of an Indian Carnegie.

But be the difficulties of the task what they may, the present juncture in India is one which calls, and calls loudly, for widespread, organized and co-ordinated effort in the directions and on the lines which the lecturer has so persuasively and eloquently put before us.

Sir JAMES MACKENNA said he had derived great pleasure from listening to the lecture. The most valuable thing, from his point of view, was the constructive suggestion of the Indian village welfare associations. There were numerous other societies already at work in India, so that the ground had been well prepared for an advance along the lines of the uplift scheme suggested by the lecturer, which had been so successfully carried out by him and his accomplished wife in Gurgaon.

Lord LAMINGTON, in thanking Mr. Brayne for his very live lecture on a very important subject, said they had certainly learned a great deal that afternoon, not only from the lecture, but also from the other speeches to which they had listened. He trusted that the meeting would be a stimulating agency for the adoption of some such scheme as had been indicated in the paper, which might well be the means of increasing the general interest in this country as well as in India, and also possibly might be the means of obtaining financial support, which was so very essential. The meeting was a noteworthy one and he trusted would redound to the benefit of the whole population of India.

Mr. R. K. SORABJI said that he would not waste time praising the admirable paper, and the excellent work Mr. Brayne had done. Village uplift was a great need, but no voluntary agency could do it. In his opinion the District Officer, and he alone, could carry on work such as Mr. Brayne had described. He was the man whom everyone trusted and looked up to, and he alone could give the lead which the villagers would follow. The District Officer should be set free from files in order to be able to spend more time in getting into touch with the people and urging them to improve the villages. He disagreed with Mr. Brayne as to the expense. The expense would be considerable. People in India, as a whole, had not yet learnt to be public benefactors for nothing. Here and there a man might bear the cost

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if the village were to be called after his name. A possible way of raising money might be to have village schemes, on the lines of the garden cities in England, where people invested their money and received interest. Civilians would have to be trained in order to enable them to spur on the villagers in all the methods Mr. Brayne had described.

Mr. ARNOLD LUPTON said he had only been in India for four months, but he had heard a great many papers at meetings of the Association, by far the most valuable of which was the one to which they had listened that afternoon. He had also read a large number of statistics. Mr. Brayne had done a vast amount of good work in India, and if there were a thousand men like Mr. Brayne in India it would be an entirely new country in another twenty years.

Mr. BRAYNE thanked the meeting for the kind remarks which had been made about his wife and himself, and for the very encouraging speeches which had been made with regard to his work and the possibility of its extension throughout the whole of India. It had been suggested that possibly the work in connection with village uplift might lead to neglect of other work, but he denied that other work had ever suffered thereby. The duty of a magistrate such as himself was to maintain law and order, and crime quite frequently could be prevented by going into the villages and forestalling it. If magistrates sometimes could turn their backs on their offices and courts and get into the villages, he thought a large number of crimes would never be committed, because they would see the quarrels coming and induce the leaders on both sides to settle them amicably. The uplift of women was one of the most vital parts of the Gurgaon scheme, and that in itself must have a great effect on the peace of the country. Just as better housing and social work has cured the drink evil in England, so uplift would cure the quarrelling—whether communal or other—and litigation that was now the curse of India. When the homes were happy and comfortable the men would be less anxious to quarrel, and once they had the women and children moving about with their menfolk as they did in the villages of England, the chances of sudden disturbances would be greatly reduced. Whatever the difficulties, whatever the obstacles, they must now and there determine to carry on this great work of rural uplift.

Lord LUGARD, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Chairman and lecturer, said that we were greatly indebted to Lord Linlithgow for taking the Chair at this meeting, since no one could be more fitted to judge of the essentials of village uplift than the President of the Indian Agricultural Commission. The task of that Commission was a truly colossal one, and its report would be of great value to India. It was generally understood that rather than leave his work incomplete the Chairman had been content to forego high office in England. Lord Lugard felt that he would be voicing the unanimous wish of those present in congratulating the lecturer on the support he had

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received from the Under-Secretary for India and the former Governors who had spoken, and in wishing him success in the valuable scheme of work he had inaugurated in Gurgaon. He echoed his wish that it should be extended to the whole of India. Personally he thought that the secret of success lay in enlisting the hearty co-operation of the *Panchayets* (village councils), and (as we had found in Africa) the extension of the influence of the Village School to the Community. On behalf of his audience he tendered thanks for the most interesting lecture to which they had listened.

The CHAIRMAN, in reply to the vote of thanks, said that he hoped that the paper and discussion that evening would be another brick in the structure of village improvement proposed by the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture. The Report, which extended over 700 pages, had been most kindly received by the Press and the public; but a good reception of the Report, though welcome, was not sufficient for its authors. They would look back upon their work together with final satisfaction only if it brought real benefit to the Indian cultivator.

Sir LOUIS DANE writes: I regret that I was prevented by a chill from attending the meeting, especially as I am much interested in the subject of the paper, village uplift, and in a way was responsible for its being read. About eighteen months ago the son of an old Revenue Assistant, knowing that I was interested in the question, sent me from Gurgaon some of Mr. Brayne's pamphlets. While I was wondering how the matter could be furthered, Commissioner Booth Tucker of the Salvation Army, which has done so much for uplift generally and for the criminal tribes in particular, wrote to me and suggested that the Association should take steps to promote the movement on general as opposed to mission lines only.

My reply was to send the pamphlets to show what was being done and how undesirable it was to steal Mr. Brayne's thunder when we might be able to help him. It was then decided to ask Mr. Brayne to write a paper, and the present lecture is the result. In the meantime his scheme received the blessing of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, so that the Association is moving under good auspices.

Mr. Brayne was fortunate in being able to work undisturbed for some years in a district which is rather out of the way of the tides of communal excitement, and contains many aboriginal races amongst whom it is less difficult to start such a crusade. He would also probably admit that the way was paved for him by the devoted labours of the Baptist Mission during the past half century at Paliwal, where Miss Fletcher's schools at Salampur have done so much good amongst difficult girls in turning them into good wives and mothers. The Mission also does much for village betterment generally. The District Commissioner is still the father and mother of his district in

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the agricultural Punjab, if he has the time and inclination to develop that side—perhaps the most important really—of his duties, and Mr. Brayne has grasped his opportunity. It is to be hoped that now all will do their best to keep the ball rolling. Without this general effort it is more than probable that the movement will die out, as previous attempts at betterment have. There was the attempt of Mrs. Flora Annie Steel at Katur and Ferozepur, in 1876-82, which promised so well, but was perhaps rather in advance of its time. Another similar movement was started in the Faridkot State, 1909-14, by Sirdar Diyal Singh Inan, the Superintendent during the minority of the Raja. This was called the Neki Pracharak, or the Do Good Association, and for a time it worked wonders. Crime went down, drunkenness died out, and village sanitation, women's education, and the care of mothers and infants were diligently preached by Neko Kars, or good doers, from amongst the people themselves. Unfortunately, in the intrigues and jealousies from which Indian States suffer, the Superintendent's policies and the Superintendent himself, who had been perhaps too enthusiastic, were swept away when the Raja came of age, and the clock was set back. His case is a warning.

Without the official interest of the District Officers, as Mr. Brayne admits, it will be impossible to give the scheme generally a good start, and to ensure its continuous working for the first decade or so. The East India Association has done what it could to help the good cause. We have had two papers on the work of the Salvation Army amongst the criminal tribes read in 1919 and 1926, and those interested in the question of village uplift will find how closely their system parallels Mr. Brayne's. Then there has been the recent most interesting paper by the Rev. Fr. Van Scheuren, on the work of the Belgian Jesuits amongst the Sontals, which proceeds on similar lines. These are avowedly based on religious propaganda, with the object of conversion, while Mr. Brayne's is free from the difficulties connected with such movements. This is why it can be commended as an example for general use in agricultural districts.

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HISTORICAL SECTION

SIR THOMAS RUMBOLD—I

(1736—1791)

By Lanka Sundaram, M.A., F.R.Econ.S.(Lond.)

Satyalingam Scholar (London University); Author of "Cow Protection in India."

In this and the succeeding papers I propose to reconstruct on authentic lines the life and work of Sir Thomas Rumbold,* who was Governor of Fort St. George, Madras, from 1778 to 1780. Eminent historians like Colonel Wilks,† James Mill,‡ and Colonel Love§ rank among those who unconsciously, if not deliberately, rendered a disservice to the cause of historical scholarship and accuracy. Sir Thomas Rumbold's career was undoubtedly stormy, especially during the period of his administrative control of the Fort St. George and after, when a Bill of Pains and Penalties was brought in the House of Commons by Mr. Dundas on May 3, 1782, and abandoned on December 3, 1783, during which period, and till his death in 1791, he continued to sit as a Member of Parliament. Sir Thomas' indiscretions—they were called, during his trial, grave acts in contravention of the covenant he entered into with the Court of Directors of the East India Company and against their explicit orders—were not negligible, but the wholesale calumny heaped upon him by his contemporaries, and later by the historians, even though to a lesser extent, was totally unwarranted, and seems to have been greatly exaggerated, without reference to historical antecedents and certainly without grasp of contemporary detail. It is really unfortunate that certain authentic documents escaped the notice of such eminent

* The Rumbold family was famous since the death of this unfortunate first baronet. Ninth in descent from him is the Rt. Hon. Sir Horace George Montagu Rumbold, Bt., P.C., G.C.M.G., M.V.O., the present British Ambassador to Berlin.

† "Historical Sketches of South India," (1817), vol. ii.

‡ "History of British India," edited by H. H. Wilson (1858), Book V., chap. iv.

§ "Vestiges of Old Madras" (1913), vol. iii., chap. x.

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historians. Even Marshman originally missed them when he wrote his "History of British India."* But a posthumous vindication of his character† by his aged daughter, the manuscript of which volume was placed in his hands just before the publication of his "History," made him go into the subject, however cursorily, and issue an appendix repudiating the misstatements of Wilks and Mill. In the following pages it is hoped that all the available historical material has been brought to bear upon a proper appraisement of the career of Sir Thomas Rumbold.

Thomas Rumbold belonged to a family which distinguished itself in the service of the Crown during the seventeenth century.‡ He was the son of William Rumbold, an officer in the naval service of the East India Company, who died second-in-council at Tellicherry in 1745. Of his two brothers, William, the elder (b. 1730), entered the Company's military service and died on August 1, 1757, at Fort St. David, after a brilliant career. His younger brother, Henry, died early at sea.§

Rumbold was born at Leytonstone, Essex, on June 15, 1736. Having lost his father at the age of nine, he was subjected to much hardship during his early career. A light-hearted squib became popular during his election campaign for membership of Parliament for East Shoreham, and gained greater currency during his trial before the House of Commons. It was responsible for the statement that he was a waiter at White's Club before he joined the Company's service.‖ Mention was made of this also in a contemporary journal¶ and accepted by Colonel Love as authentic.** But there is conclusive evidence for the fact that the squib against Sir Robert Makreth, M.P. for Castle Risney, a fellow servant of Sir Thomas Rumbold in the employ of the Company and his agent during the parliamentary proceedings against him, was transmuted into our familiar one as a slogan for his

* Published in 1867 by Longmans.

† "A Vindication of the Character and Administration of Sir Thomas Rumbold, Bt.," by Elizabeth Anne Rumbold (1868).

‡ This is not generally known to, and much less recognized by, historians. In this connection see the "Transactions of the Royal Historical Society," London, for 1892, pp. 145-165, for the "Notes on the History of the Family of Rumbold in the Seventeenth Century," by Sir Horace Rumbold, Bt., G.C.M.G., F.R.HIST.S., H.B.M. Minister at The Hague.

§ "Dictionary of National Biography," vol. 49, pp. 397-399.

‖ "History of the White's" (1892).

¶ *European Magazine* for May, 1782.

** "Vestiges," III., pp. 148-149.

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impeachment.* "Dorothy Rumbold was probably in somewhat straitened circumstances after her husband's death, but there is nothing to warrant the belief that her poverty was such as to reduce her to seek for her boy the menial employment traditionally attributed to him at White's Club."† In a petition addressed to the Court of Directors by Rumbold in 1751, when he was just turned fifteen, he states that he had "been educated in Writing and Accounts and humbly hopes himself qualified to serve your Honors abroad," and this was followed by a certificate from the master of the school where he studied. On his appointment as a clerk in the service of the Company on January 8, 1752, his mother became security for him with "Henry Crab Boulton, of the East India House, gentleman, to the extent of 500l." Further, in 1757, Miss Elizabeth Rumbold, his aunt, became security for H. Southby, a relation of the Rumbolds, as "free merchant" in the sum of £2,000. All this conclusively proves that Rumbold, whatever his straitened circumstances, was never actually compelled to be a waiter at the White's.

Rumbold sailed towards the close of January, 1752. Soon after his arrival in Madras he changed the civil for the military service. In 1753 he held the rank of lieutenant,‡ served under Lawrence at the taking of Trichinopoly, accompanied Clive to Calcutta, was present at its recapture in 1756, and was for an act of bravery made an aide-de-camp by the future victor of Plassey,§ and superseded most in the Bengal Council at Clive's recognition of his merits.‖ Wounded at Plassey,¶ he reverted to the Civil Service.** He returned home on furlough during the years 1762-1763. Sailing back to

* "The Real Facts concerning Sir Thomas Rumbold," p. 6. Printed for private circulation; available in "British Museum Biographical Tracts" (1874-1892), No. 10803, e. 18.

† *Ibid.*, p. 5.

‡ Love: "Vestiges," III., p. 141.

§ Miss Rumbold: "Vindication," p. xv. Having been promoted to the rank of Captain, Rumbold agreed that his name be struck off the list of covenanted servants. "Madras Public Consultations," March 20, 1759; "India Office Records," Range CCXL., vol. 17, p. 28.

‖ "Defence of Sir Thomas Rumbold, Baronet, stated by his Counsell Mr. Hardinge in the House of Commons" (1782), Part I., p. 7. "British Museum," No. 583, h. 13.

¶ Rumbold applied for leave on medical certificate in his letter dated Calcutta, the 28th December, 1758. Entered in "Madras Public Consultations, May 15, 1759; *loc. cit.*, pp. 131 and 147.

** George Stratton was appointed President and Governor by the Madras Council on September 30, 1776. "Madras Revenue Proceedings," September 30, 1776, "India Office Library," Range CCLXXIV., No. 18, pp. 333 *ff.*

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India, he was appointed Chief at Patna, and sat in the Council at Fort William from 1766-1769. Returning home again on grounds of ill-health, he entered Parliament as Member for Shoreham. He was a director of the East India Company for nearly five years. His services were much valued by the Court of Directors, and he was named as the successor of Warren Hastings when the latter's recall was contemplated in 1773. On receipt of news in England about the revolution in the Government of Fort St. George, and the suspension and imprisonment of Lord Pigot, the Governor-President, § Rumbold was appointed Governor. He sailed in the *Bessborough* on January 11, 1777, and arrived in the Madras roads on February 8, 1778. Then followed an eventful career. "He had the disgusted nation to conciliate, an exhausted revenue to repair, a defensive to form against Hyder Ali's hostilities, which he was also to avert if he could."* A scheme for the reorganization of the revenues was set on foot, and certain drastic steps were taken towards the same effect. He was obliged to fight Hyder Ali single-handed. But in all that he proposed and carried out he had the practically unanimous support of the Madras Council.† Certain remarkable military achievements made his administration memorable. Pondicherry, the stronghold of the French, capitulated on October 17, 1778. Despatches announcing this success were sent home in H.M. Sloop *Cormorant* on November 2, entrusted to William Rumbold, his son, who was also "charged with the French colours taken at Pondicherry to be laid at His Majesty's feet."‡ In a letter, dated Fort St. George, October 31, Rumbold solicited of Lord North some mark of distinction from the Crown in reward for his services.§ A Baronetcy was conferred on him on March 23, 1779, Mahé surrendering only a few days earlier.

Ill-health compelled Sir Thomas Rumbold to hand over charge to John Whitehill on April 6, 1780, and he sailed home on the following day. His conduct as Governor of Madras aroused misgivings on the part of the Court of Directors, and in a belated despatch of January 11, 1781, they ordered the

* Hardinge: "Defence," p. 7.

† In the succeeding papers we will deal with the individual acts of his administration which were subject to the calumnied scrutiny of Dundas in the House of Commons. Proceedings against Sir Thomas were abandoned later.

‡ "Madras to England," of the same date, vol. xiv.

§ "MSS. of the Marquis of Abergavenny," No. 200. See p. 23 of Appendix VI. to the "Tenth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission."

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dismissal of Sir Thomas and two members of the Madras Council, Whitehill and Perring. He entered Parliament as Member for Yarmouth, Isle of Wight. His arrival in England furnished the opportunity for charges of oppression, corruption, and contravention of the Company's orders. A committee of the House of Commons was appointed to "inquire into the cause of the war in the Carnatic and of the condition of the British possessions in those parts," and this resulted in the publication of a voluminous report.* The conclusions of the committee were undoubtedly hasty. A document containing thirty-seven clauses was drawn up on April 25, 1778, exhibiting charges mostly against Sir Thomas and Peter Perring.† On April 29, 1782, Dundas ushered into the House a Bill of Pains and Penalties against both these servants of the Company. On May 3 of the same year a Bill to restrain them from leaving the kingdom was brought in, and the taking of evidence at the bar of the House of Commons was commenced on January 23, 1783.‡

Sir Thomas prepared and published in part his own answer to the charges brought against himself by the Secret Committee and those contained in the general letter of the Court of Directors dated January 10, 1781.§ Peter Perring himself published an answer to the charges as far as they concerned him.‖ On January 23 and February 13 respectively, speeches for the prosecution were made by Bearcroft and Cooper.¶ Hardinge** and Erskine for Sir Thomas, and Piggott and Scott for Peter Perring, defended. Sir Thomas Rumbold prepared an elaborate and reasoned brief for the minute defence of his administration.†† The hearing of the case was adjourned on May 30, 1783, after engaging the attention of the House for twenty-two days. A great deal of

* "Second Report of the Committee of Secrecy" (1781).

† This and the other documents dealing with the proceedings were brought together and preserved in the India Office Library under the title of "The Case of Sir Thomas Rumbold and Peter Perring." Another copy of this is to be found in the British Museum.

‡ "Minutes of Evidence taken at the Bar of the House of Commons and the Proceedings of the House" (1783) in *Ibid.*

§ "An Answer to the Charges exhibited against Sir Thomas Rumbold in the Report of the Secret Committee of the House of Commons and in the General Letter from the Court of Directors of January 10, 1781," by himself.

‖ See in "The Case of Sir Thomas Rumbold and Peter Perring."

¶ The originals are preserved in "British Museum Addl. MSS.," No. 28, 161.

** Quoted *ante*.

†† "Briefs for the Defence of Sir Thomas Rumbold," "British Museum Addl. MSS.," Nos. 28, 159, and 28, 160.

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evidence was shown in the minutes which proved to the hilt the utter hastiness of the "Second Report of the Committee of Secrecy." Dundas abandoned the Bill on December 3, 1783.* Sir Thomas was elected M.P. for Weymouth in 1784, and sat for that borough till his death in 1791. A vindication of Sir Thomas Rumbold's character was attempted by Edmund Burke in 1785, even though he was responsible for certain irresponsible remarks a couple of years earlier. He declared :† "The Right Honourable gentleman whose conduct is now in question (Mr. Dundas) formerly stood forth in this House as the prosecutor of the worthy Baronet who spoke last. He charged him with several grievous acts of malversation in office, with abuses of a public trust of a great and heinous nature. In less than two years we see the situation of parties reversed, and a singular revolution puts the worthy Baronet in a fair way of returning the prosecution in a recriminatory Bill of Pains and Penalties, grounded on a breach of trust, relative to the very same part of India. If he should undertake a Bill of that kind, he will find no difficulty in conducting it with a degree of skill and vigour fully equal to all that have been extended against him."

Sir Thomas Rumbold died in 1791 at his seat of Woodhall Park, Hertfordshire.

* "The Real Facts concerning Sir Thomas Rumbold."
† "Parliamentary History," XXV., pp. 183-186.

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LITERARY SECTION

LEADING ARTICLE

THE ORIGIN OF CASTE

By Stanley Rice

The origin of caste is admittedly lost in obscurity, and the best reasoned explanations of the most profound scholars remain only plausible conjecture. The "Aryan" school naturally rely upon the Aryan scriptures and upon the word "Varna," meaning colour. Caste is therefore an institution designed to keep the race pure; the Aryans disdained to mingle their blood with the Dravidian inhabitants, who are frequently referred to as "dark," and they took effective steps to prevent it by investing the whole institution with a religious interdict. The three higher castes were "twice born," and wore the sacred thread; the lowest of the four was allotted to the original inhabitants, who submitted to the conqueror. Indians themselves give more prominence to the occupational side of the system. A Brahmin writer, Mr. Ramaswami Sastri, says:

"According to us (*i. e.*, Hindus) it is the result of a divine grouping according to actions and tendencies. . . . It has reference only to the initial endowment at birth, which can be augmented or lessened by social or individual well-doing or ill-doing.'" He is speaking not as a scholar but as a propagandist; his aim is not to show how caste arose but to defend it as "the main atmosphere of cultural resistance" and the most unifying element in Hindu society. It is clear, however, that he leans towards the occupational theory, as is proved by his contention that the "Hindu race is one and entire and Aryan." If that be so —and he claims to be speaking for Hindus generally—the Aryans would have had no need to defend themselves against men of their own race, and therefore caste is "not based on ethnic separateness." Dr. Slater, who in his book, "The Dravidian Element of Indian Culture," makes out a strong case for South Indian influences, is not satisfied with either theory. He points that out in either case North rather than South India should be the special home of caste—on the Indian theory because it has been more highly Aryanized, on the European because it has been more subject to invasion.

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But it is notorious that caste "is much stronger, much more elaborate, and plays a much larger part in social life in South India than North India." And it is exactly that part which was sheltered from invasion by the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea where caste "reaches its highest development." He therefore inclines to a combination of the two theories and believes that caste was evolved somewhat after this manner: In early, and indeed in all, civilizations there is a tendency for occupations to become hereditary, and as each art slowly became the exclusive occupation of certain artisans, they jealously guarded the secrets of the trade, as is occasionally done in India to this day. And since sexual maturity comes earlier in a tropical climate, boys and girls are mated at a time when they themselves cannot be trusted to choose. But since the selection falls upon the parents they would naturally choose one of their own craft. Magic and religious ceremonies assist to build up the exclusive caste, so that "marriage outside the caste becomes one of the things that are not done." The Aryan invasion therefore was not the cause of caste, but modified it in two ways, by strengthening (1) the tendency to associate caste differences with differences of shade of colour; and (2) the tendency for castes to be graded in a fairly definite scale of social precedence. The prohibition of interdining follows the prohibition on intermarriage since feasts are the accompaniments of the three great stages of human life, and the ordinary private entertainments of the West are by no means so common in India. The outcaste class arose as a natural result of occupation, and being extended to various forms of manual labour, justified itself by adopting unclean habits.

The explanation sounds plausible and would satisfy most people, but a more critical examination detects many flaws. In the first place it assumes that caste arose only after the society had become highly developed, as is shown by the division of labour into various skilled, some of them highly skilled, crafts. It goes further back no doubt than the "Aryan" theory, and it may be argued that at any rate there is nothing to show that caste ought to be relegated to an even earlier date. But a more serious flaw is that the whole argument is based on Western conceptions and does not take sufficient account of religious sanction. It is economic in basis, though it allows a certain influence to ethnic considerations. Nor does it satisfactorily account for the strength of caste customs at the present time. There have been other people among whom the division

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of labour was precisely similar, crafts are almost equally hereditary and secrets are jealously guarded, but they have not introduced caste except in a modified and quite indefinite form. We might loosely call the miners of England a caste as Dr. Slater in effect does, but that does not invest them with the rigid rules of India. Dr. Slater recognizes this and proceeds therefore to strengthen his case by referring to the inertia of the tropics which prevents a man from seeking more than one occupation, to sexual maturity, the parental choice of brides, and so on. But, after all, why would a parent naturally choose a bride from the families of men who follow the same craft? In using the word "naturally," Dr. Slater is apparently enunciating a general principle; what the Indian is supposed to do is what is generally done, not only in primitive societies but always and at all times. But is it? There is a certain tendency among Anglo-Indians to mate within a special service; the civilian marries a civilian's daughter, the Forest Officer a Forest Officer's daughter, and so forth; but partial as it is, it is due to the special conditions of Anglo-Indian life. It is no doubt observable also to some extent in the far more complicated conditions of English life; but the only deduction to be made is that men can only mate with the girls they meet in any society where choice is free, and that at most it is but a tendency to a practice in which the exceptions are far more numerous than the examples. The secret of the craft is not entrusted to the female, nothing is put in jeopardy by union with a woman belonging to another guild. Nor is it very clear why the parents should be more likely to choose from their own craft any more than the young people. In ordinary intercourse the parents would meet all sorts and conditions, but as happens today the men of a particular calling would have more in common. Hence the children of a particular craft would be more likely to meet others of that craft, which is the cause of the tendency observable in England and just alluded to. For if the parson's daughter is brought up in the atmosphere of the Church and the most frequent visitors at her father's house are the clergy, the chances are that she will marry a curate. Thus the argument from early puberty and parental choice would seem to have but little validity, and the inclination to marry within the craft has been shown to be at most a likely tendency. That does not explain satisfactorily the rigid rule of exogamy and endogamy by which the caste is bound. And yet it is the essence of the whole argument, for it is contended that interdining follows naturally upon

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it. Granted that that be so, we are still faced by the awkward facts that a higher caste may not accept a drink of water from a lower, even on a casual occasion, while a lower caste may not handle the food which his betters are to eat, whether in private or in public.

Dr. Slater seems to be on firmer ground when he contends that caste cannot be referred solely to racial distinctions. The Portuguese who invented the word were no doubt struck by the extreme care which was taken to keep the stock pure, and the Sanskrit word "varna" has naturally suggested the racial hypothesis. But the Rig-Veda has nothing to say about caste, with the exception of the famous passage in Book X., which is admittedly later than the others and of a "supplementary character." Yet caste, as Dr. Slater points out, not only exists but is actually stronger in the Dravidian South and West notwithstanding the natural barriers. The "Aryan" theorists are therefore bound to make the assumption that the institution was invented by the Aryan invaders after they came to India to preserve the purity of Aryan stock, that it then penetrated beyond the Aryan colonies and was taken up enthusiastically by the Dravidians, who, like so many converts, have become "plus royalistes que le roi." That is by no means an impossible assumption, for customs have been known to survive in the country of their adoption when they have weakened or perished in the country of their birth. But it assumes something else. It assumes that the Aryans, who would appear from the Rig-Veda to be chiefly warriors and possibly pastorals, had a markedly higher culture than the inhabitants. That is a large assumption, and it is contrary to the teaching of early history. The nations who have settled down to the arts of peace tend to become enervated and to fall a prey to the poorer but hardier races opposed to them. The history of Persians and Babylonians, of Greeks and Persians, of Arabs and Romans all tell the same tale, but India itself furnishes sufficient examples. It cannot be contended that Mahmud of Ghazni, Mohammed Ghori or Timur represented a higher civilization than the country which had known Asoka, Samudragupta, and Harsha. Nor can it be said that the great adventurer, Zahir-ud-din, who had lost his ancestral domain and for long was a wanderer and an outcast, brought into India a higher civilization than he found there. And when at last his empire was so rudely shaken, it was again by a hardy race of mountaineers, who subsisted largely by plunder and measured themselves against the accumulated resources of

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the Moghul Empire. In most, if not all, the cases cited it is not suggested that the hardy victors were devoid of civilization; on the contrary, we know that Persians and Greeks and Arabs, to say nothing of the Indian invaders, were all highly cultured peoples; but the peoples they overcame were also cultured, and it was the very development of their culture that by degeneration into luxury led to their undoing. It is more reasonable therefore to assume that the early Aryans found in India a civilization which in many respects was equal to their own, and the contention is borne out by quotations from the Rig-Veda which describe the Aryans as having subdued the castles, overthrown the cities and cut off the wealth of the inhabitants.

Since then we must assume something, there seems good ground for holding with Dr. Slater that the Aryans found a system resembling caste already in force amongst the Dravidian inhabitants and that they adopted and modified it to suit their own purposes. But this only carries us a stage further back. What was that system and how did it originate? Reasons have already been given for rejecting the too facile grounds on which the Dravidian theory is supported, and we must therefore look elsewhere. Now when primitive customs are in question the one safe rule is "Cherchez la foi." It is as infallible—neither more nor less—as the time-honoured rule which in other matters bids us seek for the woman. If, therefore, we can find a solution by following the religious path, we are more likely to get at the truth than by trusting to economic or purely rational date. Such a solution is possible, though from the nature of the case the theory cannot be proved any more than any other theory.

The Dravidians were and still are well skilled in magic. Numerous first-hand instances could be given of the belief in charms and amulets, of the efficacy of mantras, of devices for keeping off evil spirits such as the placing of a bar of iron at the entrance to the house, of cures for snake bite such as tying straw round the wrist. Dr. Slater points out that the Vedas, while showing that magic was well known to the Aryans, regard the Dravidians as specially skilled in it, and without going further into the question records his belief that magic was a feature of Dravidian culture. It is at least significant that in the Atharva Veda, which is the latest of the four and must have been composed or collected long after the Aryans had had time to be steeped in the indigenous culture, charms and incantations are a prominent feature and have taken the place occupied in the others by

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hymns of praise and ritual direction. Nor ought we to overlook the fact that the cult of the village deity, so marked a feature of the South as Bishop Whitehead has shown us, is usually regarded—and probably with truth—as the survival of a non-Aryan worship. The superstition which is closely allied to magic or quasi magic and plays so large a part in village worship has frequently given rise to an entirely false estimate of Hinduism in foreign countries, where superficial people are apt to confound the true philosophic religion with the primitive cults and to class the results as gross idolatry.

These observations are only intended to supply the background; they prove nothing directly. But magic among primitive tribes is often found in conjunction with totemism, and a people which ascribes such powers to charms and incantations may well have adopted the principle of the totem. It is necessary to bear in mind that we know hardly anything of the Dravidians except what we can glean from Aryan writings, for even the quite characteristic Dravidian architecture belongs to a much later date, and they themselves have left little or nothing in the shape of literary remains. But when the Aryans arrived in India the Dravidians were already established in "cities" and "castles" and we know otherwise that they had developed an oversea trade; they were therefore distinctly advanced and had probably long outgrown the totem stage, if it ever existed.

"If it ever existed." What grounds have we for this enormous hypothesis? The totem has been defined to be "the object, generally of a natural species, animal or vegetable, but occasionally rain, cloud, star, wind, which gives its name to a kindred, actual or supposed." Your totem may be the crow, or the snake, or the frog; it does not seem to matter much what. But whatever it is, it is held in some kind of reverence, which may or may not amount to a prohibition against killing that particular species, for the custom seems to vary a great deal. The "degree of 'religious' regard for the revered object increases in proportion as it is taken to contain the spirit of an ancestor or to be the embodiment of a god," and socially the totem, as found in Australia, has a very distinct influence on marriage customs and particularly on the practices and limitations of endogamy and exogamy. But a further development of the idea is found in Samoa, where there are "customs of burying and lamenting dead animals which are regarded with reverence by this or that 'family' or 'clan,' and the animals which once were sacred on their own account are

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now regarded as the vehicles of the gods belonging to 'family' or 'clan'."

Hitherto almost exclusive attention has been paid to the Aryan word "varna" or colour, which has been taken to be the key to the idea which the Portuguese, following the same line of thought, called caste. Sufficient stress has not been laid upon the Tamil word "kulam," which signifies a "clan" or "family," and as an Indian friend pointed out, suggests a common ancestor, after the pattern of Jacob and the Israelites. The fact that the word is Sanskrit and not Dravidian is not a serious objection, for it is well known that the languages of India tend to become Aryanized, and although Telugu and Canarese are impregnated to a much larger extent than Tamil with Sanskrit words, there is nevertheless a distinct Sanskrit element in the latter, and it is quite natural that in the evolution of Hinduism from primitive conceptions to profound metaphysical ideas, which were expressed in the Sanskrit language, the Dravidian term would give place to the more elegant Aryan word, especially as the caste system became transferred by the Aryans and finally emerged in a totally new and perhaps Aryan form, as the Anglo-Saxon "sheep" became French "mutton" when it appeared as food for the higher classes.

Here then is a clue which, if followed up, may lead us to the desired religious origin of caste. The custom in Samoa of revering animals as vehicles of the gods has been mentioned, and there is no doubt that animals play a considerable part in the ancient Indian mythology, both as vehicles for the gods and also as incarnations of the deity. Thus Garuda is the vehicle of Vishnu, who is also guarded by the serpent; Siva rides upon the Bull of Nandi, Hanuman is the monkey, and Ganesha the elephant, while Vishnu has appeared as a tortoise, a fish, and a boar, even if we exclude the avatar of Narasimham. These are evident traces of totem worship; the analogy with Samoan custom is obvious, and the inference is further strengthened by the known inviolability of the cobra, the bull, and the monkey —an inviolability which is shared by the peacock. What may be the exact degree of reverence in which the kite and the elephant are held, I do not know; it is not so obvious —at any rate to the European, who kills cobras without mercy as dangerous reptiles, slaughters cattle for food, and only refrains from killing monkeys from sentiment, since the wounded monkey behaves so much like a human being that to kill him savours of murder. Nobody wants to kill the kite and few people get the chance in the case of the

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elephant, which moreover is strictly preserved. Peacocks, of course, are fair game, if by shooting them you do not offend local sentiment. The sacredness of the kite may be illustrated by a curious custom at Tirukazhikundram, near Chingleput, where every day a Brahman lays out food for the birds and every day two—exactly two and no more—come from nowhere and take it, as I can personally testify. The veneration for the monkey is conspicuous at Alwar Tirunagari in the extreme south, where he has become so tame as to be a regular nuisance, and again at the Tirtham, near Tirupati, and on the way to the great temple where he pesters the pilgrims, snatching bananas out of their hands and head cloths from their heads. Doubtless there are more cases in plenty; let those be presented which are first hand. In leaving the point, we may note in passing the analogy from Greek religion, where Zeus is associated with the eagle, and in the character of a bull seduces Europa; Hera is accompanied by the peacock, and Athene by the owl. This is at least significant.

We are now to consider whether there is any connection between the sacred character of these animals and totem worship, or something akin to it, in the conditions of ancient India. Dr. Oldham, who has been at great pains to discuss serpent worship in India and to establish its connection with the worship of the sun, remarks:

"Who was Garuda? We find from the Mahabharata that the Garudas inhabited one of the provinces of Patala. . . . A list of forty-eight Garuda chiefs is given, and it is said that only those are mentioned who have won distinction by might, fame, or achievements."

And he thus answers his own question:

"Garuda, or the eagle, was therefore the totem of one of the Solar tribes of Patala. . . . Garuda is described as tearing the bodies of the Yakshas and devouring the Nishadas; also as destroying the elephant and tortoise which represent Solar tribes." Krishna, he points out, is distinguished by the auspicious sign "Srivatsa," which is also the sign of the Garudas, and therefore the adoption of Garuda as the vahanam of Krishna and as his ensign in battle is only a figurative way of saying that Krishna led into battle a tribe of warriors whose totem was the eagle or kite. Similarly it may be argued that the army of monkeys which Rama led to Ceylon and who it will be remembered are essentially southern, represent a tribe whose totem was the monkey, and hence their leader, Hanuman, was *the*

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monkey and is always so represented in painting and sculpture. The same argument would of course apply to the squirrels. It is possible that a similar line of reasoning might account for the elephant head of Ganesh, the serpent hood of Vishnu and his animal avatars. The serpent hood may no doubt be placed in the category of Vahanams, but the others would seem to rest upon such obscure foundations that it would be unsafe to base any theory upon them. The explanation usually given of Ganesha's head is that the elephant is regarded as a type of sagacity; that seems too simple and too modern to be the true one. I do not pretend to have solved that particular point, only to have indicated a direction in which research might be made. Dr. Oldham gives no reasons; he states the fact, probably because he considered that no proof was necessary, partly perhaps because as he was investigating the worship of the sun and the serpent, he was not directly concerned with the point. But all that we know of totem worship suggests that he is right. In Australia, we read, the aboriginal tribes are divided into sections of phratries which again are subdivided into totem clans. In some parts it appears that the phratries have no names, the original plan having been superseded by the greater importance of the totem clans. Thus phratry "A" will contain the tribes of the Crow, the Snake, the Lizard and the Eagle-hawk, phratry "B" those of the Wolf, the Owl, the Bat, and so on. In a savage state of society, which remained unprogressive either in culture or in numbers, this arrangement would still hold good; but amongst a vigorous and energetic people it is bound to have become modified. The spirit of nationality or rather of tribal unity would assert itself, and so in time would be formed kingdoms or principalities like those of Israel and Judah, separate in themselves, but claiming descent from a common ancestor. Mr. Andrew Lang has advanced the hypothesis that the phratry, far from being a segment of a larger group, was itself formed as the "result of an alliance of two groups, already exogamous and intermarrying." Thus he would build up from below, and by an extension of the same principle the phratries thus formed would tend to coalesce into a single tribe which owned the same totem.

We are now dealing with a time long anterior to any written record. In the course of centuries the arts were developed; cities and towns came into being; tribes coalesced into nations or territorial units; religious ideas became more elaborate and wars more highly organized.

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Cultivation on something like scientific lines took the place of the primitive idea of burning the jungle which still persists among aboriginal peoples. Consequently the old notion of the family totem died out, and the totem of the tribe now became emblematic, so that armies marched under the standard of the eagle or the monkey, just as at Barnet the Star of the De Veres was opposed to the Sun of Edward of York. But though the family totem died out, the idea remained. The religious sanctions were not lost, but the tribe now tended to crystallize into families or clans on occupational rather than on totemic lines. Occupations tend to be hereditary, and also to congregate round a centre. That this happens in England today—that Manchester is devoted to cotton and Yorkshire to wool, Northampton to boots, and Sheffield to cutlery—is perhaps largely due to the elaboration of modern industrial life; but the tendency is noticeable even in London, where Fleet Street is the home of journalism, and where in other places particular crafts congregate. Obviously the men of any given craft find it convenient to have others in social propinquity so that each may help the other, and so we find in India also where weavers' and goldsmiths' streets may now be due to caste, but also serve the same ends as do the London streets. Thus the Wolves tended to become weavers, the Owls carpenters, the Hawks blacksmiths. In other words, the caste was not the direct product of occupation, it pre-existed it, but was adjusted later to suit the new conditions. It may be objected that this does not account for its rigidity; you cannot expect all Owls to become carpenters, so that the totem clan exactly coincides with occupation. That is of course quite true; to imagine otherwise would be contrary to all human experience. Hence the word "tended." No doubt some of the Wolves took to carpentering, and some of the Owls to weaving, and by slow—possibly imperceptible—degrees as the clan lost its totemic character the Weaver Owl would become recognized as a weaver and virtually became a Wolf; that is to say, that the castes did readjust themselves during an uncertain period of time, as they settled down upon occupational lines. When once they were so settled they became static within themselves, and no longer admitted candidates from other clans. But rigidity did not bar subdivision, and in this sense evolution continued and continues. Dr. Slater points out as one of the facts which favour the occupational theory that "new castes tend to arise in consequence of changes in methods of industry," and in an earlier chapter

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gives an instance of the subdivision of castes on these lines.

A further objection may be made that castes tend to split but never to amalgamate. No doubt at the beginning men must have come together to form a caste, but the caste once formed was rigid; if therefore caste had its origin in the totem clan the association was ready-made and it is contrary to caste custom to argue that it was fluid. The Owls therefore would be carpenters which might split into sub-castes, but would not have admitted outsiders into the carpenters' guild. The objection itself involves the assumption that the totem clans observed the same rigid rules as the later institution, that the transitional period was comparatively short, and that we are justified in applying modern rules to ancient times. It may be regarded as certain that totemism was always closely connected with marriage laws or customs. The subdivisions correspond very roughly to families though not necessarily closely related by blood, the phratries to the caste which was made up of these "families," and as was suggested earlier, the combination of phratries led to the formation of the tribe. Now it is somewhat significant that in Australia there is only one tribe in which marriage is allowed within the totem clan; the usual rule in totemic societies is that one phratry should marry into another phratry; that is to say, though the analogy must not be pushed too far, one caste should marry into another caste. This then is the very antithesis of Indian custom, the essence of which is that caste should marry within caste. And if the analogy could be carried to that length no doubt it would seem to be fatal. But human institutions do not work like that; they proceed by evolution, and not by fitting a cut-and-dried scheme into a new case. What therefore is more important for our purpose is that in this totemic system of marriage without the totem but within the phratry we can perceive the germs of endogamous and exogamous limitations which are still a feature of Hindu marriage. It would not indeed be safe to assert anything more definite. In the great majority of the totem tribes of Australia a totem family must marry into a totem family belonging to the opposite phratry, but the practice is not universal, and we cannot argue that what happened or happens in Australia must necessarily agree in all details with what happened in pre-historic India.

(*To be continued.*)

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

INDIA

REPORT ON THE CONDITIONS AND PROSPECTS OF BRITISH TRADE IN INDIA. By H.M. Senior Trade Commissioner in India and Ceylon. (*H.M. Stationery Office.*) 3s. net.

(*Reviewed by* A. L. SAUNDERS, C.S.I.)

POLITICAL discussion is seldom optimistic; in the case of Indian political discussion in particular the prevailing note is that of rhetorical gloom. Between the "bleeding to death" of anti-Government writers, especially those of British race, and the "lapsing into anarchy" of reactionary die-hards, the future of India is usually painted in lines of earthquake and eclipse. It is a relief to turn to a report marked by practical common sense and business calculation; the relief becomes greater when the result emerges as indication of material and growing improvement. Indian poverty is not to be denied, but trade steadily increases, the financial situation is stable, the public debt diminishes, and, best of all, the working-class cost of living grows steadily less. The percentage of this last over July, 1914, was 73 in 1923; it was 54 in 1927, and 47 in the year under report.

That the public financial position of India is satisfactory may possibly be connected with the fact that the technique of financial management is seldom the concern of her politicians. An exception occurred when the Bill for creation of a Reserve Bank to take over the control of currency and credit and reform the monetary and banking machinery of the country was, for reasons entirely apart from finance, smothered by the Assembly. India has escaped currency crises of a serious character, and her rulers have refused to listen to inflationist sirens. In the matter of debt she enjoys exceptional blessings. "If the recent rate of progress is continued," said Sir Basil Blackett in his final Budget Speech, "our unproductive debt should vanish altogether in about twelve years." To us Europeans who can hardly bear to look at our National Debt figures this state of things seems idyllic, a return of the Saturnian kingdom. The result is seen, more prosaically, in the prices of Indian stocks. The 3½ per cent. Indian Government Rupee Loan, for instance, has risen from 57 in 1923 to 76 in the current year.

The foreign trade of India has, the report tells us, made steady progress. One item in particular gives a sidelight on the internal security of the country. Bullion imports have fallen. "The decrease in the imports [of gold]," says the Currency Controller, "during the last two years, as compared with the pre-war imports, is very striking." That means security and confidence. The Indian public is ceasing to hoard; it invests. Another import that has decreased is cotton textiles. This is due to the develop-

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ment of the Indian cotton industry. It is not because of Mr. Gandhi's boycott. In that no one but the mahatma himself ever believed, though there were those who found it a useful slogan. Britain, it is satisfactory to observe, keeps her proportion of India's external trade. The only foreign country which has acquired a substantially larger share is the United States. This Mr. Ainscough ascribes principally to the superiority of American salesmanship. His remarks are pertinent, and deserving of close study. But effective as American methods are, they are only applicable to certain classes of goods, and it would be hardly advisable for British firms to copy them exactly. For dealing with the Indian masses there should be no attempt to supersede the Indian retail trader, whose careful shrewdness and intimate knowledge of his connection will always be indispensable to any popular distribution on a large scale. He wants knowing; he is not exactly pro-British, much as he values security, and he can stand on his dignity, but if tactfully approached and handled he may be an agency of the utmost value.

Aerial navigation has received special attention, and the account of its development is specially interesting. There has been progress also in railway construction. But the great railway problem, the one that above all others would affect trade between Britain and India, is not mentioned. It never is in official reports. Two great countries—two only—with no insuperable natural obstacles to overcome, maintain their isolation from the railway systems of the world. They are Britain and India. The Channel Tunnel would be child's play to modern engineers, and the Seistan desert no great obstacle. The objections are believed to be military, but during the war our Army had good cause to lament the unborn tunnel. The lack of a means of entering India by land might yet be regretted when too late.

Mr. Ainscough and his Department are to be congratulated on a valuable and fruitful report.

THE WORKING OF DYARCHY IN INDIA, 1919-1928. By Kerala Putra. (Bombay: *D. B. Taraporevala, Sons and Co.*) 4 Rs. (6s. 6d.). 1928.

(*Reviewed by* SIR H. VERNEY LOVETT, K.C.S.I.)

The author of this book claims to have been saved from political partisanship by much observation of the proceedings of the Central Legislature of British India and of one Provincial Council. His claim is supported by various extracts from newspapers which are printed on the paper cover, but not by certain passages in the book itself, more especially in the chapter headed "Political Conditions." More than a page, for instance, is devoted to quoting Sir Valentine Chirol's account of the tragedy of the Jallianwala Bagh, while not a word is said about the violent rioting, destruction of property, and murders of Europeans which preceded General Dyer's action.

It would be a waste of time to discuss Kerala Putra's account of the working of Dyarchy and of the present constitution of British India. These subjects have been more briefly but clearly and adequately dealt

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with by the authors of "India: The New Phase" (Westminster Library). They are now receiving careful investigation from the Simon Commission and the various committees of the Indian Legislatures. Whether the general verdict will be as favourable as Kerala Putra anticipates remains to be seen. His proposals for the future are briefly these:

He considers that the powers of the Secretary of State must be largely curtailed. What is taken from the Secretary of State must go to the Legislative Assembly. He will still possess effective power in matters affecting Imperial and foreign policy, and to a less extent in "vital changes affecting the constitution." But he must no longer control the internal policy of the Government or interfere with "the daily matters of administration." The Governor-General will continue to represent the British Crown and Cabinet in relations with the Native States and neighbouring Powers. But in his capacity as the chief governing agent he will be responsible to "the Indian Legislature"—presumably the Legislative Assembly, as Kerala Putra has no use for the Council of State. The Central Government in British India must have a Prime Minister and Cabinet dependent on a majority in the Legislative Assembly.

In the provinces there must be unitary governments removable by and responsible to the Legislatures. This means provincial autonomy; but the power of the Central Government must remain unimpaired over "a vast variety of subjects in view of India's peculiar social, political, and racial structure." There are to be no second chambers in the provinces, as the Council of State at headquarters has, in our author's opinion, been a failure. He lays down, however, that "where provincial jealousies are great, and the particularism of nations in formation or already in existence is so keen as in India, the most essential thing, if political unity is to be preserved, is to maintain a powerful Central Government." But what he fails to realize is that the Central Government which he proposes would, in India as she stands today, be an eminently weak and variable form of government, quite unable to maintain its authority even for a year without the whole backing of Great Britain.

Nor does he see that from its establishment one result would follow which he is particularly anxious to avoid. Let us quote his words: "No one in India wants a weakening of the Executive power of the essential Services which have done so much to establish a united administration over so vast an area. The power of organization, the executive efficiency, and the methods of administration which the Indian Services represent are among the most valuable assets, and constitute the basis on which every future Government of India has to be raised. The greatest credit is due to the British people in having provided India with this strong and durable administrative foundation. No less is the credit of having developed Provincial Services, mainly Indian in personnel, but deriving their administrative tradition from the all-India Services, which were essentially British in character. It is the existence of these two bodies—one thoroughly British in principle and mainly British in personnel, and the other deriving its inspiration from the superior Services, but manned

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entirely by Indians—that makes the progressive realization of self-government possible."

Exactly! But as India now is, no impartial person can doubt that were the changes previously recommended by Kerala Putra to become law these essential Services would deteriorate very rapidly indeed. On this point there can be no doubt whatever. The safeguards which he proposes for them would prove quite illusory.

Kerala Putra's observations on the franchise and on communal representation show that he is fully aware of the great difficulties involved in the settlement of these questions. The representation of the untouchable classes is another difficulty. He apparently contemplates no change in the control of the Army, but is not explicit on this point. But in an India which is often swept by waves of communal or political agitation, and is depicted as ripe for the introduction of a full-blown parliamentary system, the control of an army which is not, and never can be, proportionally representative of her various races and peoples is a question of primary importance. It cannot be left in a corner.

There is no use in proposing for India a constitution which will not effectually function. What constitution will function is the problem which Sir John Simon and his colleagues are laboriously endeavouring to solve. With that real and genuine co-operation which consists in a willingness on each side to grasp realities and understand opposite points of view, difficulties would greatly lessen. But, in any case, they would require most patient and dispassioned investigation.

Cow Protection in India. By L. L. Sundara Ram, M.A., F.R.ECON.S. (LOND.). (Mint Street, Madras: *The South Indian Humanitarian League.*)

(*Reviewed by* S. N. Mallik, C.I.E.)

This is the first volume of the writer's interesting monograph on the problem of cow protection in India. The publication of the volume is opportune, especially in view of the tremendous importance which the problem has gained at the present day. Not one day passes by without some hitch between the two prominent communities in India—the Hindus and the Muhammadans—and in every one of these serious social aberrations the cow question figures prominently along with the one of Music before mosques. Mr. Ram's contribution to this age-long question is mainly educative, in that a dispassionate study based on original sources is offered us in this book.

Mr. Gandhi summarized the whole question in a memorable sentence, "The cow is a poem of pity." Surely the cow question is not such a really unsolvable one. All that is wanted is an earnest desire on the part of the educated and the religious-minded of both these communities to see the bearings of the problem in its proper perspective and without any bigotry, and an endeavour to clear up the prejudices of the masses. Mr. Ram's study in this volume is a thorough attempt towards a *rapprochement*

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between the two communities. Writing as an orthodox Brahmin, Mr. Ram has the courage to declare on the basis of religious texts that cow protection is not the hegemony and the particular privilege of the Hindus, in that ancient Hindus were not unknown to eat beef and prescribe cow and bull sacrifices. Again, on the Muslim side, he shows in a clear manner that cow sacrifice is not an essential tenet of Islam. On the other hand, he endeavours to gather evidence, however meagre, that the Prophet and the Muslims in general endeavoured to prize the cow as a very valuable asset in agriculture, and that in the mediæval age Muslim sovereigns, including even Aurangzib, endeavoured to meet the Hindus half-way, and promulgated ordinances for cow protection throughout the Empire. The chapters on the Muslim Outlook and the History of Cow Protection in India are worthy of serious perusal.

The second volume of Mr. Ram's monograph dealing with the economic side of the problem is to be expected with great interest, as it is the side of the question that should be borne in mind by every serious-minded son of India for whom the polemic, theological, and historical ground has been cleared up with admirable thoroughness in this present modest volume.

The get-up is a fairly decent one for the Indian Press, and the volume would have gained much by the preparation of an index, which is wanting in the present edition.

GENERAL

STALKY'S REMINISCENCES. By Major-General L. C. Dunsterville. (*Jonathan Cape.*) 7s. 6d. net.

Discussing (on the first page of this autobiographical sketch) his family name and its origin, General Dunsterville remarks that the anagram into which it can be converted is "Never sit dull." After reading the book, most people will agree that it is a most apposite summary of the General's life and character. The story it tells is of a life passed, as so many lives are passed, almost entirely outside Britain up to the day of retirement. Officers of the Indian Army appear every four or five years for a few months at home, and disappear again, and few but their own immediate relatives know anything about the conditions under which their lives are lived. A book such as this is for that very reason of the highest value. General Dunsterville has succeeded in what might seem to be an impossible task. He has, without saying a word which might hurt any single individual of the thousands he met during his service, given a wonderful picture of Indian Army life as he saw it during the last forty years. The soul of discretion in his references to others, he is the acme of candour in his references to himself. "In those hectic years from 1890 to 1894 I freely burnt the candle at both ends, having hard work all the day, and social pleasures amid the gaieties of Lahore that kept me up most of the night. . . . At that cheerful and reckless period of life I do not think any income would have been large enough for me" (p. 108); "I don't want to go out to dinner, but once I get there I never want to go home

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again" (p. 118); "I had no money, but I seldom have had, and there are ways of getting round that difficulty" (p. 216), are merely a few specimens taken at random to show the spirit in which the book is written, a spirit of frankness so complete that it silences censure before it is uttered.

Naturally we would expect so lively and energetic a character to see the humorous side of life, and we are not disappointed. Some of the General's stories deserve to become classics. The Chowdry's earnest query, "Please, sir, is tombstones Mess Guests?" (p. 72), is hard to beat, but is perhaps exceeded by the Babu's attempt at a "permanent shooting pass" for an Indian officer: "Jemadar Punjab Singh has permission to be absent from his quarters for the purpose of playing hunting with himself for ever."

It must not be thought that there is no serious side to this book. General Dunsterville has much of great interest to say about the foundation and difficulties connected with the management of the U.S. College at Westward Ho! immortalized by Rudyard Kipling in "Stalky" (pp. 199 and ff). His few remarks on Russia (pp. 146-8) are based on a profound knowledge of the language and people. About India and its political problems he is very reticent until the last few pages of the book (pp. 287-291), when he allows himself some reflections which are well worth the serious attention of any student of Indian problems.

The whole book is the reflection of a vigorous and compelling personality, shown at its best in the strange and romantic expedition with which General Dunsterville's name will for ever be linked in the word "Dunsterforce."

C.

THE MIND AND FACE OF BOLSHEVISM. By René Fülöp-Miller. (*G. P. Putnam's Sons, Ltd.*) 21s. net.

(*Reviewed by* STANLEY CASSON.)

This book will remain for many years the standard work upon Bolshevism if only because it is the first really impartial account that has yet appeared. Its great importance as a study of Bolshevism is that it tackles the problem from a purely objective and scientific standpoint, and not from the point of view of a person whose whole mode of life is already dedicated to a social structure that is either identical or opposite. What Mr. Fülöp-Miller's real views on social philosophy are we never really discover—and this is the chief merit of the book.

Modern writers on Bolshevik Russia treat the subject much as Europe treated Turkey in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—as a terror to be feared and an amazing phenomenon to be examined. Hence in those days as now countless earnest travellers set out for these strange lands ready to see portents and prodigies and to record almost fabulous tales. The Turks then, as the Russians now, saw that they were not disappointed. But the pathetic fact remains that there is no European work of the sixteenth or seventeenth century (when the Turkish Terror was most formidable) which gives us the smallest inkling as to the real life of Turkey, simply because the traveller always started out with the certainty of his own

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superiority and the essential righteousness of Christianity. Perhaps one man alone, that wise ambassador Busbecq, found the heart of Turkey. So now Mr. Fülöp-Miller has found the heart of Bolshevism. And a strange and barbaric heart it is. We learn more from Mr. Fülöp-Miller's account of Bolshevik porcelain factories for the production of propagandist tea-sets, from his description of the amazing public statuary and the nightmare-drama that represents one (though not the present) phase of Bolshevism. Ten years is a long time, and the Bolsheviks have had just as many political and social changes during their period of control as we have had during a similar period. The author illustrates these changes by a wealth of evidence (of which the photographic is one of the most important) which covers every phase of social activity.

The most interesting general conclusion that emerges is that Bolshevism is based upon what is most characteristic of all Russian qualities—the capacity for mass-action and mass-feeling, which itself is the oldest of the national characteristics which distinguish Russia from most Occidental countries. This unusual quality is itself derived from the long history of serfdom which moulded the people into a more or less undifferentiated mass and kept them free from the more modern social developments and changes. Revolution has merely adapted to its ends this strange aspect of society in Russia and moulded the spirit and outlook of a serf-life into a very convenient and suitable "mass-action" and "mass-theory" which underlies the whole movement. The subordination of the individual comes easily to the Russian because it is what he has been accustomed to do all his life. Bolshevism is a change of masters and an appearance of freedom because the masses are encouraged to think that it is they who are in control; masses, as such, can easily be made to believe in what, after all, is a government that is not wholly out of tune with the life to which they are accustomed.

This book is thus a profound psychological and social study of a movement which must be examined historically and scientifically rather than tested by the political tenets and beliefs to which other countries have for centuries been habituated. No one interested in modern Russia can afford to leave this book unread.

THE RELATION OF INDIAN STATES AND THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA. By K. M. Panikkar. (*Martin Hopkinson.*) 10s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* SIR RICHARD BURN, C.S.I.)

The appointment of the committee presided over by Sir Harcourt Butler to examine the relationship between Indian States and the Crown and the economic relations between those States and British India serves as a reminder of the importance of the States, particularly at a time when the administrative system of British India is also under consideration. Mr. Panikkar's book thus appears at a time when a study of the subject should be particularly valuable. Unfortunately the author has allowed himself to become possessed by the idea that the Government of India, with the

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sanction of the British Government, have constantly been actuated by a desire to limit and control the authority of the rulers of the States in a purely arbitrary fashion. Nothing could be farther from the truth.

The nature of the relations between the rulers and the Government of India has always been difficult to define in general terms, and the problem has sometimes been obscured by applying terms used in Western public law. Neither Parliament nor any legislative power in India at present makes laws to affect the jurisdiction of princes over their subjects within their States. Nevertheless, the Government of India, under the British Government, has exercised and still exercises control over foreign relations and military affairs, and over the way in which the princes exercise their authority to ensure a reasonable security for their subjects and the absence of injury to the interests of British India.

Mr. Panikkar argues from the terms of the treaties, engagements, and grants relating to the States that three classes may be distinguished—viz., those the rulers of which, owing to the terms of their early treaties, enjoy full and absolute sovereignty; those who, though treaty States, enjoy jurisdiction and legislative powers, only under supervision; and thirdly, those whose rights are based on grants, and he appears to argue that the Government of India must be content to sit with folded arms regardless of what is done or left undone by rulers of the first class. Such a contention cannot be accepted, and is indeed not generally put forward by the rulers themselves.

In his limited space Mr. Panikkar has not been able to trace the history of the relations, which clearly shows how the status of the East India Company itself changed from that of one of a number of petty powers in India to that of suzerain over all. He omits to mention the disastrous results of the policy of non-intervention attempted at the close of the eighteenth century, which by 1817 had produced forces of 150,000 armed men with 500 cannon in Central India, whence they made constant incursions into British India. Recent affairs have shown that a return to non-intervention would have disastrous results to the subjects in both the States and British India. Mr. Panikkar himself admits that the position of State subjects is not entirely acceptable to educated Indians in British India.

Sir Harcourt Butler, speaking with long knowledge of Indian States, recently expressed the opinion that the standard of administration has advanced and is advancing, and that too much should not be made of occasional and exceptional lapses. The chiefs themselves are anxious, not so much regarding interference by the Government when lapses occur, as to the method in which this should be done. And they are still more concerned because they feel that their position is being affected by the changes in the constitution of British India, and they do not contemplate with satisfaction the transfer of such control as is now exercised by the Government of India to legislatures in India, or to Indian officials responsible to such bodies. Mr. Panikkar briefly mentions the Chamber of Princes which was constituted by the King's proclamation of 1921 as a permanent body which the Viceroy might consult on general matters

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affecting the States, or affecting those territories jointly with British India and the Empire. It is not concerned with internal affairs of individual States or the relations between individual States and Government. Mr. Panikkar is vague as to the future. He does not describe how far the Chamber has been acceptable to the Princes, or discuss the question whether their discussions have been fruitful; he thinks that development of the institution, after exclusion of the large number of chiefs in his third class, is desirable.

Apart from the distorted representation of the motives of Government in their dealings with the States, the book is marred by a number of mistakes and omissions. The quotation from M. Chailley at pp. 110-11 is not that writer's opinion as is suggested here, but the complaints of interested persons regarding interference. M. Chailley himself adds (p. 261 of his book): "To pleadings of this sort the British Government has, unfortunately, but too good a reply." The Nawab of Rampur should be mentioned as recipient of the G.C.V.O. (p. 76). Ajmer is in British territory, not in a State (p. 78). The account of affairs in Manipur in 1891 omits mention of the murder of the Chief Commissioner of Assam and other persons (p. 93). There are numerous misprints, and the index is hardly adequate, but the bibliography contains a useful list of works.

FAR EAST

RECENT BOOKS ON CHINA

(*Reviewed by* BRIG.-GENERAL C. D. BRUCE, C.B.E.)

It may be of interest to note first the International opinions we find expressed in some of these Far Eastern books under review. Count Sforza and Mr. Nicholas Roosevelt look at many of the well-known problems discussed from quite different angles from each other, or, it may be added, from the point of view of any British writer.

Count Sforza is, of course, well known as at one time Minister for Foreign Affairs in Italy, also as Italian Minister at Peking during a period of great importance—1911-1915. He was, as he reminds us, the last Foreign Minister but one to present his credentials to the last Chinese Emperor, or at least to the last Emperor of the Manchu dynasty. In addition, Count Sforza was in Peking as a youthful diplomat immediately following the Boxer Rising of 1900, and he revisited China and the Far East in 1927.

In Mr. Nicholas Roosevelt we have a well-known American journalist, traveller, and author of the highest standing. As a nephew of that great President, Theodore Roosevelt, Mr. Nicholas Roosevelt may be reckoned to be imbued with at least some of the wide views of his famous relative. In his breadth of vision of European affairs Theodore Roosevelt in many ways far exceeded that of any American President who for the last half-century has occupied that unique position.

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L'ENIGME CHINOISE. Par Comte Sforza. (Paris: *Payot.*) 18 fr.

Was it worth while to write this book? asks the author of it in his preface. From most readers who follow the carefully weighed opinions expressed therein we think the answer will be that it was. L'Enigme Chinoise, written in French by an Italian diplomatist, is one more stimulating study of that extraordinary riddle, and, as already stated, Comte Sforza is well qualified for the task he has set himself. His style is perhaps less that of a writer of books than of an essayist. This book might be a collection of short essays upon various matters of peculiar interest connected with the present state of China. In some ways Comte Sforza's style is reminiscent of that of the late Earl of Cromer, when the latter was discoursing of men and matters Oriental, though we cannot expect quite the profound knowledge of the Oriental mind possessed in such a marked degree by that great Pro-Consul.

Like Lord Cromer, Comte Sforza has few illusions about the danger to their own countries of the free play in them of the semi-Westernized ideas of foreign educated students. Still less has he any doubts about "Nationalism" gone astray (pages 197, 198, 199). The "Nationalist" catechism set out in full on page 199 is a document which should be carefully studied by all readers anxious to understand the frequently quoted from but far less frequently read "San M'in" of Sun Yat-sen, though this is to anticipate.

In Chapters I. to IV. the author traces in outline the various links which foreign nations have, it may almost be said, forged for their own undoing at the hands of China — links which, unless gradually forged afresh threaten to render almost impossible their entire intercourse—political, economic, and social. In Chapter V. follow references to the surprising power of a new and ever-spreading vernacular press. In a later chapter come some distinctly pessimistic remarks upon the future of Shanghai, to all intents and purposes the economic capital of mid-China. To traders interested in the commercial importance of this extraordinary city built on the mud of the Whang-pu Comte Sforza is not particularly reassuring. Though the subject-matter of the chapter is more or less novel it might have been better handled.

Then come inevitable chapters upon the Customs, Salt, and Postal Services. Though these subjects are worn somewhat threadbare, they are of such vital importance to China's financial credit as well as to foreign investors that Comte Sforza's comments will be read with interest.

Chapters XII. to XIV. as well as pp. 193, 194, 195, merit special notice, for they discuss in detail and with knowledge not always available the future effect of Christianity in China—its spread or its ultimate rejection. Here is one of the world problems of tomorrow. There are those who look for the regeneration of China—indeed of the East in general—by means of other and purely material influences, and they may, of course, be right. Few persons with the necessary experience will be likely to deny that there are already in China other influences than Christianity which in the end will help to bring civilization and an altogether higher standard of social

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life to China and the East in general; but can the 400,000,000 souls in China, as well as the 150,000,000 of their contiguous Russian neighbours, continue to repudiate Christianity and thrive morally and socially? There is no denying the magnitude of this question. It has lately been asked by an astute American observer who has returned from visiting Russia, "whether this break with spirituality in Russia and the attempt to establish a purely materialistic basis of life is fundamentally contrary to human nature" or, "will human nature, in the long run, assert itself in this as it is asserting itself in (Russian) economic life?" Herein lies one of the main problems of the future situation in China.

Final chapters describe the positions of the various Great Powers in China (p. 108), and are of special value as expressing the matured opinions of a writer well versed in European as well as in Asiatic diplomacy. So many writers upon China, especially American authors, have little, if any, knowledge of the interplay of European politics upon those of Asia.

In Chapter XVII. readers will find a very interesting account of the life led by Germans who no longer hold extraterritorial rights in China. In the following chapter Comte Sforza tells once more how Bolshevism first gained a foothold in the country, also how the U.S.S.R. carries on almost identically the Imperialist policy of pre-war Russia in Manchuria and Mongolia. The world is apt to forget the very material gains of the U.S.S.R. since the Great War by the seizure of Mongolia and the new rights acquired in Manchuria under the lately signed Chinese Eastern Railway agreement between China and Soviet Russia.

Discussing the policy of Japan towards her now awakened but leaderless neighbour, Comte Sforza wrote before, it should be noted, the typical happenings at Tsinan Fu.

Of the political wisdom of America in China our author evidently holds a high opinion (pp. 164, 165), though quite in what way it has so far shown itself to be worthy of commendation is not clear.

By no means the least valuable portion of this book is to be found in Chapter XXIII. Here are reprinted eleven "documents," all of very real value to serious students.

THE RESTLESS PACIFIC. By Nicholas Roosevelt. (*Scribners.*) 12s. 6d. net.

"Now that distance has been annihilated in the Pacific," writes Mr. Roosevelt, "and East and West stand cheek by jowl in Asia, a violent earthquake in Japan, or a typhoon in the China Sea may change the course of history in America." He might well have said in the world including America, for in these days the world is nothing if not international. Mr. Roosevelt continues: "The East, instead of being a region apart, is closely bound up with the politics of the world, and is directly affected by events in Europe." Finally, to point the moral to his compatriots, Mr. Roosevelt emphasizes, "Heretofore we Americans have been guided by sentimentality and ignorance, and have cherished illusions with surprising obtuseness and tenacity. We have complacently assumed that our fiat could remake the world, and

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that we had a mission to 'reform the heathen.' Our tasks remain and our ideals are unfulfilled. The problem which we face is how to make these ideals effective."

Here we have examples of the author's outspoken style, and Mr. Nicholas Roosevelt is nothing if not outspoken. Our author is equally frank in criticizing other nations, as will appear later, but it is the frankness of one who has done his best carefully to study his subject. Mr. Roosevelt has obviously been at pains to inform himself at first hand about the numerous questions he mentions and the policies he criticizes in his book. Whether we agree with him or not most readers, be they British, Japanese, Dutch, or Russian, can learn something fresh about their own Asiatic foreign policies from studying Mr. Roosevelt's point of view.

In more ways than one, in more ways perhaps than he intended, the author has written a book well worth reading. If the opinions therein expressed in any way interpret American official opinion or the opinion of "plain" Americans upon the problems of the Pacific, they afford a striking interpretation of the ever-growing tendency to Imperialism throughout the United States of America. Mr. Nicholas Roosevelt probably considers himself as good a Republican as any of his fellow-countrymen, whether they come from the Eastern, the Middle Western, Western or Southern States, but nothing could be more Imperialistic—however unconscious—than some of his utterances upon America's Far Eastern policy, as he would shape it. Take for example one such. On p. 7 Mr. Roosevelt writes: "To Americans these questions of the Pacific have ceased to be purely academic, for the United States has been forced by geographical circumstances" (is this not the age-long cry of Imperialism?) "to play an important—perhaps a determining—part in this conflict of interests in the Pacific. Not content to make the Pacific coast her territorial limit, and to develop through the Golden Gate and other ports a flourishing trade across the Pacific, the United States has annexed Alaska and Hawaii, and established naval bases in Guam, the Philippines, and Samoa. The American people, to use a phrase of H. H. Bancroft, the historian of the West Coast, 'have plunged into the sea.' Henceforth their destinies will be affected by developments in the imperial ocean."

And to quote one more example (p. 205): "Our prestige," says our author, "will rise or fall according to our conduct in the Philippines, and with our prestige will rise or fall our influence in the East. America's interests in the Pacific are thus intricately interlaced. If our idealism is to be made practical, it must be supported by a consistent policy in which right will rest on fact rather than theory and, if challenged, will be supported by might."

If this is not Imperialism the reader may well ask what is. If confirmation of this tendency were needed we have it clearly and concisely supplied so late as in April, 1928. Speaking in his own State of Maryland, Mr. Ritchie, the Governor, gave utterance to these striking words:

"The nation," said Mr. Ritchie, "does not want Imperialism in terms of Empire, but the dollar is already acquiring it in terms of power. The

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dollar may not dream of political Empire, but it does dream of markets. Our interests in other countries is largely interest in markets. Imperialism can be economic as well as political, and as dangerous in either case."

To British readers a chapter which will naturally appeal is that in which the author discusses "Britain the Conservator" (Chapter XI.). As everywhere in his book, Mr. Roosevelt endeavours to be eminently fair. But there are naturally certain statements open to challenge. Speaking of Shanghai and British trade in the Yangtze Valley, he remarks: "Everywhere in China the intererests of British commerce have been fostered by governmental aid." Has this been the universal opinion of British merchants at Shanghai during the last decade?

Referring to reciprocity between Great Britain and the United States of America over the open-door doctrine (p. 142)—one of the few points where the two policies really harmonize—Mr. Roosevelt comments in a manner refreshingly frank on his own country's lack of co-operation with Great Britain in China.

Other chapters which should appeal to the reader possessing somewhat more than a nodding acquaintanceship with the problems of the Pacific are those entitled "Holland's Treasure Islands" (Chapter XII.) and "America and Americans in the East" (Chapters XIV. and XV.).

The stake of the Dutch in a peaceful Pacific is a matter frequently overlooked in any summing up of Far Eastern problems. In this chapter it is carefully outlined. As the author remarks: "Dutch inability to defend the Indies forces them to depend on Singapore for help in case of attack"; which, like American interest in the new naval base referred to in Chapter II. (pp. 24 and 25), should undoubtedly tend towards ultimate peace in the Pacific.

Another movement of the very greatest importance to which reference is made, one not always remembered by foreigners, is that known as "the Chinese Renaissance." What this may eventually mean to China as a regenerating influence no man can yet say. "Had the young Chinese," writes Mr. Roosevelt, "devoted half the amount of energy to considering constructive methods of improving the Chinese government that they have given to their denunciation of the foreign treaties, they would have hastened the realization of their aspirations for a China freed from foreign influence."

In this connection it may not be without interest to ask ourselves which of two Chinese names very well known today is likely to be remembered longest. One is that of Sun Yat Sen, erratic and unstable dreamer of dreams; the other that of Hu shih (Hu suh) the intellectual, the chief promoter of "the Chinese Renaissance."

Distributed throughout the various chapters of "The Restless Pacific" are many pithy remarks at times pregnant with meaning. For one at least (p. 238) room should be found:

"Intellectually," remarks Mr. Roosevelt, "most of the educated Orientals are more than the equals of the whites. But intellect alone is not enough to make a good leader. Most important is character—those

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instinctive qualities of devotion to duty, of loyalty to a cause, of capacity to resist criticism, and to do the right thing regardless of personal consequences. Whether it is that these, being more highly cherished in the West, have been more developed among white men, or whether there be more subtle reasons, the fact remains that Occidental leadership, or its Japanese counterpart, is essential for progress and modernization."

Seldom has one of the causes of the present chaotic condition in China (July, 1928), been more concisely summed up. It is to a very great extent to the entire lack of men of character to guide the Chinese nation that much of its present condition is due.

CHINA AND ENGLAND. By W. E. Soothill, M.A. OXON., HON. M.A. CANTAB. (*Oxford University Press.*) 7s. 6d. net.

This book is the result of a course of lectures given at the request of the Oxford University Extension Lecture Committee by W. E. Soothill, Professor of Chinese in the University of Oxford. Both of mission and educational work the Professor of Chinese at Oxford speaks with authority.

"I have spent," he writes in his preface, "nearly half my life in their midst (the Chinese), and most of my life in their service. That they have fallen once more on a period of disaster, and that their leaders have failed in the difficult task of guiding their great race into the peace and prosperity which the people deserve, calls for much patience and unfailing sympathy."

Much as we may agree with the latter paragraph, if we of the British race continue merely to proffer "patience and unfailing sympathy" without expecting any friendly return of these sentiments, are we acting in the best interests of China's inarticulate millions?

In his earlier chapters the author deals with the days when China first came into contact with the West. As he rightly emphasizes, "To understand the present, it is necessary to know the past," a remark which some latter-day writers upon "things Chinese" might well take to heart. That this early contact did not always run smoothly we know. Why this was so, one little incident of those days serves to show.

"In 1759," writes Professor Soothill, "Mr. Flint, the first Englishman known to have learnt Chinese, went north with a petition to the Emperor pleading for the amelioration of the oppression of foreign traders. He was expelled the country for his temerity, the Chinese writer of the petition was executed, the Chinese Superintendent of Trade dismissed, and the English merchants severely beaten."

In Chapter IV. (pp. 51 and 52) we find some frank speaking upon the position of missionaries in China so far as concerns extraterritoriality. "American missionaries," says the author, "through whose influence chiefly so many Chinese students have been educated in America, many at the expense of American missionary societies, have been the principal foreign protagonists for the abolition of the law of extraterritoriality.

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They have visualized modern China as if it were under the direction of Chinese who have been trained in America. They have seen only the Chinese student who has been trained in the liberty, fraternity, and equality of the Declaration of Independence, as understood by the richest and most automobilized nation on earth. . . . . There are, of course, among these American students many fine men, steady and silent. But others of them have joined the ranks of those who still refuse to look at the native root of China's woes, preferring to fix their unwavering gaze upon a few specks on the foreign leaves." Nor are American missionaries the only offenders. There are, as all are aware who have travelled in the interior of China, devoted men and women missionaries whose sole aim is the propagation of Christianity in its highest and best form. But there has in the past been too much political propaganda mixed with the teaching of a certain type of missionary, unconscious though it may have been.

In Chapter XI. we have yet one more pronouncement upon the Revolution, the fall of the Manchu dynasty, and the inception of the so-called Republic. Of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, Professor Soothill remarks: "Dr. Sun Yat Sen, grieving over the backwardness of his country, devoted his life to the overthrow of the Manchu Government, and as a destructive force his life may be described as successful." But this, the author elsewhere allows, is by no means the only epitaph the Kuomintang party allow him. Whatever foreign opinion may say about this extraordinary man, European doctor of medicine, entirely familiar with Western thought and culture, at one time pro-British to a degree, yet who ended his astonishing career upon a vehement and bitter note of anti-foreign declamation, he still remains the idol of the Chinese people who today accept Dr. Sun's "Three People's Principles" as the Magna Charta of modern China.

Of this political textbook the reader will find a summary in Chapters XII. to XIV. Whether the equally famous will, said to have been signed by Dr. Sun Yat Sen before his death, is genuine or not readers must inquire elsewhere. What is of profound interest to any one endeavouring to understand Chinese mentality, or it may be to find a possible avenue of escape from the present chaos in China, is to be told that this extraordinary political textbook is the *only* avenue, for this is what millions of Chinese believe. What must any foreigner think? Is it a case of *Quos Deus vult perdere, prius dementat?* Or as Professor Soothill puts it (p. 179): "A book of similar quality, displaying such ignorance, rancour, and self-contradiction, would not cause a feather's ripple in the West. But in the Far East such a book, by such a man—China's Gandhi-cum-Lenin—is treated with the utmost seriousness. . . ."

WEIGHED IN CHINA'S BALANCE. By Paul King. (*Heath Cranton.*) 10s. 6d. net.

As might have been expected from a writer so well equipped for the task as Mr. Paul King, this judicial summing-up of China's grievances against the encroachment of the West has a special interest of its own.

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At the very end of the book, in *L'Envoi*, the author for the first time informs the reader that the views therein recorded are not his own, which to the reviewer who had hoped that he was imbibing straight from the fountain-head seemed at first somewhat of a paradox. In any case, Mr. King's intention in writing this book cannot be better summed up than in his own words (p. 231) in *L'Envoi*:

"China is very old, but she is also marvellously young, and every day and hour may shift the scene towards a happier issue for her and for us. Let us hope and work for this.

"All through these pages I have repeatedly explained that the views therein recorded and described are in no sense my own."

Of the fourteen chapters most are concerned with showing the effects upon Chinese mentality of the clash of Western enroachment on its religious side. The last two chapters contain descriptions of the "disillusionment of the Great War" as the Chinese saw and still see it. Then comes the brief reference to Dr. Sun Yat Sen's "Three People's Doctrine," and to his comments on "the Russian Revolution," also to the Kuo Min Tang or "Nationalist" party. Of this latter Mr. King remarks (pp. 221 and 222):

"In order to win favour for their new Internationalism the Kuo Min Tang are inflaming native opinion somewhat one-sidedly and prematurely against what *they* call Imperialism. Their pronouncements and arguments are well worth examining, and in some aspects win both the sympathy and the assent of foreigners who, like myself, admire, understand and esteem what is best in China. But a great deal of their propaganda is not only negatively un-Chinese, it is actually more anti-Chinese than anti-foreign, being a hash of Western Socialism, Jacobinism, and other doctrinaire stuff that is quite alien to the fundamental principles of Chinese ethics and modes of government."

Of interest to readers not familiar with the inner teachings of Confucius and Lao Tzu are Chapters II. and III. Mr. King endeavours to unfold and explain the philosophy of both these great sages. What can hardly fail to strike any Christian student of Confucian philosophy who is meeting these maxims for the first time is the fact that they were enunciated 2,500 years ago—some 600 years before the birth of Christ—and that we still repeat many Confucian maxims as our own highest ideal of Christian virtue. Is it that our boasted civilization can carry us no further?

In adjusting his scales Mr. King makes no attempt to burke facts which many foreign writers on China are content to ignore. Speaking of missionary work (Chap. IX., pp. 134 and 135), he writes:

"Boys' schools of native origin were, of course, common enough all over China, but setting up girls' schools was another matter. Oriental views about women are (or at least were) quite unlike our own, and this should have been taken thoroughly into account before starting schemes to educate Chinese girls. . . . There was quite an idea, in connection especially with girls' schools, that the pupils would go home at intervals and spread the light of the Gospel in their dark heathen environment.

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This was making considerable demands on little Chinese maidens, and the plan did not always work out according to the missionaries' hopes, as there was apt to be some confusion between what they meant to teach the children and what the children actually learnt, thanks to the foreign lady's partial ignorance of the language, misuse of tones, and other deficiencies. Then, after the little girls had absorbed impressions, which would have horrified their kind instructress had she realized what was happening (everyone is aware how children unconsciously distort things), let us try, with a sort of rueful amusement, to guess at the kind of gospel the little Chinese maids probably disseminated in their home circles."

But for Mr. King there still remains hope for a better understanding, and this he finds (p. 228) in the Student Christian Movement which some five and twenty years ago was organized in China.

That there are two sides to every question we are most of us aware. In presenting the Chinese side of this very debatable question, whether the West has or has not failed in its duty to China, Mr. King has at least been scrupulously fair.

THROUGH THE MOON DOOR: The Experiences of an American Resident in Peking. By Dorothy Graham. Illustrated with photographs by the author. (*Williams and Norgate.*) 21s. net.

(*Reviewed by* MRS. FLORENCE AYSCOUGH.)

With sight and sound keyed to the highest pitch, Dorothy Graham, in private life Mrs. James Bennett, wife of an author who has devoted himself to Chinese subjects, passed light-heartedly up and down the streets of Peking a year or so ago. She lived beyond a moon door, and through the aperture—by its form it suggests perfection—envisaged the city which has exercised so strong a fascination over its inhabitants, both Eastern and Western, for many years.

That she leaves us this record is good. Peking seems like to change greatly during the next few years; already the tiles of its monumental buildings are being sold by avaricious guides to casual globe-trotters; and the distinctive life of a Far Eastern capital is changing rapidly for the monotony of a city great only by virtue of its past. With Dorothy Graham, however, the reader will once more experience the varied sights and sounds of Peking as it has been, and will hear of many of those amusing customs which have been the savour of life behind its colossal walls; nor does, so far as I know, any other so vivid a recital of these matters exist.

It is a pity, however, that Miss Graham does not confine herself to describing the sights and sounds that she has observed so closely beneath those incredibly blue skies. In approaching questions of legend and history, she is not so happy.

On page 166, for instance, she says: "in the same sanctuary abides Wên Ch'ang, God of Writing . . . back in mythical days Wên Ch'ang was the one who worked out a system of ideographs that would express human thought on paper. He found inspiration for his brush strokes by tracing

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the footprints that birds had marked in the damp sand." This statement is in accord with neither fact nor fancy. The legendary individual who lived before the dawn of history and, inspired by bird tracks, invented writing, is Ts'ang Chieh; while the actual person who was after death created Wên Ch'ang, patron saint of literature, is said to have been a man named Chang Ya of the T'ang dynasty, A.D. 618-905. No erudition is needed to ascertain these details, as both individuals are mentioned in "A Chinese Biographical Dictionary" by Professor H. A. Giles, under numbers 1991 and 2301 respectively. On page 1, again, Miss Graham states: "To Peking we started, where—as Li T'ai-po has written—men called down the dreams of sunset into stone." I do not know what writing by the famous T'ang poet she has in mind, but I do know that the poet himself, who died A.D. 762, had long turned to dust when in A.D. 1420 the Ming Emperor moved his capital to the north, calling it Pei Ching (Peking) or Northern Capital, and proceeded to transform "sunset dreams to stone." When Li T'ai-po was alive the site of what is today Peking was but a frontier post called Yu Chou, and was where the devastating An Lu-shan rebellion had its rise.

It is a thousand pities that writers who are as talented as is Miss Graham should, albeit unconsciously taking advantage of the fact that nine-tenths of their audience are uninstructed in Chinese history, ignore historical accuracy. The Chinese names, too, are given without a thought, so at least it appears, of any recognized transliterative system.

The book, however, has great charm. Those who know Peking will find it a pleasant reminder; those who do not will gain a vivid impression of the principal city in the district Obedient to Heaven.

CHINESE BIRTHDAY, WEDDING, FUNERAL, AND OTHER CUSTOMS. By Mrs. J. G. Cormack. Third edition. (Luzac.) 15 illustrations. 8s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* N. M. PENZER.)

The fact that a third edition of this work has been necessary since 1922 is sufficient evidence of its success, and we can say without hesitation that the success has been well deserved, for it is brimful of most interesting information. But in saying this we make censure justifiable in the absence of any index. In previous editions an index might well have been considered unnecessary, but now that the work runs to over 200 pages such an excuse can no longer hold. The student of comparative religion, folklore, demonology, etc., has not the time to read all the books he consults, and many a fine work has been disregarded for an inferior one merely because it has no index.

The present reviewer has offered up many a silent prayer of thanksgiving on discovering a good index, and this excellent little work is worthy of one, as he hopes to show in the very brief remarks which follow. The work is divided into sixteen chapters, of which the first half deals with the birth,

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wedding, and funeral customs. The second half is devoted to the description of the most important festivals and the influence of the spirit world. As we read through the first few chapters we find the authoress has set herself the task of recording in due order all the mass of intricate ritual observed on the occasions of the three main events of the life of the Chinaman. It has not been part of her object to give comparisons, to trace the influence of Buddhism as shown in the customs described, or to point to a Mongolian origin in this ceremony, or to an ancient Taoist belief in that one.

It is here that the student will make his notes as he reads. He will find, for instance, the colour red to persist throughout any ceremony of importance. It is the colour of joy, of life and good luck. We find it as much in evidence as at the Holi Festival in India.

The use of iron to frighten away evil spirits in the birth chamber finds its echo throughout the world (see "Ocean of Story," vol. ii., p. 166 *et seq.*); while the use of paper figures of all kinds in funeral ceremonies at once reminds us of the *ushabtis* of the Ancient Egyptian. It is interesting to note that Marco Polo gives us details of these paper figures, as he also does of the little houses built by the roadside along the route of the funeral procession.

These and many other most interesting observances should all find their place in an index, thus more than doubling the value of the work. Space will not permit any further discussion of the work, but we feel that sufficient has been said to show that Mrs. Cormack has made valuable addition to our knowledge of the customs of one of the world's most interesting peoples.

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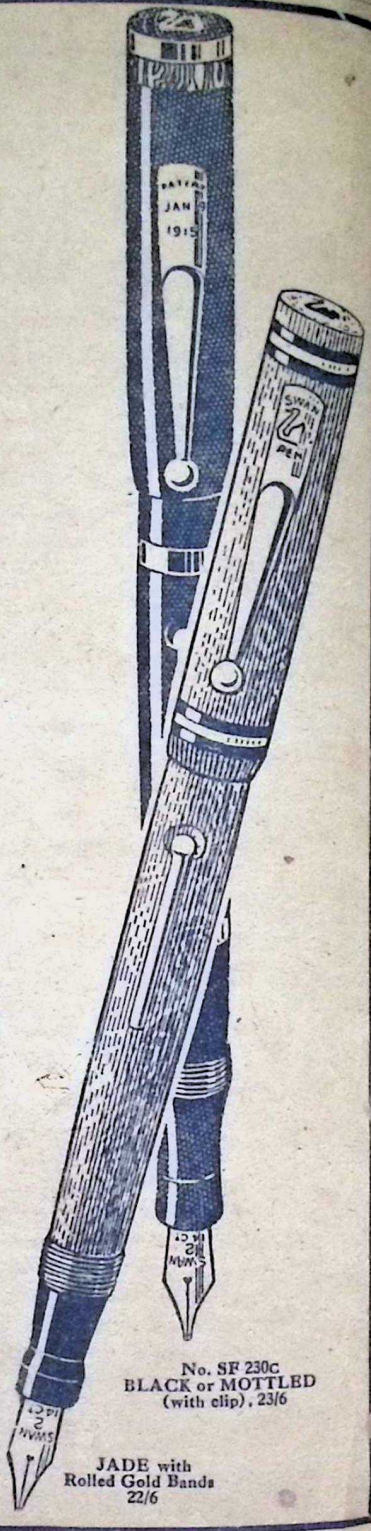

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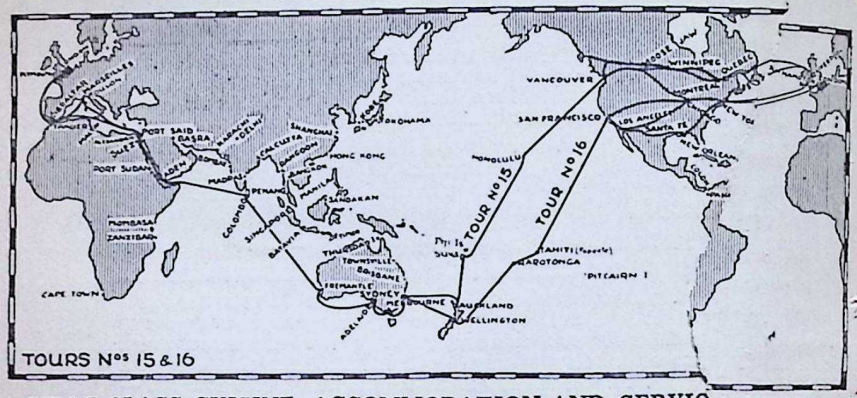

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THE
ASIATIC REVIEW

JULY, 1928

ASIA'S STAKE IN THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

By Norman White, C.I.E., M.D. (Lond.), D.P.H.

Major Indian Medical Service (retired), Member of the Health Organization of the League of Nations, lately Chief Commissioner of the League's Epidemic Commission, formerly Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India.

Not the least of the difficulties encountered in writing this article has been to decide on a title. The title selected defines the article's intention rather better than any other, but it may convey a false impression. The League of Nations is world-wide, and is not made up of regional groups. All the States members of the League derive equal benefits from the League, and have undertaken the common obligations that membership implies, irrespective of the geographical position of these States. In spite of this fundamental fact, which it is important to bear in mind, a discussion of the League of Nations' activities from a regional point of view is not only possible, but occasionally very desirable.

The League of Nations was founded "to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security." This implies in the long run the bringing of nationalism under international discipline, but by no means suppression of nationalism, certain forms of which will find ampler opportunities for self-expression and development as international suspicions and mistrust are replaced by international co-operation in the interest of humanity as a whole. National culture and national genius will exercise world-wide influence. Nationalism thus disciplined is destined to be the motive force of all future international progress. Undisciplined, it will be, as it has ever been, a menace to peace and to civilization.

"Nationalism," in the greater part of the East, is of much more recent growth than in the West; the word has not quite the same significance. Further consideration of

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this matter would take us too far from the subject-matter of this article; it would justify, if justification be needed, the present discussion on the League of Nations and its activities from a regional point of view.

The above reference to the discipline of nationalism is unfortunate if it imply the idea of an extraneous independent disciplinary authority, of a super-state—a word without much meaning, that is so frequently encountered in ill-informed criticism of League activities. It is almost needless to point out that the League has no existence at all apart from the States which constitute it. It is a league in in the strict meaning of the word—a compact for mutual help. The discipline referred to is self-inflicted, according to a code to which all members of the League owe allegiance, and which is based upon a recognition of the equal rights of all independent States.

When referred to as an entity, the League means the machinery set up by the contracting parties to carry out the obligations incurred by signature of the Covenant of the League, and which is strictly under their control and in no sense automatic.

From the League's point of view Asia is extremely heterogeneous; more so, perhaps, than other continents. It contains countries and States which have been members of the League of Nations since its inception—Japan, China, India, Persia, and Siam. Within its confines are the colonial possessions of other States members of the League —Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, and Portugal. Thirdly, there are mandated territories—territories which, "as a consequence of the late war, have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them," and the tutelage of which is entrusted to certain nations as mandatories of the League. Such Asiatic mandated territories are Palestine, Syria, Irak, and numerous small islands of the Pacific, north of the Equator. Finally, there are Afghanistan, Arabia, the Philippine Islands, and the vast territory formerly known as Russia in Asia, administered by Governments which are not yet members of the League of Nations.

Thus it will be seen that possibly 90 per cent. of the total population of Asia have some form of definite connection with the League's activities, but varying in kind and degree. Certain of the League's activities have, however, a common interest to all States, and it is to such activities that most of our attention in the remainder of this article will be devoted.

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The League's activities already cover so wide a field that it is extremely difficult, even for one working in close association with it, to keep in touch with all its developments. Small wonder then that the significance of much of the work that it has accomplished should be imperfectly appreciated, more especially in far-distant lands. Looking back over the last eight years that have witnessed the remarkable growth and consolidation of the League as an instrument of international co-operation, the manner of its evolution appears natural, even obvious; all the same, probably no one eight years ago could have traced with accuracy the lines along which greatest progress has been made. The League today is not quite the League that its founders foresaw; in some ways it has fallen short of their hopes; in other ways it is greater than they foresaw.

As a political instrument the League has been more closely associated with European than with Asiatic affairs. This is but natural. Europe was the storm centre in which the Great War originated. The peace treaties which created the League created also seven thousand more miles of frontiers than existed before the war, and it endowed the newly created League of Nations with duties of extreme difficulty and extreme delicacy in connection with the execution of the peace treaties. Now that most of the States which were opposed in the war have joined the League, the greatest of all the early difficulties has been surmounted, and the second great task of the League has been much facilitated—namely, the task of fostering international co-operation. This is the field in which the League's progress has been most rapid and its gains have been most substantial. Such co-operation has been enlisted in many branches of human endeavour, always with the aim of securing increased welfare and prosperity the world over. Of such a nature is much of the work of the technical organizations of the League, the Economic, Health, Transit, and Social organizations, and of the International Labour Office. Not only will all peoples, irrespective of geographical consideration, share in the benefits which it is the aim of the work of all these organizations to confer on mankind at large, but the habit of international co-operation, which is growing out of these endeavours, is doing much towards the removal of misunderstanding among the nations, and is thus contributing to the organization of peace, which is the greatest of all League tasks. It is work such as this which will slowly but surely make less acute the difficulties which at present surround such a

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thorny subject as disarmament and security. Such considerations as these make these activities of the League of paramount importance to States in Asia as elsewhere, quite apart from the technical results obtained.

Before citing examples of such work it would be well to explain how League procedure differs from pre-war forms of international relationship. International conferences and conventions dealing with many of the matters now engaging the attention of the League are not a League invention. They were numerous and varied during the half-century that preceded the war, but the maximum benefit could not be extracted from such opportunities for international contact, for there was generally no permanent organization to carry out the resolutions of the conference and to build on the measure of agreement that it was possible to obtain. The League's organization has remedied that. Conferences on matters of vital international importance can now be adequately prepared, for which purpose the best technical experience of all countries is freely drawn on. Hence international conferences meet with a much greater chance of arriving at definite results than ever before, and at the same time failure to arrive at agreement is robbed of the serious consequences formerly attached thereto. Failure now merely means the necessity for further work, building on the points concerning which unanimous agreement has been secured, and harmonizing divergent views. It is important to bear this in mind; if it be disregarded one is apt to attach too great importance to League "failures." In pre-war days the risk of failure precluded the possibility of such international attempts at conciliating divergent points of view regarding many matters of vital importance. The benefit of frank and full discussion of international grievances and difficulties is self-evident, even if immediate agreement be unobtainable.

As types of League work of special interest to Asia we shall select that of the Economic and Financial Organization, the Health Organization, and the Mandates Section. Certain salient features of the work will be cited as examples, available space precluding any attempt to deal with these matters in any detail.

Seven years study of the difficult and dangerous economic problems of the post-war world culminated in May, 1927, in the International Economic Conference, which was attended by delegates from fifty States. Japan, India, Siam, Persia, China, and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics were represented. Governments selected as

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their representatives technical experts, and not spokesmen of official policies. Existing economic difficulties, that are responsible for so much privation and social unrest, were frankly discussed as world problems, always with the main objective of securing greater freedom for international commerce. The Conference was an important stage in the continuous work of collaboration in the economic sphere, which dates from the birth of the League. The elaborate preparation of the Conference, which occupied more than a year, was assisted by the collaboration of experts in many lands, a fact which facilitated greatly the fruitful discussions that took place. The harmful effects of post-war tariffs, which are much higher, more changeable, and more complicated than before the war, on world prosperity, were fully recognized. Recommendations were made that States should take steps to remove or diminish these barriers to trade, the causes which led to their establishment having largely disappeared. Unanimous recommendations of this kind from such an assembly are of extreme importance. Such a careful diagnosis of the economic ills from which the world is suffering, made by so competent a body, enables treatment to be carried out with a certainty of success; for the ills have been shown to be amenable to treatment. An increase of economic prosperity is thus clearly foreshadowed, and with it an increase in the standard of living and the consequent removal of conditions that threaten the world's peace and tranquillity.

The work of the League's Health Organization has had, perhaps, more direct associations with Asia than any other of the League's activities. The League's intervention in public health work has been much more extensive than was originally thought possible, or perhaps even desirable, by those who had no clear ideas of the economic importance of disease and of a low standard of public health. That the League should have given much attention to the matter is certainly not surprising if one considers that nothing is more international than disease, and that in its spread many diseases have a habit of ignoring national frontiers. Every improvement in world communications postulates added facilities for the spread of infection from country to country, unless such improvement be accompanied by improved health supervision and new measures of disease control. Plague centres are thus of international concern, as are the measures taken by States to eradicate them or to control the spread of disease therefrom. Thus the League's Health Organization has from its inception done all it can to secure

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the prompt dissemination of full information concerning the appearance and progress of the more important communicable diseases in all corners of the globe, and to help national health administrations by providing facilities for their personnel of making themselves acquainted with the manner in which health problems similar to their own are handled in other lands. Asia has the misfortune to have within its boundaries the most important reservoirs of infection of the three most important international epidemic diseases — plague, cholera, and smallpox. Moreover, conditions in Asia are such as to make these diseases singularly difficult to control. With a view, primarily, to giving Asiatic health administrations prompt information regarding the appearance and progress of disease in the ports of the East, and other ports in communication with them, a special bureau of epidemiological intelligence was opened by the Health Organization in Singapore. This Eastern bureau receives each week cabled reports regarding the health conditions in approximately 140 of these ports, and this information is summarized, and by means of wireless messages sent out each week, or more often in case of great emergency, all health administrations have information regarding these important matters much more promptly than ever before. Weekly wireless messages are broadcast from Saigon, Bandoeng, Sandakan, Karachi, Madras, Tokyo, Shanghai, and Antananarivo at fixed hours. The continued interest and support which this Bureau receives from Asiatic administrations is sufficient evidence of the utility of the rôle that it fills.

The Eastern Bureau of Singapore has also started to co-ordinate enquiries into several public health problems of extreme importance to Asia; it helps to keep research workers in different countries in touch with one another.

To assist health administrations in making themselves acquainted with public health progress and procedure in countries other than their own a series of collective study tours has been organized by the League's Health Organization, whereby health officials nominated by Governments are enabled to visit one or more foreign countries where they can study with special facilities all that the country visited has to show them with regard to such matters. Two such study tours designed especially for Asiatic Government health officials have already been held: the first in Japan, and the second in India. The opportunities afforded participants in these tours to study the points of view of their travelling companions from many lands are

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particularly valuable. Contact between health work in Asia and in far distant countries has also been facilitated by the grant, by the League, of individual travelling studentships.

This short reference to League health work is sufficient to show that Asia has received very particular consideration, for in this, as in so many other branches of human endeavour, Asia has much to teach and much to learn.

It should be mentioned that the very rapid development of the League's health work that has taken place during the last six years would have been impossible but for the additional financial support from the International Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation. Such support, for example, made the establishment of the Eastern Bureau at Singapore possible immediately its establishment had been approved by the administrations in whose interest it was primarily founded.

Space permits of only the briefest reference to the working of the mandate system. As already explained, under this system Mandatory Powers are responsible to the League of Nations for the administration of territories which, as a result of the war, have ceased to be governed by the States which formerly exercised sovereignty over them. These mandated territories are administered in the interests of the territories themselves, and each year the Mandatory Powers have to render an account to the League of their stewardship. It is in the interests of all that local administrative difficulties, and the measures taken to overcome them, should be explained to an international audience. The personal contact established between the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, partly composed of ex-officials, with a varied and wide experience of colonial administration, and those responsible for the present administration of mandated territories, is also of great benefit. The mandate system aims, in short, at incorporating all that is best in the colonial systems of the world, and rigidly excluding the worst features of such forms of administration. The system has been so short a time in force that it has barely passed the experimental stage. All those most closely connected with it, however, are confident of ultimate beneficial results.

The above references to League activities, selected more or less haphazard, are sufficient to show how close an interest Asiatic countries have in the continued prosperity of League endeavours. Everything that directly, or indirectly, threatens the peace of the world is of direct concern

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to the League. It follows then that in contributing their best to this great task of international reconstruction and international pacification, governments the world over are acting in their own highest interests.

I understand that the ASIATIC REVIEW intends from time to time to describe, certain activities of the League in which Asia is specially interested. These will show, far more clearly than has been possible here, how great a stake Asia has in the continued progress of the League of Nations, and how best she can contribute to the furtherance of its objects and aims.

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LABOUR PROBLEMS IN INDOCHINA

By Jean Goudal

(Attached to the Diplomatic Division of the International Labour Office)

It had been hoped for a long time that IndoChina would escape from the problem of the shortage of labour which, at present, is the great stumbling-block in almost all the French oversea possessions, and it was repeatedly stated that Tonkin would furnish almost inexhaustible reserves of man-power. Certainly, IndoChina is very rich in population when compared with the French colonies in Africa. Whereas in French West Africa the density of the population is 2·6 per square kilometre, in French Equatorial Africa 1·3, and in Madagascar 5, the figure for IndoChina is 28. But it must be remembered that the only region in IndoChina which is thickly populated is Tonkin; whilst the territories that are favourable for great tropical enterprises or are endowed with rich mineral wealth are those which lie outside the populated districts. It therefore became necessary, in order to develop these parts, to organize emigration from the north to the south. At the same time, as the problem of the economic development of the colony was better understood, it was found necessary to adopt a definite policy with regard to the provision of labour. The fulfilment of the programme of large undertakings planned by the Governor-General Doumer necessitated the employment of a large number of workers. The mines of Upper Tonkin and of Laos stood in need of labour. The number of plantations in Tonkin, Northern Annam, and Southern IndoChina increased, and industries developed rapidly in the towns and the seaports. The discussions that followed the demand for labour from IndoChina formulated by the companies working in the New Hebrides and New Caledonia served to draw attention to the difficulty with which recruitment was beset. In consequence of the floods of 1926 the dykes in Tonkin had to be repaired, and the Government found the greatest difficulty in recruiting all the coolies necessary for this work—viz., thirty thousand at least—in order to move eight to nine million cubic metres. At the beginning of 1927 the delegate for Annam at the Conseil Supérieur des Colonies expressed fears that the great undertakings in the colony would become paralyzed on account of shortage of

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labour, and suggested that the abundant resources of China should be tapped. These indications show that the problem of recruiting labour in IndoChina was until recent years becoming more and more critical. Moreover, the local Governments have been faced with the same difficulty, though in a less urgent form, since the very beginning of the colonization, as can easily be seen by a study of the labour regulations in the colony.

The first task raised by the labour problem in IndoChina was therefore to facilitate the recruitment of native labour to the French plantations, and that was the aim of the legislation passed between the years 1896 and 1910. In order to assure the proper execution of the labour contracts the Government thought it necessary, first of all, to identify the worker and to assure him certain fiscal and administrative exemptions. I need only refer in this respect to the orders of August 17, 1896, and August 20, 1898, which introduced the issuing of a work-book to every worker in Tonkin and Cambodia; and the order of August 26, 1899, regulating the conditions of labour in Tonkin—orders which afterwards became applicable to Annam, to CochinChina, and Cambodia, by an order of February 5, 1902. In the same way an order of April 13, 1909, regulating labour conditions in agricultural undertakings in CochinChina, confined itself to foreshadowing the setting up of autonomous villages for French undertakings, with an area of 400 hectares and eighty workmen. The underlying idea was to protect the workmen as well as the European proprietors from the influence of Annam chieftains, and thus do away with a possible cause of conflicts and disputes. The next stage was reached about 1910, when new plantation crops were introduced, such as coffee and rubber, which necessitated an increase of labour and more precise labour regulation. Furthermore, as the Government had to turn to foreign territories, such as the British and Netherlands Indies, to obtain labour, special guarantees were required to meet the wishes of the British and Netherlands Governments.

This was the position when the second stage in the regulation of labour conditions was reached in 1910. Its main feature was the anxiety to protect native labour, whilst, at the same time, giving every possible encouragement to colonial enterprises. Several important orders were passed in this connection—especially that of March 8, 1910, applicable to the whole of IndoChina, dealing with foreign labour in the plantations and mines; it was supple-

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mented by several series of instructions, especially that of March 20, 1913, regarding labour from Java. Special mention must be made here of the order of November 11, 1918, regarding native agricultural labour and labour inspection in CochinChina, which constituted a veritable "Magna Charta" in that colony. This law only applied to agricultural labourers who were merely engaged, and the contracts signed according to native customs did not come within its scope. As the text was revised and completed by the orders of October, 1927, of which an analysis is given later, it does not seem necessary to comment upon it any further here.

The order of November 11, 1918, had established in CochinChina a system of labour inspection; this measure was extended to Tonkin by the order of April 30, 1926, and to Annam by the order of June 10, 1927. The local inspection services thus set up at first mainly acted as bureaus of information. The Governor-General, Monsieur Varenne, realized the necessity of setting up a Central Organization of Inspection which would co-ordinate the efforts of the local inspection and study in detail the various problems arising from the recruitment of labour. Accordingly he set up by the order of July 19, 1927, a General Inspectorate of Labour under the control of the Governor-General of IndoChina. The statement of purposes of the order explained that the creation of the general labour Inspectorate was a preliminary to the elaboration of a complete labour code entrusted to the new Inspectorate. The Inspectorate set to work at once; it elaborated several draft orders which were circulated for the examination of the local authorities and came into force on October 25, 1927, after consultation with the interests affected in the Government Council. It is important to examine the essential provisions of these three orders which, in reality, constitute the basis of labour organization in IndoChina.

The first order deals with the emigration of labour from Tonkin. Its object is to guarantee a system of recruitment which is satisfactory to both parties. Henceforth, those who are engaged know precisely what they are expected to undertake, and the employers are certain that the workers who are supplied to them are suitable and capable of working normal hours. All recruitment is subject to the control of the Governor-General in so far as work outside IndoChina is concerned, or to the Résident Supérieur of Tonkin in the case of work situated in IndoChina. This arrangement is very important, for it must be remembered that recruitment

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is a delicate operation demanding great moral and technical qualities, and that in the past some recruiting agents, attracted by the benefits that can be derived from these operations, and not possessing the necessary moral qualifications, had succeeded in recent years in securing customers by lowering their fees. It therefore became indispensable that the power of recruitment should not be accorded to those who were not properly qualified.

The maximum duration of an engagement is fixed at five years for outside, and three years for within IndoChina. Every engagement must be accompanied by a signed contract, which contains a certain number of precise conditions, which are enumerated in the law. There are very detailed provisions regarding the journey and transport of the coolies. The emigrants must undergo two medical examinations, the first taking place at the capital of the province to which the emigrant belongs, and the second at Haiphong before embarkation. During these examinations various preventive vaccinations are undergone. There are also provisions for administrative and sanitary control on board ; similar regulations are in force upon disembarkation and when the coolie is repatriated. The carrying into effect of the provisions is confided to a Department of Emigration of Tonkin Labour, attached to the Bureau of the Protectorate at Haiphong.

The second of the orders, dated October 25, 1927, enumerates measures of protection for the labourers when they are employed on the plantations, and are very detailed. The form and conditions of the contract guiding the hiring of the labourer are precisely set out. The contract must contain certain clauses, of which the following may be mentioned here :

Length of service; hours of labour; mode of payment; lodging and medical attendance given free for the labourer and his family ; right to part or the whole of his food, and, in certain cases, clothing ; the sum of money advanced, with provisions for repayment, conditions of repatriation, etc. The length of the engagement must not exceed three years, in the case of work undertaken in IndoChina, but re-engagement is permitted. Before the signing of the contract, every labourer must be medically inspected and passed fit for service.

Special regulations govern those labourers who are recruited under contract to work in another part of the Union, or outside IndoChina, and vice versa. The order goes on to prescribe a method of control over the labourers, carried out by the representatives of the Government on

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the plantations, as well as a control of the carrying out of the contract of service. The conditions of work are carefully set out, and I may quote here some of its provisions: The hours of labour are fixed at ten hours as a maximum, which must include the time necessary for travelling to and and from work; overtime is paid at 50 per cent. extra. The labourers have a right to one day's rest per week. Salaries must be paid at least once a month, and in IndoChina currency, in the presence of the labourer or his representative. Advances made to the labourer are repaid monthly by deduction from his salary, but the sum retained must not exceed a quarter of his salary. Food regulations, with a minimum scale of rations, are also included. Special precautions are taken to ensure the health of the coolies. The housing, which is rent-free, must be sanitary and suitable. Special measures are taken for the prevention of fever, and the provision of a proper water-supply. It is laid down that every worker engaged by contract has the right to medical attention for himself and his family, and to the supply of medicines. The women and children must not be engaged in labour which is beyond their strength, and the women are granted one month's rest with full pay after child-birth. Lastly, upon the conclusion of the contract there are strict provisions for either the return of the labourer or else the renewal of his term. These, it is hoped, will put an end to the numerous disputes which arise when coolies fraudently leave one plantation for another, or are sent back as a disciplinary measure.

The third order of October 25, 1927, makes provision for an individual grant in favour of labourers recruited by contract. This grant is constituted by the deduction of 5 per cent. of the worker's salary, and the contribution of an equal amount on the part of the employer. This can be increased by payments voluntarily made by the labourer himself. The grant is not, in principle, payable to the labourer before his return home. This innovation is very important in view of the well-known improvidence of the Annam coolie and his weakness for games of chance.

It has been seen that these three orders contain very detailed and complete provisions. In fact, they may be described as the first general code of laws to regulate industrial labour.

This legislation did not fail to evoke certain criticisms, the most important of which were its length, which, so it was alleged, rendered it too complicated. This is scarcely a fair line of argument in view of the complicated nature of

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the problems. Another reproach that has been levelled against it is that the orders were passed into law too hastily, and almost sprung as a surprise on the eve of the departure of the Governor-General, without consultation with the interested parties. This criticism, likewise, is ill-founded. The Labour Commission, which was appointed by the Governor of CochinChina to examine the various draft orders, was composed, amongst others, of two delegates of the Chamber of Agriculture, and of two delegates of the Rubber Planters' Association. The clauses of the orders were examined by the members of the Government Council. It is clear, therefore, that the interested parties had an opportunity of stating their views. In France, at the head offices of some companies, the opinion was expressed that these laws imposed a fresh burden on their enterprises and calculated the increase in the salaries at 25 per cent. The truth is, that the grants introduced on behalf of the coolies only cost the employer 5 per cent., and that the free ration of 700 grammes of rice daily, which they calculated at 20 per cent. of the salary, was already in force in practically all the plantations before the passing of the law.

The labour legislation is a valuable aid in the maintenance of order in IndoChina at a time when criminal propaganda is endeavouring to reach all sections of the native population. It is important that when they are being encouraged to revolt, they should feel that they can expect real protection from the Government. Planters and business men in IndoChina now have the facility of finding the labour which is necessary to them in the conduct of their enterprises, and the enterprises therefore are on a surer footing.

It must not be thought, however, that the Varenne orders afford a solution for all the problems of labour in IndoChina. In the first place, these rules do not apply to contracts between natives. This is a gap which it is important should be filled. The majority of Annamese proprietors, instead of working their own concessions, let out their estates to a large number of small farmers (*ta-diên*). In order to obtain the implements necessary for agriculture the farmer stands in need of money advances, which the proprietor grants with an interest varying in some cases from 100 to 200 per cent. It is important to rescue the small farmer as soon as possible from the grip of his usurious overlord. The present Governor of CochinChina is already enquiring into the matter and issued a circular on July 13, 1927, in which he prescribed the dividing up of the land

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into lots of between 5 and 10 hectares, to be placed on sale at public auctions. This measure would enable the small farmer to obtain a strip of land for himself.

Another highly important question, the solution for which must be found quickly, is the application in IndoChina of legislation governing accidents during employment. Until now, no law has been passed imposing on the employers the duty of looking after the workers in this respect. Nevertheless, some of the great European industrial enterprises have frequently made it their duty, apart from any legal obligation, to accord to workers who have been victims of accidents during their employment, equitable reparation in the form of medical attention, which is often given in buildings set up by the employers themselves, or else in the form of a money indemnity to themselves or, in case of death, to their dependants. It would appear, however, that the time has now come to make this practice compulsory. This would have the effect of forcing the Asiatic employers, be they Chinese or Annamite, to follow the example which has been given to them by the French employers.

There are other problems, connected more or less with the regulation of labour, which might be mentioned here, such as rights of association already in force in Cochin-China, which might well be extended to the other parts of the Union, and the important question of concessions, which has not yet been satisfactorily solved. According to statements made in a debate in the Chamber of Deputies on March 18, 1927, it would appear that the granting of certain concessions in the hinterland Moï had been accompanied by the recruiting of forced labour for the cultivation. The result was, that on March 26, 1927, the Government issued a decree that until such date as a general codification of concessionary rights was completed in Indo-China, no concessions could be granted or contract approved except by virtue of a decree. By decree of July 5, 1927, a temporary régime was established and a Commission of Enquiry sent to IndoChina to examine on the spot the question of the granting of concessions. No law establishing a definite régime has yet been published. It is clearly a very delicate task to find a solution which is absolutely satisfactory to all parties, and which does not compromise the legitimate interests of the European community or, on the other hand, the welfare of the workers.

This difficulty is present in all the French colonies, and for that matter also in the possessions of other countries,

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but it assumes an especially acute form in IndoChina where colonization takes the shape of great European enterprises, grouping and mobilizing the natives, rather than the encouragement of independent native production. Whilst in Africa colonization tends to make the natives a people of peasant and small proprietors, in IndoChina the effect is to make them paid servants. It is not, therefore, surprising that the workers in IndoChina are making the same demands as are now common in Europe. The recent laws made by M. Varenne represent a very great effort to find humane solutions for these problems, and it is only the proper application of this legislation which can show whether it really satisfies the needs of the situation, or whether it may not be necessary to decide upon a comprehensive recasting of the very principles underlying the colonial policy which is at present followed in IndoChina.

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PROBLEMS OF THE JAVA SUGAR-INDUSTRY

By H. D. Rubenkoning, LL.D.

(Secretary of the Federation of Owners of Netherlands-Indies Sugar Estates)

The importance the sugar-industry possesses for Java, both economically and socially, may be presumed to be a well-established fact. Sugar is one of the oldest of the cultivations of Java, an island which is not the greatest, it is true, but still always the most important of the four large islands which, in the main, constitute the overseas realms of the Netherlands in the East Indian Archipelago.

The East India Company did not do much else than ship the sugar (which, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was chiefly manufactured by natives and Chinese in their primitive sugar-mills) to Holland and place it on the market there. The Netherlands Indies Government already occupied in the first half of the nineteenth century, by virtue of the so-called cultivation system, an entirely different position. It encouraged the planting of the sugar, setting the native population to work thereon, aiding at the same time the establishment of sugar-factories, in which the cane thus planted by the native population was milled and converted into sugar. The sugar-manufacturers of that time, or contractors as they were called, had, indeed, their agents, who assisted and advised the native population in the planting of the cane, but they were absolutely powerless, and could not in any case prescribe or issue any orders in the matter of planting. Hence the fact of attention being especially devoted in the matter of improvements in the process of sugar-manufacturing on the part of manufacturers to the manufacturing side of the business. That was altered after, in 1870, thanks to the agrarian laws of Minister de Waal, the sugar-cultivation became a so-called free cultivation which, without any intervention whatsoever on the part of the Government, was and is carried on by private individuals on lands leased from the native population for that purpose. And especially has that become changed since, about 1882, the dreaded "sereh" disease threatened entire cane-plantations with ruin, almost at the same moment that the over-production—a result of the development of the beet-sugar industry—created a crisis,

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which would have been fatal for the entire Java sugar-industry if leading financiers in Amsterdam had not joined forces. As a result, on the one hand, of the appearance of the "sereh" disease, against which drastic remedies appeared necessary, and, on the other hand, of the crisis of 1884, which emphasized the necessity of better equipped factories, able to produce sugar at a lower cost-price, the Experimental Stations were called into being, and have since remained the scientific advisers of the Java sugar-industry. There were originally three; since 1907 these have been amalgamated into one general Experimental Station, consisting of three departments — Cultivation, Technical, and Chemical—now jointly established at Pasoeroean in Eastern Java. The importance of this Experimental Station, with its complete scientific staff and equipment, is evident already from the fact that its annual budget exceeds $1\frac{1}{4}$ million guilders.

In 1894 the planted area of the Java sugar-industry was over 105,000 "bouws,"* the average production per bouw 81·15 "picol,"† and the total sugar crop 530,963 tons of 1,000 kg. In 1927 the total planted area was over 260,000 bouws, the average cane-production 145·6 picol per bouw, and the total crop 2,348,085 tons of 1,000 kg. While thus the plantations have increased $2\frac{1}{2}$ times, the crop has quadrupled, clear proof indeed that the methods employed by the Java sugar-industry, based as it was on scientific foundation, contributed in the greatest degree to the increase of production. The development of cane-planting in the Java sugar-industry, and the consequent increase of the cane to be milled in the factory, are closely connected with the composition of the plantation. A great increase per bouw and in production already occurred after 1902, when great areas were planted with the new varieties 100 P.O.J. and 247 B., in which connection it should be borne in mind that the letters P.O.J. signify that it is one of the cane varieties originating from the "Proefstation Oost-Java" (East Java Experimental Station), while in the other case the B. refers to Bouricius, the well-known planter of this cane species, whose services have also been honoured by the founding of the so-called Bouricius Fund, whose aim is to assist the surviving relatives of persons who have made themselves useful to the sugar-industry in Java. It has not stopped at these changes, for the composition of the cane-plantations in Java has con-

* "Bouw" = 1·747 acres.
† "Picol" = 61·76 kilogrammes = 136·16 English lbs.

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stantly undergone considerable changes. After 1920 the new varieties E.K. 28 and D.I. 52 came to the front, while at present, consulting the cane-planting for the industry for 1926-1927, it must be stated that both these kinds must in turn make room for 2878 P.O.J., which already in the plantations for the 1927 crop occupied about 12½ per cent. of these plantations.

The expectations entertained with regard to this cane variety after tests had been made were at once very high, as a result of the figures obtained by 2878 P.O.J., as compared with the more important practical kinds. With one single exception, the weight of cane of 2878 P.O.J. is greater than that of the other varieties, the yield being likewise, with one exception, better. An increased yield of 20 per cent. of sugar is considered a moderate estimate, hence the great increase of the 1928 crop was anticipated as the result of a method of planting wherein 65 per cent. was already taken up by 2878 P.O.J.

There are, however, even for the sugar-industry, no roses without thorns. The timely provision of the ground rented by the industry has at all times been a problem of importance. The right of the factory to the leased land is indisputable, but what can be done if this land cannot be made use of at the right time? The new cane 2878 affords an important advantage, being obtained by early planting out, and it is comprehensible that everyone tries to select the most favourable moment for the beginning of that planting. The annual report of the General Syndicate of Sugar Manufacturers for 1926 contains the advice, in cases where the land is not made free at the proper time, to put in a claim for damages before the judge, in this case the Residency judge in question. From several quarters, however, and these not inimical to the sugar interests, it was remarked that threatening and going to law were easy, but that it was advisable in the first place to invoke the intervention of the Government, whereby threats and lawsuits could perhaps be avoided. The more so does such advice deserve attention when one learns that the planters in Djocja have found a solution combining the interests of the population and the factory-owners—a solution on the lines that the manufacturers will assist the the population to the necessary water, provided the latter are willing to plant their "sawahs" so that the rice harvest may be over earlier and the fields can already, in case of need, be prepared in March for the cane. Nor are the "roses" which the cane variety 2878 furnishes "without

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thorns," for it is already reported that symptoms of disease appear in various parts of Java with the new cane variety. There are, indeed, reports of such symptoms of disease with regard to 2878 P.O.J., but the Director of the Cultivation Department of the Experimental Station has remarked that practically every variety of cane, in some districts, and under certain conditions, has given rise to unpleasant experiences. This has never affected the general value of such varieties for the industry, and the Experimental Station considers, therefore, that there is less cause for anxiety, as the commencement of the West Monsoon in 1927 was abnormal, and the heavy showers, characteristic, as a rule, of the breaking of the monsoon, were almost everywhere lacking. Vigilance and attention the Experimental Station considers necessary, but it feels no anxiety concerning the new cane variety. Neither does Dr. H. C. Prinsen Geerligs, the well-known sugar specialist, display any anxiety in an article published by him in the *Indische Mercuur*.

It is quite another question however, whether the Java sugar-industry will succeed in disposing of the far greater crop that 1928 will yield as compared with 1927, at prices that may be counted as profitable. In the olden times the problem of export did not exist; practically the whole of the sugar crop was shipped to Holland, and the Netherlands Trading Company saw to its being put on the sugar-auctions in Amsterdam. But after 1870 the situation had already undergone a change. The system of free cultivation of the sugar-industry, it is true, did not formally come into operation until 1879; but the agrarian regulations of 1870, containing, as they did, the provision that, in future, with the Government, settlement would no longer be made in sugar but in cash, the Amsterdam sugar-auctions declined, and within three years England occupied the place previously held by Holland.

In England, however, the Java sugar had to contend with the beet-sugar industry of the European continent, and, quite comprehensibly, it had to give up the fight against a competitor who was artificially supported by the premium system. On the other hand, the export to America had greatly increased, almost doubled, while at the same time China and Japan were also becoming important markets. After the Spanish-American War, however, a close economic union arose between Cuba and America, and American capital brought revived prosperity to the sugar-industry in Cuba, the American market thus also

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being then lost to Java. This was accentuated by the action of the American refiners, who, despite the opposition of the American beet-sugar industry, managed to get the Reciprocity Treaty passed into law between Cuba and the United States, which still favours Cuba sugar on imports by 20 per cent. Java had then to look for markets elsewhere, and the East was indicated for that purpose. The Asiatic markets were supplied with white sugar by Hong-Kong, Germany, and Austria; especially was this the case with British-India, that had always bought a little coarse Java sugar, but imported from other countries very large quantities of white sugar. Whereas in 1895 Java did not export more than $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. of the whole crop to the East, this had already risen in 1903 to 65 per cent., in 1910 to 78 per cent., and in 1913 practically the entire Java crop went to the East, of which in that very year British-India took no less than 10 million picol. The war, of course, altered matters. Especially in 1914, France and England bought the large quantities of still unsold Java sugar, export to Europe suddenly increasing to more than 9 million picol. In 1915 the figure for the East again rose to 78 per cent., to drop in 1916 to 43 per cent. Then came the difficult years of 1917 and 1918, which were surmounted solely by the co-operation secured in the Java Sugar Association and later in the United Java Sugar Producers. But even by these means the export of Java sugar did not become as stabilised as was the case before the war. While in 1920 Europe and America were the largest purchasers, jointly requiring more than half the crop, in 1921 the East again attracted the lion's share. Since then it has continued to fluctuate, especially as regards Europe, the latter taking in 1923-1924 over $6\frac{1}{4}$ million picol, for 1926-1927 this was not more than 20,000 picol, whereas in the same year the export to British-India exceeded 12 million picol.

For export, the Java sugar has to take into account the situation on the world-market. Cane- and beet-sugar at present now stand in the ratio of about 1 to 2: a difference indeed from the last crop of pre-war days, which was for beet-sugar about $8\frac{1}{2}$ and for cane-sugar rather more than $9\frac{1}{2}$ million tons. Yet it is entirely different from the situation, immediately after the war, for 1920-1921, when beet-sugar produced hardly $4\frac{1}{2}$ million tons against over 12 million cane-sugar. Despite these fluctuating figures, Java constantly produced about 13 per cent. of the total cane-sugar production, while the Java share in the total world production may be estimated at about 10 per cent. It is

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obvious, therefore, that Java can exercise no influence upon the prices of the world-market, and equally obvious that, in so far as the restriction intended and partly carried into effect by Cuba is of importance for these prices, their effect will also be followed with great interest by Java. Though in Cuba results could be obtained by restriction of the crop in general, in pursuance of the plan of Colonel Tarafa which has become law, they in fact adopted another policy. The essence of this plan is not so much the restriction of the entire sugar crop, but the indirect fixing, as a result of the restriction, of the maximum quantity of Cuba sugar available for the United States. According as the production in Cuba increased America became glutted with Cuba sugar, and, the latter being cheaper than any other sugar can be, precisely owing to the preferential duty, it was, of course, chosen in preference to all other kinds. In other words, the Cuba producers had, in order to find a market, to go and compete among themselves. The law called into being by Tarafa's plan is directed towards again giving the "Full Duty" sugar a chance to compete, as only thus has the preferential duty for Cuba sugar again value. For Europe and Java, however, this Tarafa plan presents also another side. When Cuba has placed 3 or $3\frac{1}{2}$ million tons of her crop in the protected American market at a good price, she possesses a sharp weapon in the crop surplus, the volume of which may be regulated within wide limits by the Cuban President. It cannot be a matter of indifference to Czecho-Slovakia, the largest beet-sugar producer of Europe, or to Java, whether Cuba tries to place only 350,000 tons or fully a million tons of sugar on the markets in Europe and in Eastern Asia, especially if the sale of this quantity is forced by a corporation like the Cuba Sugar Export Company.

Colonel Tarafa came to Europe, conferred first in Paris with the representatives of the beet-sugar producing and exporting countries, and afterwards visited Holland, in order to consult the "United Java Sugar Producers," which represents Java sugar in regard to the sale of the product. The result of the negotiations was made known in carefully worded *communiqués*. If one refers to the communications made, according to an interview with Colonel Tarafa, by the *Financial News*, it will be found that the Cuban Act was especially called into existence through the consideration that the sharp fluctuations in the sugar prices have had, and still have, most unfortunate effects for those who are concerned with the sugar-industry.

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From producer to refiner there prevails but one opinion: stabilization of prices, if it can be attained, will have beneficial results. An integral part of the Cuban law consists, in fact, of the provisions, which prescribe the establishing of the already mentioned Export Organization, that regulates the export of the surplus of the Cuba sugar crop available for export at the beginning of 1928. It was therein already implied that efforts would be made to arrive at an agreement with other exporting countries.

What has been attained so far? In Paris negotiations took place with the producers' organizations of Germany, Poland, and Czecho-Slovakia, leading to an agreement, which was subsequently adhered to by Belgium and Hungary. Of the remaining exporting countries, San Domingo has already promulgated a law, whence it appears that this country is willing to co-operate with Cuba, having projected a restriction of production for five years on the basis of the crop for the current year. The negotiations still necessary with Peru and Brazil will not offer any difficulties. With the Java sugar-producers, however, such agreement has not hitherto been attained as in Paris and Berlin was attained with the exporting European beet-sugar organizations, and in the case of Java the proposed regulation is by no means acceptable in its entirety.

While Cuba restricts her output, the Java crop expands considerably, this being a result of the cane variety employed—viz., 2878 P.O.J.; and also of the extension of area, which, comparing the plantations of 1928 with 1927, has increased by about 12,000 bouw. The Commercial Association "Amsterdam," owner of the large estate "Djatiroto," situated in the east of the island, has prepared in the vicinity three new estates, of which great expectations are likewise entertained. To expect from Java at this moment a restriction of production seems out of the question, and this will presumably be appreciated by the Cubans. The Cubans should bear in mind that Java cannot point to the same advantages as the former in the shape of preferential tariffs, and is therefore forced to devote herself to an intensive form of cultivation in order to maintain herself as a sugar-producing country, and that, accordingly, she must not be expected to co-operate in any plan of restriction of output. Cuba may expect this sacrifice from her own producers, who, indeed, are themselves the cause of the over-production, owing to constant extensions of the cultivated area. Cuba can therefore hardly ask Java to resign the advantages, acquired thanks to

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important scientific experiments, for the benefit of others who are strongly supported by preferential tariffs. Cuba has now undertaken to restrict the 1928 crop to 4 million tons. The countries that have agreed to the Cuban restriction plan will meet in conference in October, 1928, to establish and perfect the situation of the sugar-market on the basis of statistics, determining, if need be, whether, and, if so, what portion of, the sugar available for export must be kept out of the market. This part will then come under the control of an international sugar company; the retained quantity will, in ratio to the export of the associated countries, be fixed for each of the latter. This plan, for the success of which Cuba has declared her willingness, if required, to reserve more than is prescribed by the regulations, thus only effects the sugar available for direct export, and does not interfere directly with the production. All that will be required will merely be the exercise by the associated countries of an effective control of export. Cuba will thus divide the available 4 million tons, so that $3\frac{1}{4}$ million thereof will be exported to the United States, while of the remaining $\frac{3}{4}$ million tons Cuba will herself use 150,000, and hold 350,000 at disposal for sale in Europe, against 250,000 in Eastern Asia, unless, as regards this latter market, prices turn out to be too low, in which case the quantity will entirely, or in part, be reserved.

Colonel Tarafa expressed the opinion to the representatives of the *Financial News* that success had indeed been attained in giving practical form to the ideas which had long been forming in the minds of the groups connected with the sugar-cultivation. That the working out of the details would to a great extent have to be left to the future was certain, as also the question as to whether the association of sugar-producers might also be rendered serviceable for more efficient propaganda campaigns. Ultimately Governments might perhaps be approached to discuss their tariff policies.

Assuming that such an association is arrived at, it is questionable, even in that case, whether a renewal of the Brussels Convention of 1902, which after the war may be regarded as no longer existent, would be necessary. Practice has taught us the advisability of making economic arrangements apart from Government conferences, and that, as a rule, such regulations, created by the interested groups themselves, possess greater effective force.

The problems surrounding the Java sugar-industry affect not only that industry but the whole island upon which it is

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established—affect, in fact, the entire Netherlands East Indies on account of the social-economic position occupied by the sugar-industry. The importance of the sugar-industry would be most strikingly expressed, as was once observed by the Sugar Inquiry Commission, if one contemplated Java for a moment without such an industry. That is of course impossible, but it need not prevent one perceiving the numerous more or less important channels along which the presence of the sugar-industry carries prosperity to various circles—channels that would dry up the moment that the cause of their existence, the sugar-industry, disappeared.

It is therefore imperative that everyone connected with the economic life in Java should follow with interest the development of the sugar-industry and study the fluctuations of the sugar-market, even if he does not belong to the "interested parties" in the sense of having shares. It is indeed noteworthy how, in democratic circles, both in Holland and in the Indies of late, the conception of *interested parties* in the conservation of Insulinde for the Netherlands has extended. Recently Mr. Ten Berge demonstrated in the *Volksraad* that these interested parties are not alone to be found among people possessing shares, but that they are to be found also in large groups of the working- and the middle-classes in Holland: of the working-classes because without the Netherlands East Indies Holland's finances would be in a state of destitution and would certainly not be able to bear any social legislation such as is now carried out by the latter; of the middle-classes because of the large number of flourishing businesses that find their customers among those who, with fortunes accumulated in her colonies, settle in Holland. And now it has recently been argued in an unexpected Radical quarter, with the quotation of figures, that the export balance furnished Holland by her colonies constitutes a practically indispensable factor for the prosperity of Holland. What is more especially remarkable in this is the fact that this export balance, when it applies to the screwing up of taxes, is termed "drain," whereas as present, when it is a question of combating the cry raised by the Communists, "Let Insulinde go," this balance is presented in the form it actually has.

THE HAGUE,
February 28, 1928.

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THE INNER EAST

[This section, previous articles of which appeared in the last two issues, is intended to furnish information regarding events in what were formerly the Asiatic Provinces of the Russian Empire.]

PEACE-MAKING IN TRANSCAUCASIA

By Professor Zurab Avalov

[Professor Avalov, formerly a Member of the Russian State Duma, is the author of several works on Georgian history and jurisprudence. The member of a well-known Georgian family, he was one of the representatives of Georgian interests during the negotiations with the Turks at Batum, and with the Germans at Poti during the spring and summer of 1918. Professor Avalov subsequently represented the *de facto* Georgian Government in Berlin, and after the Armistice in London. During the Peace Conference, he was a member of the Georgian Delegation in Paris, and later at San Remo. It is considered that his objective summary of the diplomatic position of the Transcaucasian States during the period 1918-1921 cannot, at the present time, be without a degree of historical value.]

There was in the panoply of the Peace Conference at Paris one weapon which seemed quite appropriate to the task of organizing the self-supporting nationhood of such countries as needed help from without, not so much on account of their backwardness, as on account of their exposed geographical position and temporary financial and other difficulties. We mean mandates.

Nowadays Fascist Italy claims, sometimes with bitterness, sometimes with disconcerting energy, more chances and opportunities abroad—colonies to which her superfluous population may migrate. It is therefore curious to remember that in the summer of 1919 an Italian mandate in Georgia and Azerbaijan was seriously considered by the Peace Conference. The mission was to be accepted, to begin with, in the form of sending troops to replace the English. Everything had been settled; the expeditionary corps (12th Corps of the Italian army and some special troops) had been prepared; but at the last moment, owing to parliamentary and political difficulties in Italy, the whole plan was given up.

Signor Nitti, in his book "L'Europe sans Paix," considers this renunciation as a great service which he rendered to his country. The expedition had been formally aban-

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doned as soon as he became Prime Minister (June, 1919), and a tremendous, dangerous adventure had thus been avoided.

It must be noted that in their negotiations with the Georgian Government much stress was laid by the Italians on the raw materials their country needed, chiefly fuel—coal and oil. Some concessions had been drafted to this effect, and the possibilities had been studied on the spot by a large mission, headed by some representative men of that pre-Fascist time.

It is most probable that Signor Nitti's negative attitude on the question was wise and statesmanlike—not because an armed conflict with the Soviets was to be expected, as he suggests, but because Georgia or Transcaucasia in general was not the kind of country the Italians longed for (not "colonial" enough); nor was Italy the right Great Power to assume the mandate in a region exposed to blows from Russia and Turkey, not to mention different political and demographic difficulties in Transcaucasia itself, which would probably have appeared from the very start.

A mandatory was wanted—if wanted at all—powerful enough to preclude eventual attack from objecting neighbours, and committed only to a temporary constructive mission, without any other ambition; rich and great, and therefore proof against all hidden desire for eventual territorial expansion.

The United States, in the opinion of many, responded to these requirements, and was, it seemed, destined to take charge of Transcaucasian affairs. Of course, their direct preoccupation and supposed field of future activities lay a little to the south: Armenia was to be regenerated, freed, and settled by Americans. But should this be so, Georgia, too, could hope to receive some support—diplomatic and financial—as the access to Armenia lay through Georgia, the fates of both countries being therefore closely linked together.

An American mandate in Armenia—what a peculiar chapter in the romance of the Peace settlement!

The spell did not last long. In 1919 it was, nevertheless, one of the chief possibilities in Transcaucasian political speculations. How could it be otherwise, from the popular point of view, when the Peace Conference sent as its particular representative to Tiflis an American colonel, and a large special mission had been despatched by President Wilson to make investigations in Armenia and adjacent countries, including Georgia?

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Numerous experts at that time made reports on all branches of the people's life in Western Asia; the whole country had been crossed in all directions by the members of that mission, miraculously descended, as it seemed, from some elevated sphere to these regions, ravaged by war and revolutions, and stricken with poverty.

A general report was submitted to President Wilson by the chief of the American mission, Major-General Harbord (October, 1919). All the pros and cons with regard to the responsibility to be assumed by the United States in Armenia were balanced. The necessity of including in the mandate other republics of Transcaucasia as well, in order to give to the mandatory the best possible chances of success, was clearly explained.

But all this was in vain: this mandate and other momentous plans of Amercan participation to the settling of European and Asiatic affairs—like the security of France to be guaranteed, and the particularly desired and expected partnership of the United States in the League of Nations—everything has been swept away by the irresistible "homeward" current of American public opinion, by the traditional fear of entanglements and formal responsibilities.

The dramatic effect of that change of policy on the fate of the Armenians in Turkey and in Transcaucasia is well known.

The most important factor in Caucasian politics in 1918-1921 was, quite naturally, Great Britain. The importance of Great Britain proceeded in different manners and from different inspirations, which it would be out of place to describe or analyze here in all their complexity. A few features only need be sketched.

British policy in those quarters was guided firstly by an immediate necessity resulting from the breakdown of Turkey (Armistice of Mudros) and of Germany (Armistice of November 11, 1918). The victorious British had to replace both the Germans in Georgia and Turks in Azerbaijan and Armenia. This occupation enabled them to control on behalf of the Allies the preliminary peace arrangements in Transcaucasia.

The territories they entered were nominally parts of the Russian Empire. But they found there, as a matter of fact, the new Transcaucasian Republics established since May, 1918.

How were these new small States to be treated? They were dominions of Russia, England's Ally in the Great

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War, but an ally fallen now into misfortune. Her interests were to be spared.

The Soviet Government was, on the contrary, an informal enemy. The fact of not having followed the Soviet movement was rather in favour of the new Caucasian States. But what if civil war, started in South Russia, would result in a rapid restoration of Russia to her normal strength?

In view of such a perplexity, no wonder that England's Russian policy should react on its attitude towards Georgia and its neighbours.

But the problem was not limited to Transcaucasia. The Paris Conference had to decide how to deal with different new republics established *de facto* on the borders of the former Russian Empire. And what was to happen should the antagonists of the Soviet system, guided in 1919 by Admiral Kolchak and General Denikin, have the best of it? The new Caucasian and Baltic States, as well as Ukraine, acted with solidarity at Paris in the summer of 1919, taking advantage of the Conference's liberal disposition with regard to the self-made new democracies. And it was decided that, if necessary, the Allied Powers, or eventually the League of Nations, would act as an intermediary between Russia and its former border-lands, now border States, aiming to an arrangement and readjustment of their mutual claims.

The subsequent collapse of the anti-Soviet Russians in the south and in Siberia prevented the carrying out of that large scheme, which was based, however, on a sound principle.

At any rate, the Russian conflicts, and consideration due to Russia, explain why it was that, only after the final victory of the Soviets over their opponents, the Great Powers decided to give their acknowledgment to the *de facto* independence of Georgia and other Transcaucasian States (January, 1920). The proposition to this effect was submitted to the Supreme Council by Great Britain, a proceeding natural enough when we consider that England was particularly responsible for peace on the Transcaucasian isthmus, and for preventing an advance of Soviet troops farther southward and their junction with the Turks.

Very great anxiety seems to have reigned at that time in British Governmental circles with regard to the possible penetration of militant communism from the north into Western Asia. Sir Henry Wilson and Admiral Beatty were summoned to Paris because the Supreme Council had

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to consider urgent measures. As the alarm was found to be exaggerated, nothing definite was decided upon.

But at that point a new aspect of Transcaucasian affairs appeared—namely, their importance in connection with the imposition of peace on Turkey and for the general security in Western Asia. In this respect Great Britain was particularly interested; the peace, which soon became the Sèvres Treaty, was chiefly an English work: and an English establishment in Transcaucasia, though temporary (Batum under British occupation!), could prove to be very important, eventually combined with pressure from other quarters. A new political agreement with Persia, planned simultaneously by Lord Curzon, necessitated, too, a settled and firmly supported Transcaucasia, the best natural highway to Persia.

Together with the final drafting of the peace treaty with Turkey, negotiations were started at Paris, on behalf of the Foreign Office, with the delegates of Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia, in order to facilitate an *entente* of the three Republics, consistent and firm enough to build a barrier and to justify support to be given eventually by the Allies. The whole scheme, if arrived at, was to be advocated by England before the Supreme Council at San Remo (April, 1920).

Stimulated by the distinguished emissary of Lord Curzon, the delegates of the Transcaucasian Republics entered into somewhat lengthy negotiations, first at Paris and then at San Remo. An agreement had been reached with regard to Batum as a free port and a common outlet of the three States. Obligatory arbitration for territorial disputes was stipulated, etc. But the crucial question concerning an Armenian railway destined to link Kars directly to Batum (instead of an actual connection Kars-Tiflis-Batum) could not find a satisfactory solution, the Armenians claiming Armenian sovereignty over the line, even where it crossed Georgian territory, and substituting later for this claim some others, also refused to them by Georgians.

In that controversy the most curious point was that the disputed line not only was non-existent, but even its technical possibility and financial advisability had never been seriously studied.

The whole question was purely tactical. In order that the Supreme Council should approve a plan concerning Transcaucasian affairs, a palpable evidence of Transcaucasian solidarity and unity was expected. It could not be produced.

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A climax had been reached at San Remo, and the downward movement began. The Soviets seized Baku and invaded Azerbaijan, almost simultaneously with closing of San Remo Conference. Soon afterwards an armed conflict arose on the frontier of Georgia and Azerbaijan, now under Soviet rule. Busy on their western boundaries, the Communists easily signed a peace with Georgia, giving on this occasion their formal acknowledgment of its independence. Would a *modus vivendi* thus arranged last, and would democratic Georgia exist by the side of "red" Azerbaijan, just as Estonia and Latvia, after coming to terms with the Soviets, continued to exist as "bourgeois" republics by the side of red Russia? And was Batum to perform for the Russians in the Black Sea the same purely commercial services Riga and Reval secured to them in the Baltic?

Alas! the analogy was not complete enough to justify such an optimist conception. The Baltic Republics occupied the left wing of the line, and victorious Poles had succeeded in winning and maintaining against Soviet Russia their eastern frontier. An invasion of the Baltic States would mean an outflanking of the Poles. It would be thinkable only in a victorious war with Poland, and 1920 had witnessed a Polish victory. At the same time, the general feeling of Europe, and actual support from different quarters, greatly aided self-confidence and stimulated those Republics.

Quite different was the outlook in Georgia.

In the summer of 1920 British troops were withdrawn from Batum. This was a momentous decision—formally, a restitution of a territory, temporarily occupied by British, to its legal owner, Georgia; as a matter of fact, a political renunciation, closely following the experience of San Remo.

The withdrawal could be plausibly justified by the exigencies of that famous, though anonymous, factor in international politics, which is the "British taxpayer," whose influence was great in 1919-1921. The true reasons of the event were probably multiple.

Since the victory of Soviets over their opponents in the Civil War, the idea of compounding with the *de facto* Government at Moscow made progress in England.

What we have here to note is, however, only the direct influence of the new policy adopted by England—aiming at the conclusion of a commercial agreement with Soviet Russia—on the fate of Transcaucasia.

The San Remo failure opened the way to the new tendency. It was followed by the abandonment of Batum, which improved England's position in dealing with Russia,

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but deprived her of one of the few means at her disposal of enforcing upon Turkey the peace—if the peace was to be enforced. And this seemed to become almost impossible.

The gradual growth of the Turkish Nationalist movement in Eastern Anatolia, favoured by the indifferent attitude of Great Powers; the disillusionment as to the getting the Sèvres Treaty executed; the hopeless position of the Armenian question in spite of the frontier drafted by President Wilson in the eastern villayets; all this, added to the negotiations between England and Russia, changed completely the general outlook of Caucasian and Turkish affairs in the second half of 1920. As to the Turkey who was at this time negotiating a separate peace with France, the enforcing of peace conditions had been entrusted to Greece alone—a decision which proved to be very ruinous to that country.

The position of the Armenian Republic between the Soviets and the Kemalist movement soon became untenable. The Communists were astute and skilful enough to appear as the benefactors and supporters of the Armenians, betrayed by the Western "Imperialists and bourgeois," against the new Turkish invasion. A partition of the Armenian territory took place later, Kars and its province with some other districts having been ceded, as already mentioned, to Turkey, the rest constituting as a Soviet Republic of Armenia round about the region of Naki Gokchai.

In these circumstances, independent Georgia, surrounded by the Soviets on three sides, and, to complete the grasp, by the Kemalist Turks in the south-west, could hardly survive. She was quite isolated now, supported by nobody, not belonging to any international system, or protected by position in any well-controlled zone.

Nothing can depict better the changed conditions of the Transcaucasian isthmus than the attitude (already mentioned) of the States assembled at Geneva in December, 1920. It was the first general assembly of the League of Nations, and the question of admission of Georgia, Armenia, etc., to its membership had also to be decided. The problem was particularly delicate because, in the case of admission, the responsibility of the League and its members would be engaged to a certain point (Article 10 of the Covenant), while the non-admission could be interpreted disadvantageously for the League by that section of European public opinion which expected with confidence the beginning of the new era.

Very unhappily the news had reached Geneva during

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the session of Armenia's invasion by the Turks. The event struck, as it were, deliberately at one of the feeblest portions of the whole Peace Settlement. The Great Powers were unwilling or unable to help. A hopeless way of mediation by neutrals was suggested without any result. Nothing at all was done. The atmosphere was decidedly unfavourable to the admission of new members, living under threat of a Turkish or Communist aggression.

Nevertheless, the admission of Georgia as well as the admission of the Baltic States, was strongly supported, particularly by Dr. Nansen and Lord Robert Cecil. The Assembly knowing that the Great Powers did not favour immediate admission, and helped by the circumstance that the *de jure* independence of those States had not yet been acknowledged, voted accordingly.

The required formal recognition was at last given to Georgia and to the Baltic States by the Supreme Council (January 27, 1921).

The Baltic States, as parts of an elaborated defensive system stretching from the Baltic to the Black Sea, simultaneously buffers between Germany and Russia, in a word closely connected with the whole fabric of new Europe, could survive, and became later in 1921 regular members of the League of Nations.

Georgia, lying as an isolated fort, deprived of defence and munitions, fell now an easy prey to the Soviets and Turkey. It was overrun by those neighbours, as we have mentioned above, some weeks after its *de jure* recognition.

The republican and democratic machinery set up there since 1918 now gave place to a Soviet organization. The next step was the setting up of a Transcaucasian Federation, including Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan, with their joint partnership in the U.S.S.R., which needs no comment here.

Our only purpose here is to show the contingencies of international politics, explaining the fiasco of Georgian independence in 1921. Other internal factors contributed to the same end in Georgia, and so it was in Armenia, too, and also elsewhere in the Caucasus.

Considered from within, the political possibilities of Georgia were dominated from the beginning by the overwhelming Russian revolution and its particular conditions in Transcaucasia. Both combined in giving a prominent place in public life to the Socialists, supposed to possess the political wisdom which was lacked by the men of the old *régime*.

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In Georgia latent national aspirations had come to an ebullition which modified and moderated to a certain degree the revolutionary situation created by the Russian collapse. The leading Social Democrats, faced by the national movement, tried quite opportunely to combine it with their own social programme. They became now Georgian Social Democrats; their close bonds with the Russian Revolution were to be broken in view of the Communist menace.

Aiming at first (as most Georgians did) at a Georgian autonomy within the limits of the Russian Empire, they were pushed ahead by the extraordinary events, particularly by the violent dissolution of the pan-Russian Constituent Assembly early in 1918 (Georgia had participated in elections to it), by the Brest-Litowsk Treaty, etc. At last, soon after the complete separation of Transcaucasia (April, 1918), urged both by the anti-Communist attitude of Caucasians and by the necessity of making separate peace with Turkey, the independence of Georgia was proclaimed (May, 1918), Armenia and Azerbaijan following that lead.

So, curiously enough, it was reserved to Marxists to guide the Georgian national movement, which they had always opposed before. This was, however, a sound and normal evolution, and they had support from all quarters.

Of course, the task of building a strong Government in a detached Dominion, when war and revolution were in the country, was not an easy one. It seemed, nevertheless, that the Georgian Government was firmly established. They were able to survive the shortlived German occupation, and to co-operate later with the English. As we saw, formal recognition was obtained practically from all concerned. But after all, it was impossible for Marxists to become suddenly Garibaldians.

Psychologically, it was perhaps their sectarian animosity against their kindred Communists which sustained their anti-Muscovite attitude more than anything else. And the spell of becoming the independent government of an awakened nation helped greatly to overcome their Marxist susceptibilities. Nationhood, as the basis of *their own* Government and leadership, was quite differently felt and appreciated by them now.

At any rate, having assumed the responsibility of ruling Georgia, they tried to carry out some particular measures considered as obligatory articles of their faith and suggested by the Russian Revolution at large. Accordingly a so-called agrarian reform was enforced upon landed property.

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Only insignificant holdings were left to proprietors. The remaining land of all the estates—big, medium, or small alike—was confiscated without compensation, and sold afterwards in parcels to peasants, or included in State domains. That drastic measure was necessary—so it was explained—to prevent the spread of Communism in Georgia. It was, as a matter of fact, pure Bolshevism without the Soviets. Unfortunately the sectarian character of the Government was manifest in other directions, too. A partisan Socialist body was created—the National Guards—outside the army, and the latter was neglected and mistrusted. This resulted in great confusion with regard to the defensive organization, and is supposed to have been one of the principal reasons for the sudden final failure in 1921.

It is, however, not impossible that under a more favourable international constellation—should, for instance, the situation, as it was in 1919-20, have lasted a few years longer—Georgia might have succeeded in reaching a certain degree of stability. But as the things developed from the summer of 1920, the fate of the three Republics was sealed.

Their own contribution to that fate was great indeed. They could never arrange anything like co-operation. They could not restrain their conflicts. The defensive alliance concluded by Georgia and Azerbaijan in 1919 had no effect. Antagonism between Armenia and Azerbaijan, and a rather cool relation of Armenia to Georgia, was always patent. Later, when their common misfortune brought them nearer together, the representatives of the three above-named Republics signed at last an agreement embodying their friendship and solidarity. But this was at Paris—and they were political refugees!

The future of Transcaucasia, and more particularly the problem of the independence of Georgia, may still recover its actuality. The general settlement between Russia and the Western Powers has not yet been made, and Georgia's *de jure* independence may still be involved in the discussion and may inspire some diplomatic activity. This possibility is very vague and limited, but it does exist. And the former Government of Georgia residing at Paris—where a regular Georgian Legation is in activity—expects perhaps a possible restoration, as result of some international complications. They have influential supporters in the Second Sovialist Internationale, and they are able to influence some platonic votes in the League of Nations. These connections are not negligible.

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But everybody cannot follow a policy of "wait and see." In 1924 insurrection was plotted in Georgia, or supposed to have been plotted. Some local risings took place. At any rate, a bloody repression followed, where thousands of innocents perished. A few insurgents continued to struggle, but finally had to cross the frontier. Needless to say how fruitless and inadequate such action is; it reveals, nevertheless, the more pathetic and emotional side of the Georgian nationalist movement.

There are many Georgians now so imbued with the idea of the independence of their country that they cannot imagine it otherwise than independent. It seems to them that they have lost it by pure accident, by some minor fault to be avoided next time. The complete independence they justly require is thought of abstractedly as something quite natural, as truly it is from a philosophical point of view. The actual popularity of this aspiration, noble and sound, shows how rapidly collective feelings change, when changes are prepared historically and socially.

And yet the independence of Georgia was proclaimed in 1918 not as a result of a long prepared plan, not as the conclusion of a gradual growth or particular national training, but under circumstances which were as sudden as they were unexpected and extraordinary—the dissolution of Russia, the Communist *coup d'état*, the necessity of dealing with Germany and Turkey.

The peculiar form of proclaiming the independence had been, consequently, determined by a casual environment. But deeper, of course, lay the more lasting and general factor—the awakening of the nations, old or new, to the will of self-government. And this has many ways of manifesting itself. Even when independence has been lost or has not yet been reached, a nation can develop itself to a higher destiny. Many nations grew in Europe to full nationhood under foreign rule or foreign yoke, and became independent States at the last moment, even then owing to particular circumstances.

It is not otherwise with the Caucasian nations. Most important was their awakening through war and revolution to a higher level of political conscience and to greater ambitions. It is true that, when in possession of their independence, they soon discovered the difficulty of maintaining it. They have lost it. But compared with their situation before 1917, they have accomplished very great progress with regard to their nationhood. However, their field has never been tilled systematically, as is required

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nowadays, and much can be done there daily even under bad conditions.

What now if the Communist Union falls? What if some menace to the Union is directed from without? The question is much debated by Russians and former Russian subjects abroad. The famous problem of eventual Western intervention is sometimes discussed. Georgia and Caucasus are mentioned from time to time in these speculations.

In Georgian political groups styled as responsible, including Social Democrats and others, the chances of possible complications are often judged optimistically.

Sometimes allusion is made to the interest which the British Empire has in liberating Georgia and the Caucasian isthmus in order to protect its Indian possessions from the rapacious North. The vested interests in Baku, and generally the oil problem, is also involved in that outlook. We cannot, however, examine all these features of the situation.

Generally speaking, our retrospective criticism of past politics does not imply any rigid thesis for future use. It would be particularly idle and wrong to project into some time to come the quite exceptional perspective of 1919-20. Everything has changed since. The future of England in India depends probably on other conditions than mountain barriers far in the north, and even from such a superficial point of view Turkestan is of greater moment than the Caucasus.

No possible change is in sight now with regard to the *status quo* of Georgia and the remainder of Transcaucasia. Should something happen in consequence of some unexpected upheaval in the U.S.S.R., then it is only to be hoped that the nations of the Caucasus, trained now in co-operation more than before, shall meet a new crisis with better chances than ten years ago, thereby securing to their country the conditions of fruitful labour and the dignity of a self-supporting and self-controlled existence.

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JOINT ACTION AMONG THE INDIAN PRINCES

By L. F. Rushbrook-Williams, C.B.E.
Foreign Minister, Patiala.

This year an unusually large number of Indian Rulers will be coming to England, including the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes and the greater portion of that body's Standing Committee. The occasion is remarkable, not only on account of the number of States to be represented, either by their Rulers or by their Officials, but also on account of the purpose underlying the visit.

To say that these Princes are arriving in connection with the work of the Indian States Committee appointed by Lord Birkenhead is to say very little. Indeed, unless there is some general understanding both of the genesis of the enquiry and of the attitude of the Princes themselves, the importance of the occasion is unlikely to be appreciated. To explain the matter it is necessary to recall certain historical facts. That the Indian Mutiny brought about a revolution in the attitude of the authorities towards the Indian States is, of course, a truism. Up to the time of that outbreak, the Company's officials, remembering the days when the British themselves had been only one among many competitors for the domination of India, were wont to regard the "country powers" with a suspicious eye. The traditional policy of treating each State in isolation, coupled with the increasing material development of British India, had together produced reactions unfavourable to the States, which had tended to decline relatively and absolutely. It was apparently assumed that British India was destined for rapid advance along the lines dictated by early Victorian liberalism; while such of the Indian States as could not be absorbed beneficently under the doctrine of lapse, would inevitably dwindle into mere shadows of their former selves. But the Mutiny, while it gave a severe shock to the easy optimism characterizing those who controlled British policy in India, served to demonstrate that the power of the States was still a reality. Lord Canning's famous admission that the patches of native rule served as breakwaters to the wave which would otherwise have swept us away utterly and completely, may be taken as an index of the changed attitude. Nevertheless, before many decades had elapsed the position

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showed some signs of approximating to that which had obtained before the Mutiny. As the nineteenth century drew to a close, the growing economic unification of the Indian subcontinent seemed to threaten the very existence of the Indian States. With the development of modern means of communication British India became welded, administratively, into something like a unit; and the disparity in resources and in importance between the territory under British rule and the isolated fragments which remained outside, became more than ever accentuated. The solemn pledges given by Queen Victoria were of themselves insufficient to solve the problem presented by the survival of the Indian States. From the States' point of view the danger of the situation lay principally in the fact that the Government of India was responsible for two different sets of duties. In the first place, it governed British India; in the second place, it managed the everyday relations between the Indian States and the Crown. The inevitable tendency of the greater of these two functions to dominate the less was accentuated at the beginning of the present century by an increasing departmentalization in the Government of India. Policies were laid down for all-India by the Technical Departments of the British Indian Government; and the States were expected merely to record their acquiescence. The result, from the Princes' standpoint, was a steady, if unostentatious, encroachment upon the position guaranteed to them by Royal pledge.

They experienced considerable difficulty in devising a remedy. The policy of isolation still persisted; and although it was impossible to prevent a considerable interchange of ideas among the States, the Government of India continued to deprecate any suggestion of joint representation or joint action. But parallel with the growing realization by the States themselves of a group of interests separate in degree if not in kind from those of British India, there may be discerned a tendency in higher quarters to look upon the States themselves as constituting jointly a factor in Indian politics. Whether Lord Curzon and Lord Minto were animated by any deliberate desire to associate the Indian Princes with the British authorities in the great task of uplifting all India is uncertain. But it is unquestionable that from the early years of the twentieth century we can trace a growing liberalization in the policy of the Government of India towards the Indian Princes. Moreover, the new generation of Princes was possessed of ideas which, though possibly inspired by a consciousness of

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special interests, were quite plainly anything but hostile to the British connection. In the time of Lord Hardinge, the meeting of some of the leading Princes for certain purposes was officially encouraged, although those purposes were to begin with of very minor importance. The habit of joint consultation grew rapidly under official encouragement, with the result that even before 1914 some of the Princes, notably the present Maharajas of Bikaner and Patiala and the late Maharaja of Gwalior, had begun to envisage a scheme for the safeguarding of State interests consistently with the maintenance of the interests of British India and of the Empire.

The outbreak of the War, like the outbreak of the Mutiny, served to exhibit very prominently both the power of the Princes and their abiding loyalty to the Crown. When "boons" to British India were talked of, the Princes somewhat naturally began to consider their own position. Accordingly, when the new policy officially announced in August, 1917, became the declared goal of British India, the Princes found little difficulty in securing a hearing, both by Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu, for the representations they desired to put forward. For various reasons the system by which their day-to-day relations with the Crown were conducted was unsatisfactory to them. An analysis of the complaints they put forward in 1918 shows three main directions in which they believed change was necessary. They felt that they had no voice in the determination of all-India policy; in other words, decisions were taken by the British Indian authorities alone which, though nominally confined to British India, in reality vitally affected the interests of the States. Secondly, they deplored the lack of any impartial tribunal to decide disputes arising between themselves and the British Indian authorities, for it seemed to them that in a number of cases the Government of India was at once party and judge. Finally, they believed that the Political Department, for all its great work in fighting the battles of the States, occasionally acted in disregard of the treaties, and in general exercised an authority which, if benevolent, was nevertheless in certain respects undeniably arbitrary. In order to remedy these defects, as they appeared to them, the Princes put forward a scheme for a deliberative assembly in which they could meet together and discuss their common interests; which assembly was to form the basis of a system for joint consultation between themselves and the British Indian authorities when matters of concern both to

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the States and to British India were at issue. They further proposed a system of arbitration, under which any dispute between the British Indian authorities, whether Central or Provincial, and a State, might be submitted to the decision of an impartial tribunal. Finally, they desired to associate with the Political Secretary a committee which would, as they hoped, ensure that the general policy of the Political Department should be more in harmony with the sentiments and desires of the Princes.

The plan put forward by the Princes to Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford afforded a useful basis of discussion. It was not wholly endorsed by the framers of the joint Report, although some very remarkable admissions testified to the general strength of the case it was designed to meet. But the Montagu-Chelmsford Report at least recommended the externals of the machinery proposed by the Princes, even though these forms did not embody the precise content for which the Princes had hoped. It is, however, to be noticed that when the proposals of the Report came to be translated into action, the modified recommendations were so much weakened, that all that the Princes seemed to have secured as a result of nearly ten years' persistent effort was the institution of the Chamber of Princes under conditions which deprived it of initiative and rendered it merely the shadow of a name. In reality, however, the Princes secured something far more important than was at the time realized—full official recognition of their right to consult with each other; and some opportunity of acquiring that difficult art, the settlement of common interests by amicable discussion.

From that time onwards the progress has been steady, if not always easy. The policy of isolation, so long pursued, has left legacies of separation among the individual Princes which are not to be overcome without much patience and goodwill. But the Chamber of Princes, while somewhat hampered by Rules of Business over which it had, until a few weeks ago, no control, has undoubtedly fostered in those who share in its deliberations a habit of co-operation. The formal sessions of the Chamber, for reasons which will be obvious, have from the Princes' point of view been less important than the informal conferences for which the annual gathering at Delhi provides the opportunity. For several years the Standing Committee of the Chamber has possessed its own headquarters in a rented building, where the Chancellor's office is located during the Session. This headquarters is the real centre of action, for it is here that the Princes assembled for the Chamber hold their most

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intimate discussions, formulate common policies, and lay the foundations for joint work. Here are discussed those matters which cannot find a place upon the rather stereotyped agenda of the Chamber itself; and here are laid down the lines which will guide the Standing Committee in its discussions with Government, now held thrice a year between the sessions of the Chamber. Here also are devised schemes for putting into execution certain Chamber resolutions which would otherwise remain merely the expression of pious hopes.

The existing system of common action among the Princes is in the nature of a makeshift, for the ineffectiveness of the Chamber from the Princes' standpoint has transferred the bulk of the real business to the informal conferences. But since the informal conferences and the Chamber Sessions consist of the same Princes, the Chancellor and the Standing Committee treat mandates from either as possessing the same authority. As a result, real work is done; and several of the greater Princes who at one time stood aloof now regularly send representatives to the informal conferences, where Ministers speak by invitation—always forthcoming—even if they do not vote. The upshot is that for every one of a long list of grievances the Princes have now a remedy to suggest, even if this remedy has not been accepted by Government. But, naturally enough, the Princes are not satisfied, nor are they content to rest upon their oars.

It was the Standing Committee, under the lead of two Princes of great experience, which first put forward a request for an impartial enquiry into the whole relationship between the Princes of India and the Paramount Power. The project was discussed at the Round Table Conference which took place in Simla in the spring of 1927 between Lord Irwin and certain members of his Government on one side and the Standing Committee on the other; and it became generally rumoured in the course of the ensuing summer that an enquiry of some sort would be undertaken. The Standing Committee next took the step of despatching to England two Ministers to obtain an authoritative opinion from eminent counsel upon certain aspects of the legal position of the Princes. This opinion had not yet been considered formally by the Standing Committee when Lord Irwin announced that the Secretary of State had appointed a Committee of three persons—Sir Harcourt Butler, Professor Holdsworth, and Mr. Peel—to enquire into the relationship between the Indian States and the

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Paramount Power, and to suggest means for the more satisfactory adjustment of the existing economic relations between the Indian States and British India. Once again the Standing Committee lost no time. It proceeded to formulate a plan for a central organization to prepare a general case on behalf of the States for presentation to Sir Harcourt Butler's Committee; and, further, briefed a well-known English barrister of great experience in public life to advise it throughout, and to present the case when ready. These steps were cordially endorsed by the next informal conference of Princes, which authorized the Standing Committee to proceed along the suggested lines, and, further, in its formal rôle as a Session of the Chamber, re-elected the Chancellor and his colleagues for a further year of office. Shortly afterwards it was arranged that as many members of the Standing Committee as could leave India should go to England in the course of this present summer to assist the Chancellor and counsel in the management of the case, and in putting forward definite suggestions, already tentatively approved, for remedying the Princes' grievances.

It was not to be expected that there would be entire unanimity among the Princes concerning these measures, particularly as certain States had not entirely thrown off their original conviction that the Chamber and all its works were alike useless. But more than three-fourths of those States who are members of the Chamber in their own right, and an equal proportion of those smaller States who are either represented by groups or who stand outside the Chamber altogether, have associated themselves with the Standing Committee. And in the meeting held at Bombay in March last it was apparent that even those States which preferred to deal directly with Sir Harcourt Butler's Committee were at one with the Standing Committee in their diagnosis of the disadvantages, from the Princes' point of view, of the present situation, although they were not yet prepared to commit themselves to the precise type of embryo Federation for All India which the Standing Committee and its advisers had by this time formulated. It is more noteworthy, from the practical standpoint, that the following resolutions were passed unanimously:

"This meeting of rulers and representatives of State Governments (*a*) appreciates the wisdom of His Majesty's Government and of the Government of India in providing for an enquiry into the relations of the Indian States with the Paramount Power and with British India; (*b*) recognizes

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that the readjustment of these relations so as to secure the political future of one-fifth of the human race calls for the highest statesmanship on the part of His Majesty's Government and people of British India, and on the part of the Indian States; (*c*) declares its resolve to devote to the moral and material progress of the subjects of the States the advantages resulting from the equitable adjustment of fiscal and economic issues; (*d*) affirms the intention of the Indian States to join with His Majesty's Government and with the Government and people of British India in working for a solution which shall secure protection for all interests and progress for all India; (*e*) reaffirms the abiding determination of the rulers of Indian States, as recorded in the last session of the Chamber of Princes, to ensure the rule of law in their States and to promote the welfare and good government of their subjects; (*f*) emphasizes the dependence of the progress and prosperity of British India and the States alike upon the creation of constitutional means for the adjustment of relations between them; (*g*) reaffirms on the one hand the loyalty of the Indian States to the Crown and their attachment to the Empire, and on the other hand their sympathy with the aspirations of British India, which they regard as legitimate."

These resolutions show that both the Princes who are combining with the Standing Committee to present a joint case, and the Princes who are making their individual representations directly to Sir Harcourt Butler and his colleagues, are alike envisaging the problem of the States from no narrow or selfish standpoint. They are trying to think for the Empire and for India, as well as for themselves. Without exception, they are agreed in believing that the present machinery by which their relations with the Crown are conducted, needs radical alteration. They believe they have solid cause for complaint; they also believe that their grievances can be removed consistently with justice to all parties. They realize that they must first prove their case. Afterwards, they must get together and devise a remedy. Finally, they must demonstrate that this remedy is reasonable and just.

In the course of the summer and autumn they hope to do all these things. They are very much in earnest about them, and they believe that the enquiry now being held under Sir Harcourt Butler's chairmanship will give them the opportunity they seek.

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THE ASIAN CIRCLE

A SURVEY OF ASIATIC AFFAIRS

THE Asian Circle is conducted by a group with personal knowledge of the various parts of Asia, and through the collective experience of its members aims at giving to the public an informed, progressive, and disinterested view of Asian affairs, both in detail and as a whole. The Right Hon. Lord Meston, K.C.S.I., is President, and its membership includes :

Sir George Boughey, Bart., O.B.E.
Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.
Sir Richard Dane, K.C.I.E.
Sir Patrick Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.
Lieut.-General Sir George MacMunn, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.S.O.
Mr. Stanley Rice.

The members of the Asian Circle consider that the views expressed by Captain A. L. Rogers in the present article will be of interest to readers of the ASIATIC REVIEW.

ARAB NATIONALISM IN IRAQ AND PALESTINE

So confused and contradictory are the views on Arabian questions imposed upon the public by imaginative historians and newspaper proprietors that no excuse need be offered for further reference to this subject. The dissimilarities which prevail in the eleven States and the lesser protectorates of Arabia are, however, such that it is impossible adequately to consider the complexities in any attempt to deal with the question as a whole. It is proposed, therefore, to confine this article to an appreciation of Arab opinion in those regions where British interests are most immediately affected.

Either by nature, or as a result of the manner in which his country has been governed for many centuries, the Arab is essentially an opportunist, selfish, subtle, and quick to adapt his outlook to changing conditions. It follows that his political attitude is based almost entirely upon his view of the manner in which he may best enhance or protect his

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own position. Hence, cohesion between Arabs is not to be found except with those who may have temporarily, or more permanently, identical interests in some important respects, these interests being material to the individual, rather than spiritual or national. Frequent references are now made to the religious divisions of Arabia—Sunni, Shiah, and Wahabi—as being responsible for political antagonisms; but, fundamentally, the inferences drawn are misleading, if not inaccurate. To gain an impression of the whole it is necessary to consider in detail the different elements of which it is composed.

First in importance are, perhaps, the tribal Shaikhs of Iraq, who control, at a conservative estimate, some 200,000 armed men in a country whose future is as yet uncertain. The leaders of the great tribal confederations are, for the most part, the tenants of lands capable of producing abundant crops and substantial wealth; and they naturally desire to cultivate those lands and sell their produce to the greatest possible advantage to themselves. This depends upon the permanency of their tenure and the degree of security which obtains. They are, therefore, in general, the supporters of a government that would recognize their tribal privileges and maintain law and order, and the opponents of an administration that seeks to abolish the tribal system, is unable of itself to guarantee tranquillity or the impartiality of its representatives, and rejects, as far as possible, the assistance which could overcome these defects. Thus, the greater Shaikhs, Shiah and Sunni alike, desirous of being looted neither by the politicians of Baghdad nor by the raiders from the desert, may be found aligned together in the face of the more momentous of the problems that confront them.

The politicians of Baghdad, who are chiefly men of only moderate means, are also able to find amongst themselves considerable similarity of interests. Each, individually, has one definite objective in view—namely, a government appointment which would be to the advantage of his own and his relatives' finances. But the supervision of British officials is a serious check to the existence of corruption and nepotism on a satisfactory scale, whilst the tribal system in the provinces limits the number of administrative appointments. Moreover, there is the knowledge that the tribal Shaikhs look upon the British officials as their natural allies. It is agreed, therefore, in principle, that the British connection with their country should be terminated, and the tribal system broken at the first possible moment. Bitter

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competition there is between the candidates for ministerial portfolios; the factions formed may call themselves political parties, with names of varying inappropriateness; but the political programme of one group, when in office, shows but little to distinguish it from its hated rival. Such is Arab Nationalism in Iraq.

Although petty jealousies have played an important part in Palestine, Arab opinion there, both Muslim and Christian, shows greater unity, since existence itself appears to be jeopardized by the Zionist programme that the Mandatory Power seems unable, or unwilling, to keep within reasonable bounds. The racial consciousness of the Arabs, as a whole, is not, however, developed to an extent that would make possible any effective sympathy or support for these from the east and north—at least until such time as the Zionists attempt to put into practice their more recently formulated intention of extending the area of their national home to the banks of the Euphrates. It is true that, not long ago, a prominent Zionist of British nationality was greeted by a hostile assembly of considerable proportions on his arrival at Baghdad; but this arose from the success with which a "nationalist" agitator had appealed to the passion and caprice of the ignorant mob, and should be regarded as having been a demonstration against British, rather than Zionist, policy, although there is, to the Arab mind, no precise dividing line between the two.

Now, despite the wide gulf that is fixed between the greater tribal Shaikhs and the "nationalists" of the towns, it should not be supposed that the latter are unable to influence tribal opinion and, in certain circumstances, produce a situation in the tribal districts most unfavourable to the government in office or the Mandatory Power. Apart from his lack of political education, the weakness of the tribal Shaikh arises from the uncertainty of his relations with his own tribesmen. The leadership of the tribe is not his by right of primogeniture, but was granted to him by his tribesmen because, in their opinion, his personality was such that he was best suited to the rôle from amongst the family of his predecessor, of whom he was not necessarily the eldest son, but perhaps a younger son or brother. In nearly every case he is clearly the best selection, for the tribesman is a shrewd judge of character; but he has, almost inevitably, at least one serious rival amongst his nearest relatives. His chief preoccupation, therefore, is to retain control over his tribesmen and, above all, their good-will, for it is upon the latter that his authority is primarily based, although his

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position is recognized by the government, which will sometimes, if called upon, assist him to maintain law and order in his territory.

This system leaves ample scope for intrigues designed to bring about a state of disorder, the more especially if the intriguer should be the agent of a political party in the capital. By means of specious promises of reward to an aggrieved member of the Shaikh's family, such an individual may gain an important influence in tribal councils; and there are many means of creating a restless spirit among the rank and file of naturally volatile and turbulent tribesmen. Although there are many powerful confederations whose habitat is in rich lands, whence much profit may be drawn, there are also lesser tribes in waterless districts who, with their leaders, benefit but little from a state of security and, having but little to lose, are ready to indulge their disorderly tendencies at the expense of the government or their neighbours. Defiance of authority, having declared itself among these elements, proves highly infectious, and in such circumstances it is only by exercising all their influence that it is possible for the greater Shaikhs to keep their followers under restraint. Assured of support from the government, they are able to exercise this influence to good purpose; but, in the absence of any evidence of such support, they find it necessary to conform to the spirit of their tribesmen from whom their shaikhly position is derived. It was by this process that there arose, in 1920, the disorders in Iraq referred to, without reason, as the nationalist rising; and it is noticeable that at that time many of the insurgent leaders were known to be by no means ill-disposed towards the British Government, and, since the subsequent pacification of the country, have been, as far as possible, the supporters of the Mandatory Power. The same principles operated also during the more recent disturbances in Syria.

The position in Arabia is, therefore, in brief, that the governments or mandatory powers can count on strong support while their prestige is high and they show themselves able to adopt strong measures; whereas, if weak, they are in constant jeopardy. In Syria, the French authorities have enhanced their prestige by stamping out the insurrection and, in the reorganization of the administration, ensuring the protection—and, in consequence, the loyalty—of those Syrians who remained tranquil. In Iraq, on the other hand, the strength of the Mandatory Power has noticeably deteriorated through the establishment of a régime that makes possible, if it does not actually encourage,

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the persecution of those who, in 1920, used the whole weight of their influence on behalf of the British Government.

Apart from the tribes and the irresponsible politicians, there remain to be considered the real intelligentsia, prosperous merchants and landlords, whose opinions, even if they do not take part in politics, are of considerable weight. They have an important stake in the prosperity of the country, and are not easily led by the chauvinism that makes so strong an appeal to those who, consciously or unconsciously, are influenced by the thought that the termination of foreign tutelage would be to their personal advantage. Their interests are naturally in favour of conditions giving definite security both for the present and for the future, since uncertainty is inevitably to their disadvantage. But, wherever their sympathies may be, it is a vain task to look for staunch supporters of Great Britain amongst such classes. Although their desire is for progress and security, they argue that the administration has been handed over to inept nationalists of various hues after the complete suppression of an insurrection which was not actually a nationalist rising; that the British Government has not guaranteed the integrity of the frontiers, but appears to have passed this responsibility to the League of Nations, already the perpetrator of a grave injustice to the Christians of Northern Iraq, who deserved Great Britain's protection more than any other people in the Middle East; that there is no certainty that Great Britain will thwart the increasing and wholly unjustifiable aspirations of the Zionists; and, moreover, that the British Government has refused to bind Iraq to a reasonable period of tutelage, but checked all possibility of development by deferring the settlement of this question to negotiations to be repeated every four years — than which a more unsatisfactory arrangement it would be impossible to devise.

It may be seen then that, although Great Britain's friends are numerous, her active protagonists are but few, and it is impossible to pretend that the state of affairs is satisfactory. The future will be chiefly influenced, no doubt, by the general policy of the British Government, not only in the Arabian peninsula, but in all its imperial and foreign relations, and the extent to which it is able to restore and maintain British prestige. The attitude of the Turkish Government is also a factor to be reckoned with, the more especially since its doubts regarding Italian intentions have been appreciably reduced. Complete autonomy for Arabia under Turkish suzerainty, when mooted, was found to be

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not unacceptable to representatives of the Arab nationalists, and, to many Arabs who are genuinely anxious to see their country prosper, may appear to be more attractive than the uncertainty that seems an inevitable corollary to the principle of a mandate from the League of Nations.

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THE INDIAN PROGRESS REPORT*

By A. L. Saunders, C.S.I.

India in 1926-27 is the Statement or Report presented to Parliament under the Government of India Act. It fully maintains the high standard of the Government of India's official publications. Mr. Coatman, the Director of Public Information, is to be congratulated on an admirable report which is a storehouse of information on Indian conditions and affairs, lucidly stated and generally well arranged. In places, notably the Eighth Chapter, it seems statistically overloaded, and the chapter on Finance rather overlaps the financial portion of other chapters; but that is perhaps unavoidable, and hardly detracts from the general excellence of the work. There are some good photographs.

The period under review corresponds exactly with the term of Lord Irwin's Viceroyalty to date—namely, from April 1, 1926. In internal affairs his government was faced during this period with the most disquieting of all Indian conditions, the antagonism between Hindu and Muhammadan, which has alternately smouldered and blazed for a thousand years and seems as far from abatement as ever. Many causes are at work to revive this hostility at the present day. The partial and prospectively the still wider grant of self-government on a representative basis has caused great uneasiness to the Muhammadans in view of the vast numerical superiority of the Hindus and their greater political and educational advancement. The Hindus in return have felt threatened by the Khilafat and Pan-Islamic movements, by Turkish intrigues and Pathan raids from the north-west, and by the actual attack of Afghanistan in 1919. There is the standing irritation due to the drift of the Hindu servile classes to Islam. The more revolutionary nationalists ascribe this, as they do all the ills that flesh is heir to, to the British Government, a particularly absurd charge, for there is nothing that causes so much disquiet to that government and its officers. It has sought adjustment, with very little success, by the agency of influential non-officials. "Sir A. Muddiman . . . showed the House that it was in the power of every member to exercise influence

* "India in 1926-27," by J. Coatman. (Calcutta: Government of India.) 3s. 6d. net.

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on the ignorant and hot-headed masses in his neighbourhood." He was oversanguine. Hardly anyone, certainly not members of the Legislature, can control the fierce passion this religious quarrel excites in Indian mobs, chiefly in the large cities. The Government has taken power to regulate the two matters that mostly generate strife, cow-killing on one side and processions and music near mosques on the other. It is something of a labour of Sisyphus, for when one cause of quarrel is abated it is easy to find others, but the strengthening of the hands of government may count for something.

In Indian political movements it is often hard to distinguish the real currents under the froth they generate. The anti-Government parties are always oscillating between boycott, which is the more logical course but gets them nowhere, and constitutional opposition. The Swaraj resolution given in Appendix I. consists of six articles, of which the first three affirm the former, and the last three the latter policy. The Congress apparently did not perceive the inconsistency. There is an admirable description in Chapter II. of the Congress, Swaraj or opposition parties, whichever they are called. They are difficult to disentangle, and they have developed something like a political language of their own. But it is impossible to overlook the general craving for a real national life. Nor is it quite true that Indian politicians are entirely divorced from contact with the masses. It is hardly the case that there are very many villages to which new ideas cannot penetrate. The Indian educated class, even the very lowest stratum of that class, exercise an extraordinary influence over village feeling, an influence often ill directed, grotesque, and almost devoid of meaning, but none the less real. It recalls the description in mediæval European literature of the sayings and doings of the "scholars" of the time. There are many such in India at the present day.

Turning to more immediately practical matters the Government of India are to be congratulated on the practical ability and conspicuous success of their administration of India's finances, both internally and externally. The tangled skein of Imperial and Provincial financial relations has been more or less straightened out, taxation has been reduced, the revenues are productive and flourishing, the tariff seems to be working well with a reasonable but not excessive protection of industries, the public debt has been reduced, and no external debt is being incurred. For four years in succession the Budget has shown a surplus. In

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particular Sir Basil Blackett has handled the currency and exchange questions with great firmness and ability. All currency questions ultimately resolve themselves into one, inflation or deflation. Sir Basil, true to his Treasury traditions, has held stoutly to a stable currency and refused to listen to Sir Parshotamdas Thakurdas and other inflationist sirens, charm they never so wisely.

India's foreign policy, the Report truly observes, has to deal with little else than the North-West Frontier problem. We are given an interesting history of this. One is impressed by the inevitableness with which a developed civilization swallows up the primitive life on its borders. Again and again Indian rulers have shrunk from dealing with the wild warriors of the border; they have been carried forward even against their will. Every year now for many years has seen Afghans and Pathans coming down to India in the winter to buy and sell, and every such visit means a breach in their country's isolation. In 1916, when the Amir entertained a German mission and meditated war on India, Southern Afghanistan, of which Jalalabad is the capital, openly threatened revolt. Their Indian trade outweighed any German offers. The frontier would now seem securely settled but for the Soviet Government of Russia. What the latter wants is known; what it will succeed in doing remains to be seen. Revolutionary efforts of the criminal type, whether associated with Russia or not, appear to have been but feeble. Communism was more active and more vocal than before, but that does not seem to be saying much.

Education, sanitation, and other such administrative activities are described in the last chapter under the somewhat inappropriate heading of "Nation-Building." There is a multiplication of such energies, and one general fact seems to emerge, that the frame of administration is undergoing great changes. Specialist departments are largely superseding the old system of districts, almost self-contained, each under its own officer, who was expected to be, and to some extent was, a jack-of-all-trades. The position of the district officer has not only been modified, for the worse, by the political changes above; it has been seriously impaired by the number of directing specialists for whom the district officer is but an executive subordinate. Education, however, can count on strong popular support. Health administration cannot. This is clear not only from the accounts of the attitude of local bodies; it is well known to all acquainted with the Indian people. "Why

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do you Europeans make such a fuss about people dying?" It is not, perhaps, wholly irrational. Increase of births, decrease of deaths, improvement of health of pregnant women, of babies, and of children—all these make up a fine record, but over it hangs the shadow of overpopulation which will not be shaken off.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE INDIAN STATUTORY COMMISSION

SIR,—The article on the future of India and the Statutory Commission in the April number of the REVIEW mentions the possibility that the future government of India may take some form other than democratic, but does not suggest what that form might be. Ever since the rise of the nationalist movement at the close of last century there have been many advocates of a purely Indian constitution for self-governing India, but no Indian publicist, to my knowledge, has sketched such a constitution even in the barest outline. Mr. Gandhi himself in "Hind Swaraj," written in 1908, propounded the question of the nature of the Swaraj to which Indians should aspire, but in his conclusions gives no more satisfactory answer than that "Real Home Rule is self-rule or self-control." A decade later a noted Swadeshi protagonist of the Partition days was repudiated by his party when he insisted that Swaraj should be defined. Recently an able Indian, a student of history and politics, wrote that he disapproved of the Westernized democracy to which India was being introduced, but could devise no alternative. Apparently for over a generation the most fertile Indian imaginations have been unable to visualize their avowed objective. Why is it? Surely, with all their talk of the superiority of Hindu civilization, the Swarajists should find a model in some phase of Indian history. But in which? The question intrigues. Certainly no Hindu statesman would recall the alien empire of the great Mughals, nor yet the despotism of a Chandragupta, as recorded by Kautilya in his "Arthashastra." Some may dream of the happy days of good King Harsha, hallowed by tradition even as those of King Arthur, but, like those, too obscure amid the mists of antiquity to afford safe guidance.

Or they may have in mind the local government in ancient India, where village and caste and guild normally managed its own affairs. Here they would be on firmer ground, for in those old slow-moving days interference from outside could be but fitful, and there was much real self-government in the villages. So there is still, despite rail and telegraph. Even in Eastern Bengal, distinguished by the comparative meagreness of ancient village organization, where even the Chaukidar is an innovation, most local disputes are settled on the spot, either by the Panchayet established by Government, or by the "ten men," the assembly of the disputants' peers. Instances of local organizations on a larger scale are the Raizes, groups of villages peopled by Muhammadan settlers in the Cachari and Jaintia kingdoms. These were practically autonomous, subject to payment of the taxes and to the interference of the king's officers in cases of serious crime. Their people met under the leadership of their elders to allot revenue and land and to settle civil and criminal disputes. To this day the Raiz organization survives in the hunting of the tiger, and the people

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assemble by Raizes for religious and other discussions. Surely such assemblies in Raiz, or Panchayet, or "ten men," are democratic. Still more so are the Khasi States, where the chiefs are elected on a basis of manhood suffrage, and have powers limited by association with a State Council. These instances, though drawn from a remote corner of the great continent, are stressed to show that democracy is not foreign to the spirit of India. Far from it. Islam is essentially democratic; and so may be Hinduism, subject to caste. If this be denied, we must deny true democracy to Greece, for the Athenian citizen recked less of the slave within his state than the Brahmin does of the pariah. Assam, indeed, is pervaded by the spirit of democracy, and Bengal is not without traces of it. Barriers of class as well as of caste are weakening. A striking feature of the last Council elections in the Surma Valley was that candidates from the plebs stood against patricians (Chaudhris), fought them, and won on the platform of class. The raiyat, too, illiterate, bigoted, slow of understanding, knows what he wants, and in its pursuit is capable of combination and endurance. Nor is he concerned only with his personal material welfare. Religion comes first, then pride of caste and of country. He is far from being indifferent to the political cries of "Allah akbar," "swaraj," "bande mataram." No one who passed through the days of khilafat and non-co-operation and witnessed the amazingly controlled organization in the remotest villages, will doubt the raiyat's capacity for combination and action. True, his range is very limited; he cannot appreciate conditions other than his own or weigh the wider issue. Perhaps it was these characteristics that induced an ex-Lieutenant-Governor to advocate smaller, more homogeneous, provinces: an interesting theme, but it belongs to another chapter. Here we are concerned with foundations. It had long been held by friends of India, at least in the Eastern provinces, that the proper field for the cultivation of native political genius was the village, and that the future government of India must be based on sound local organizations. The old ones had withered under a strong and ever more centralized bureaucracy, and it was necessary to revitalize and extend them. A beginning was made with the towns; but these were too Westernized, too lawyer ridden, too divorced from the natural life of the peasantry.

The Local Self-Government Bill of 1883 would have based the fabric of district administration on village unions, but, unfortunately, the measure was profoundly modified during its passage through Council, and when it emerged as law the District Board was the main unit, and village unions were relegated to a very inferior position. A few such unions were formed, but there were only fifty-eight in all the province of Bengal as it stood in 1904, and their total expenditure was only 18,000 rupees. They languished, half-starved and inert.

Another line of experiment was the transfer, from 1870 onwards, of the village watch to the charge of bodies of village elders, panchayets, appointed by the magistrate. But the powers of the panches were few, their financial responsibility onerous; they received scant help, and were treated none too gently; their duties were unpopular and often neglected; their independence was curtailed, until at the beginning of this century they were little more than an agency for the collection of the chaukidari tax, and their few functions were commonly exercised by the collecting member, who was remunerated by a commission on the assessed rate.

Under the Savage scheme of 1905 the local jurisdiction of the panchayets was enlarged, their status raised, their functions widened. The Decentralization Commission of 1908 urged further strengthening of village authorities, and the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam began to advance cautiously on the lines suggested. The readjustment

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of the provincial boundaries in 1912 checked progress until, in 1914, the Bengal District Administration Committee pressed for a bolder policy, combining in elected bodies the functions of chaukidari panchayet and village union, and giving them a local civil and criminal jurisdiction. The necessary legislation was enacted, and in the last decade substantial progress has been made, but the achievement falls disappointingly short of the high aspirations of the sponsors of the scheme, who hoped to cover the land with a network of local authorities, representative, self-supporting, dispensing cheap and summary justice, and responsible alike to Government and to their constituents for the peace and welfare of their charges. The reasons for the comparative failure are many and complex. There was work to be done; able and public-spirited men to do it. But the start came a generation too late. The initial failure of the chaukidari panchayets prejudiced the cause; the people, infected by the swadeshi agitation, were suspicious of all Government institutions; lawyers were hostile; police mistrustful; District Boards were jealous. Some magistrates were chary of giving wide powers to untried bodies of doubtful loyalty whose work they could not adequately control; for the sub-deputy collectors available for the supervision were far too few, and often lacked the status or the tact essential for dealing with touchy local magnates who neglected their duty. The chaukidari tax was unpopular, and at the outset the panchayet seldom had any other funds, except meagre and earmarked grants. Small wonder that, even where village factions did not make it impossible to find a panchayet that would act together and command the trust of all, the members often were apathetic, or allowed all their functions to be usurped by an energetic President or Secretary. Later, when some of these difficulties had been met and partially overcome, the village courts and benches came under the ban of the non-co-operators, who saw that the existence of influential local bodies deriving authority from the established Government would make it difficult to subvert the existing order. So they set up "national" courts, which, like the "national" schools, inspired little respect but injured the Government institutions. In fine, these village authorities have suffered from much the same evils as have affected the reformed provincial governments, and it is a matter for congratulation that they have done so well as they have in favourable circumstances. For there are villages where a real village life has been created, and where measures of real benefit have been carried through with enterprise and self-sacrifice. It is my firm conviction that organized village life is the only safe basis for representative government in India, and its promotion is far the most important task today before the rulers of India. With enthusiasm a great deal could be accomplished in a few years. When these authorities are established everywhere, it may well be that they, rather than the existing electorate, should send representatives to the provincial councils. Such a change would be unpopular with the carpet-baggers, and be vehemently assailed as retrograde, but it would be likely to afford more real representation of local interests.

I am tempted to write of the superstructure: but enough for the present. The foundations are the most important part of the building. I do hope, however, that the writer of the article which inspired this note will tell us what form of government other than democratic he contemplated, and what is the "unitary government" which he envisages as an alternative to complete provincial autonomy.

J. E. WEBSTER.

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DEMOCRACY IN CHINA: IS IT A FAILURE?

By Taw Sein Ko, C.I.E., I.S.O.
(Late Adviser on Chinese Affairs, and Assistant Secretary to the Government of Burma)

The *fons et origo* of modern Republicanism may be ascribed to Rousseau's famous brochure entitled the "Contrat Social" containing the slogan of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," which has rung through the centuries irrespective of geography, physical barriers, nationality, race, creed, or colour. In accordance with its teachings, the Republic of the United States was the first to be founded. Then followed that of France, which gave birth to Rousseau, its author. In the twentieth century, we saw Mexico, Portugal, Germany, Austria, Greece, Poland, Russia, Turkey, Persia, and China struggling to substitute a Republic for a Monarchy. In process of time, as the world gets older, and as Human Reason asserts its sway, there is a marked tendency for other countries to scrap their Monarchy and accept a Republican form of Government. Indeed, owing to the innate aspiration of Humanity for Freedom, that "Touch of Nature has made the whole world kin," and that kinship has been accelerated by the discoveries of Sciences which have practically shrunken the world's area, have annihilated Time and Space, and have provided us with such amenities of civilized life as steamers, railways, aeroplanes, telegraphs, telephones, and the wireless. Politicians are inclined to differ in the interpretation of Rousseau's trilogy of catch-words. Liberty, in order to be a practicable quality of citizenship, should not be *natural* Liberty, which would degenerate into Licence, but freedom under the restraint of Law—religious, social, and legislative—which can only bind Society together; Equality is not Equality in social status, or Equality in equipment—physical, intellectual, and moral—but Equality in the eye of the State-made Law, which is expected to mete out Justice and Impartiality between man and man; and again, Fraternity implies sympathy, co-operation, and goodwill, and is but an echo of that Doctrine of Universal Brotherhood which is the goal of several systems of Religion. The difference in the interpretation of Rousseau's slogan has been so accentuated that in Turkey, where, in 1908, the political power, after a revolution, was transferred from

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the Sultan to a group of men known as the "Committee of Union and Progress," it was modified to "Liberty, *Justice*, and Fraternity." The same trilogy has been adopted by the Kuomintang or "The People's Party" in China, where, in 1912, after a revolution, the Manchu dynasty abdicated its power and a Republic was set up. In Persia, a revolution broke out in 1925, through the prevalence of Democratic ideals, but the old-world form of the monarchical principle was retained through the intervention of the learned Sheikhs and Moulvies, who contended that the Republican ideal was alien to the injunctions of the Koran.

Some writers are inclined to urge that Democracy will never thrive on Asiatic soil because Asia is the home of Religion while Europe is the home of Democracy and Politics. In Asia we have an immensity of Natural Phenomena, before which man is awed and cowed, and the feelings of Fear, Respect, and Reverence are produced, together with their accompaniments, Religion and Autocracy. We have our strong destructive gales, like Typhoons and Hurricanes in the Monsoon, Mountains which are five miles high, like the Himalayas, and big, navigable rivers, which, in flood, resemble little inland seas, like the Ganges, Irrawaddy, and the Yangtze. Further, we have Malaria, Typhoid, Plague, and Cholera to decimate our population from time to time; and the expectation of life in Burma is only twenty-three years as compared with fifty-five years in Great Britain, while, owing to insanitation and early marriage, it is still lower in India and China, where human vitality is not strong and vigorous. In Europe, which enjoys a temperate climate, and where the menaces to health have been reduced to a minimum by co-operation and the discoveries of Science, and where human vitality is strong, cheerful, buoyant, and enterprising, Natural Phenomena are of a small compass and are just manageable: they are conquered and chained and are in bondage and have to minister to the wants and comforts of man. Windmills and water-power are used to grind corn; steam is employed to haul steamers and railway trains, and in flour mills and printing presses; and electricity is being substituted for steam as a motive power. Man in Europe is accustomed to conquering Nature, and from the conquest of Nature, and much braced and strengthened by the ordeal, he turns his attention to the conquest and management of his fellow-men. Hence in Europe we have Science, Democracy, and Politics, and a fully developed form of Government and administration, especially among

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the Nordic race, which has learnt the Art of substituting Reason and friendly debate for caprice and physical force in all controversial matters. Human Nature as well as inanimate Nature being so insistent on the division of labour, difference of human effort, and discrimination of human aspirations, is it then reasonable to suppose that Democracy, as an exotic plant, will thrive and prosper and become a perennial plant on Asiatic soil?

There are a host of publicists, commentators, and writers of recent political events in China. Of these let us choose two—namely, Mr. Putnam Weale, the greatest living authority on China, who has written a most comprehensive library of books on that country, and who has succeeded the celebrated Dr. Morrison as the Political Adviser to the Chinese Republic at Peking. One of his most recent works is entitled "The Vanished Empire," and on page vi of his Preface he comments as follows on the form of Democratic Government now prevailing in China: "The importance of these things is becoming clearer every day. The chaos seems to deepen because the inadequacy of the machinery for controlling men is made ever more manifest by the fading tradition of the Throne, and by the growth of factors rooted in another civilization. From this it may be deduced that the control of all non-Chinese instrumentalities must be vested in a new agency during an interregnum which will last until a new philosophy and a new rule of life shall have been evolved, or that the monarchy will be reintegrated." The view expressed is rather pessimistic, and connotes that, for the present, Republicanism in China is a failure because the disorders and disturbances are due to exotic ideals imported from an alien civilization, which are not of indigenous organic growth, and suggest that only two alternative remedies are possible—namely, (*a*) the transfer of the work of reconstruction to a Mandatory Power, or (*b*) the restoration of the Chinese monarchy. The first alternative is probable, but the second is altogether out of the question. The Manchus have outlasted their power, and have exhausted the "Mandate of Heaven." Their restoration is utterly impossible. As regards the setting up of a new Chinese dynasty, it will take from thirty to fifty years to establish its authority in the "Eighteen Provinces" of the Empire; and the complexities of the situation are so great that we could not afford to lose so much time. The only course open to us is to consider whether the imported Republican ideals would not grow on Chinese soil.

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The other author selected is Mr. Woodhead, C.B.E., the Editor of the *China Year Book* and of the *Peking and Tientsin Times*. He has been engaged in journalism in China for the past twenty-three years, and is a well-informed and authoritative writer on Chinese current political topics. His latest work is entitled "The Truth about the Chinese Republic," and on pages 31-33 he expresses the following considered opinion, which appears to be quite parallel to that of Mr. Putnam Weale cited above: "It cannot be questioned that foreign sympathizers with the aspirations of the revolutionaries for reform and progress view with considerable misgiving the prospect to form a Chinese Republic. To begin with, in the whole history of the world the experiment has never been attempted upon the scale involved in the proposal that an empire of about four hundred million inhabitants should so far break with the immemorial traditions of the past as to replace an absolute monarchy by a form of government which has not met with unvarying success in smaller and far more enlightened States. Laudable as the principles of Republicanism are, it would be idle to assert that this form of government has, upon the whole, proved a success. The ideal of the Chinese Republicans is said to be the government of the United States. But it should be remembered that America is at least a hundred years ahead of China in all that the civilized world regards as modern. Moreover, the American Republic is the growth of over a century of hard-bought experience, and, in spite of this, it can still be said with a great deal of truth that in no country is there more talk of the democracy and less effective control by it over the working of the Government. If a Chinese Republic be founded, we fear that it will not be long before the nation at large shows an unmistakable preference for the old *régime*."

Mr. Woodhead's views may be summarized as follows: (1) In setting up a Republic in China the scale involved is too gigantic, there being a population of 400 millions to be dealt with. (2) A sudden break from an Absolute Monarchy is impossible. (3) The Chinese wish to base their Republic upon the American model. This is equally impossible, because the United States is at least 100 years ahead of China, and because, even if the experiment is successful, it should be remembered that the American form of democratic government is not an unqualified success. (4) A Chinese Republic, even if founded, will not last long; the restoration of the Monarchy is inevitable.

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I wish to offer the following remarks upon the above statements. Mr. Woodhead is a ready, able, and finished writer, but his lines of argument all lead to this: that the Monarchy is indispensable to China and must be restored. He cannot, by any means, escape from that predominating idea. (1) In his objection to a Republican experiment being made on a population of 400 millions, the writer appears to forget the homogeneity of the Chinese people as regards race, language, religion, custom, costume, inter-dining, and intermarriage—although marriage is exogamous, their powers of combination as manifested by their Clan and Trade Guilds, the efficacy of Public Opinion as a factor in their Governance, the Municipal and Judicial functions performed by Village Communities, the extreme lowness of Taxation, the paucity of functionaries, soldiers, policemen, etc. India has a population of 280 millions. Look at the diversities of religion, language, custom, and caste. There is no common script as in China, which is universally understood, and English has become the *lingua franca* among the educated Indian classes. The large and gigantic scale of the experiment is easily remedied by the homogeneity, intelligence, and virility of the Chinese race. (2) The Chinese form of Monarchy is Absolute in Theory, but Limited in Practice. Chinese subjects are, since the days of Confucius, justified in rebelling against an unjust and cruel King. A Chinese Emperor reigns, but does not govern, because so much latitude is allowed to the provinces, towns, and villages. If the Monarchy is abolished, the Government, which rests on a democratic basis, will still continue to function. (3) The Republican ideal has been introduced into China from the Universities of Harvard and Yale, and it is but natural that the Chinese leaders should desire to base their Republic upon the American model. The United States has a population of 120 million souls. The people are not homogeneous; they are drawn from every country of Europe. Before the recent Immigration Law was passed, the United States annually absorbed one million of settlers from Europe. All these heterogeneous elements are boiled, as it were, in a huge cauldron, in order to provide an accretion for the American nation. In China, as has been stated above, the 400 million of people are quite homogeneous, and are less difficult to deal with than are the Americans, with all their equipment and paraphernalia of complex modernity. The fact of the United States being at least 100 years ahead of China is discounted by Chinese homogeneity and Chinese

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character. (4) The restoration of the Monarchy may be regarded as inevitable, but it is not possible under modern conditions and circumstances. A Monarchy cannot be restored without a prolonged upheaval, which means the destruction of Commerce with the Foreign Powers who look upon China as a valuable market for their manufactures. Before a Monarchy can be well established there must be Foreign intervention.

Mr. Putnam Weale and Mr. Woodhead, who have lived at least a quarter of a century in China, may be great experts and great students of public affairs. They are certainly "men on the spot," in whom, according to British tradition, we are to place our implicit faith and reliance. But they are specialists, who have confined their attention to Chinese affairs alone for a long period of their busy life. In their research and study they do not resort to the Comparative Method, which offers a wider outlook and a larger area for generalization, and which was created and set in vogue by Sir Henry Maine, Professor of Jurisprudence at Cambridge University. Let us, therefore, invite to our symposium two other authorities of different training, experience, and outlook, in order to find out whether Democracy has a bleak prospect before it in China, or whether there are yet gleams of hope for a successful, if not a brilliant, future in the decade or two that are before us. These writers are not "men on the spot," but they have made a life study of Democracy and Republican institutions in the different countries of the world. Their opinions stimulate thought and deserve consideration, and may assist us in coming to definite conclusions.

The first I would select is Sir Frederick Whyte, the first President of the Legislative Assembly at Delhi. He is a keen student of the different forms of Democracy now prevailing in Asia. On pages 74-75 of his Page-Barbour Lectures of 1926 at the University of Virginia, entitled *Asia in the Twentieth Century*, he thus expresses his opinion on Democracy in China: "Let us note here, before leaving China, that if representative government may seem exotic, the democratic spirit is not; and what China suffers from today is not the medicine itself, but an over-dose of democracy in a Western prescription. China, in former times, proved that a nation may be democratic without democratic institutions. China, in our day, has proved that political democracy is a special condition requiring qualities which the Chinese do not possess. China, in the future, has to prove that these qualities, when they are not innate, can

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be acquired." From the above extract it is clear that in China the spirit of Democracy has existed for more than 2,000 years—*i.e.*, antedates the birth of Confucius. If the foundation is already democratic, it would not be difficult to raise upon it a democratic superstructure, but the latter, to be permanent and acceptable to the people at large, must be of the indigenous variety or of a harmonious variant, and not of the alien American variety. The crux of the question is how to secure a harmonious blend of Chinese and American ideals regarding the special variety suited to the genius, custom, usage, and habits of thought of the Chinese race. According to Sir Frederick Whyte, Democracy in China is not a failure; there are still gleams of hope for its pronounced success as an achievement of human activity and human compromise.

The last witness to contribute to our symposium is Lord Bryce, whose opinion is the weightiest and soundest of all. From a professorial chair at Oxford he entered the House of Commons, and, through sheer ability, tact, and character, rose to be British Ambassador at Washington, where at close quarters he studied the American people and Democracy; and these two became the objects of his fervent worship and devotion during his subsequent career. In 1921, a few years before his death, was published his monumental work entitled *Modern Democracies*, in two volumes, which is encyclopædic in character and surveys the world from China to Peru, and contains his last and final pronouncement on the subject. On pages 557, 558, and 559 of Volume II. of this work he thus speaks of China in eulogistic terms: "Europe has been wont to think of the Chinese as semi-civilized. It might be true to say that they are highly civilized in some respects and barely civilized in others. They are orderly and intelligent. They have admirable artistic gifts. Many possess great literary talent, many observe a moral standard as high as that of the ancient Stoics. On the other hand, they set a low value on human life; their punishments are extremely cruel; corruption is general among officials; the most primitive superstitions govern the conduct of the immense majority. . . . But in some ways China furnishes no unpromising field for an experiment in popular government. Its people have five sterling qualities. Industry, independence of character, a respect for settled order, a sense of what moral duty means, a deference to intellectual eminence. They have the power of working together; they can restrain their feelings and impulses; they are highly intelligent and

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amenable to reason. Weak as they have seemed to be in international affairs, they have plenty of national pride and a sort of patriotism, though it does not flow into military channels." China should certainly not be judged in terms of Western Civilization. She lacks a knowledge of Science and of Western methods of Administration, and when this deficiency is supplied she will get rid of her cruelty, superstition, and official corruption. Owing to the ethical qualities of her people, a sense of moral duty and independence of character, she offers a splendid field for the establishment of Democratic institutions. It is just as well to get such a genuine testimony from such a high and unimpeachable authority as Lord Bryce as regards China's political future.

Upon the evidence adduced and commented upon above, I pass my final judgment that "Democracy in China cannot yet be pronounced a failure, but that, under happier auspices, it may thrive and prosper and be conducive to the happiness and contentment of the Chinese people, so that China may take her proper and rightful place in the Comity of Nations at no distant date." In my judgment, I use advisedly the expression "under happier auspices," because China, under her present circumstances, cannot move hand or foot without the assistance and guidance of the "Big Five Powers"—namely, the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan—who, by signing the Treaty of Versailles in 1918, secured the peace and prosperity of Europe, and indirectly of the world in general. If that peace is required to be confirmed, solidified, and perpetuated, it behoves the same "Big Five" to come to the rescue of China. Above all, the United States, which has an overflowing Exchequer, and which is noted for her Generosity, Philanthropy, and Altruism in propagating Culture and Medical Science for alleviating human suffering, should take a prominent part in this humanitarian campaign in China.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE PROBLEM OF THE DOMICILED COMMUNITY IN INDIA

By W. H. Arden Wood, C.I.E.

[Paper read before the East India Association on April 13, 1928, with Sir Campbell Rhodes in the Chair.]

My title to address you this afternoon is that for thirty-two out of my thirty-five years in India I was intimately associated with the domiciled community through my connection with La Martinière, Calcutta, one of the three splendid foundations established under the will of Major-General Claud Martin, a French soldier of fortune, who died at Lucknow on September 13, 1800. I shall therefore speak as an old friend of the community, and regard them as my clients today.

I was present on March 23, 1900, when Lord Curzon delivered a memorable and exhaustive address to a deputation from the domiciled Anglo-Indian and Eurasian community, as it was then correctly described. Since then there has been a change of nomenclature. Domiciled Anglo-Indians have become domiciled Europeans—that is, English or other Europeans permanently settled in India. Eurasians have become Anglo-Indians, the change being first officially recognized at the time of the census of 1911. The term Eurasian had become discredited. It was too comprehensive. It not only covered those of mingled English and Indian blood, but also the offspring of unions between Europeans and Chinese, Japanese, and other Asiatic peoples. It had also acquired a literary currency to denote any more or less Europeanized disreputable of doubtful origin throughout the Far East. The one regret for the substitution of Anglo-Indian for Eurasian is that it

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spoils the point of Aberigh Mackay's half-serious suggestion in "Twenty-one Days in India" that the great Asoka, whose grandfather, Chandragupta, married a daughter of Seleukos Nikator, may have been a Eurasian.

It is true that the use of the name Anglo-Indian in a sense different from that in which it had been popularly used for many years was at first confusing, but it would seem that the people of mixed race had a prior right to the name, for they are invariably called Anglo-Indians by Sir John Malcolm in his "Political History of India," published in 1826, and he there says that this name, chosen by themselves, appears to be most descriptive and unexceptionable. These two classes, Anglo-Indians and domiciled Europeans, form a whole, known for convenience as the "domiciled community." As a minority community of European extraction permanently resident in India, they have the same interests, and for the most part, though not entirely, the same disabilities.

I have no time to dwell upon the origin and history of the community. An excellent and sympathetic summary account forms an appendix to the Calcutta Domiciled Community Inquiry Report of 1919 by the Hon. Secretary, Mr. (now Sir) Alfred Pickford. I should like to see this appendix and some portions of the report reprinted, for, owing to the difficulties of the times following its publication, the report has not attracted the attention it deserved. A fuller history, with more rhetoric, will be found in Mr. H. A. Stark's "Hostages to India." Mr. Stark feels strongly that the attitude of the East India Company towards his community was generally unsympathetic and sometimes unjust.

Origin of the Community

There is, I think, some misconception, unfair to the Anglo-Indian community, as to the actual circumstances of the origin of the people of mixed race. In the early days of the British in India men of all ranks formed such ties as

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were possible, sometimes—when the Indian women were Christians—those of regular marriage, but oftener not. But in very many, if not in most, cases those who contracted such unions accepted all the responsibilities of marriage; they gave their children their own names; the life they lived was domestic; the children of such families were brought up as Christians, and provided for in accordance with the social position of the father, which, of course, varied greatly. In course of time Anglo-Indians, as they lost touch with Europeans, and increased in numbers by intermarriage among themselves, became a separate class, though there was always hypergamy among the fairer daughters of the community, many of whom married officials holding high positions in the Company's service.

Much injustice has been done to the Anglo-Indian community by the assumption that persons of mixed blood inherit the defects rather than the good qualities of both sides of their ancestry. In the report to which I have referred Sir Alfred Pickford showed that such an assumption had no scientific basis. Good qualities are just as likely to be inherited as bad, and the predominance of either in the adult is largely a matter of environment and training. Speaking for myself, as the result of long experience, I hold strongly that, so far as Anglo-Indians are concerned, the colour of the skin is no guide to the qualities of mind and character possessed by an individual, and I look back with pleasure on the number of Anglo-Indians I have known who were estimable in every relation of life.

Sir John Malcolm, in his speech to the Proprietors of East India Stock in 1824, said: "There are men in this class of society whom I hold as dear as any friends I possess," and he names in particular that excellent man and famous leader of irregular cavalry, Colonel Skinner. In the latter's memoirs is given one of the many instances of loyalty and gallantry that Anglo-Indians have exhibited. The crushing order of the East India Company in 1791, precluding the appointment of Anglo-Indians to the civil,

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military, and marine services of the Company, caused many Anglo-Indians to take service with native rulers, and one of them, Lieutenant Vickers, contributed greatly to Holkar's victory over the Peshwa at Poona in 1802. Later, when the Maratha war broke out, this officer, then a colonel, was, with two English officers, beheaded by Holkar, because he refused to take service against the English.

One other instance of a later date. On May 11, 1857, the mutineers from Meerut reached Delhi, and speedily got possession of the city and fort. "Happily," says Vincent Smith, in his "History of India," "a gallant telegraph operator was just in time to telegraph the news to Lahore, and so warn the authorities in the Punjab." That operator was Charles Todd, an Anglo-Indian, an old boy of La Martinière, Calcutta. He ended his telegram: "The mutineers are in, and I am off." He was killed in the telegraph compound.

Leakages and Adhesions

Before stating the problem of the domiciled community I must mention a difficulty touched upon by Lord Curzon. He asked, "Who are your clients?" Both the upper and lower limits of the community are fluctuating. It suffers in the first place from leakage at the top. Those members of the community who are successful in life make every effort to send their children to be educated in England for the latter part if not for the whole period of their education, and they themselves tend to become merged in the European community. This withdrawal of some of its most efficient members is a serious loss to the domiciled community.

The lower limit of the community includes Indian Christians, many of them brought up in Christian orphanages, who have adopted European dress and manner of life, and describe themselves in the census returns as Anglo-Indians. It includes also the depressed classes, almost more Indian than European, chiefly found in the slums of the great cities. Some of the latter are no doubt

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degenerates, but they have been asserted to be, as a class, the descendants of slaves who were liberated, and then took English names, on the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1833.

One can sympathize with the feelings of the Anglo-Indian leaders who protest against the inclusion of these people in their community, which they handicap and discredit. But it is difficult to see how the community can be relieved of the responsibility for persons who have always been classed with them, who can now be placed in no other category, and whose children attend European schools. It has been stated that these children are neglected and derelict, but inquiries lately made in India seem to show that the proportion of really derelict children is no greater than it is in the slums of most great cities. We must trust to the effects of better education, and improved conditions of living, to raise these unfortunates by degrees to a position in which they will no longer reflect discredit upon the domiciled community.

The Main Problem

What, then, is the problem of the domiciled community? It is the problem of how its members are to maintain themselves as a self-respecting and efficient section of the population, enjoying a sufficient material prosperity, in the face of ever-increasing competition from educated and progressive Indians. And the competition is really only with this class of Indians, for the first condition that has to be fulfilled as regards any form of employment possible for the domiciled community is that it must receive a remuneration that will permit of a European standard of living. What is to happen to a man who, for lack of education or other reason, cannot command this income? He cannot, as in England, fall back upon manual labour. There is no place in India for the European ryot or coolie or for the European loafer. We have therefore a small

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community, which labours under obvious disadvantages and disabilities, pitted against one of enormously superior numbers and obvious advantages.

Moreover, the members of the domiciled community no longer have advantages they once had. Owing to the fact that their vernacular was English they had, as Sir John Malcolm said in 1826, "almost a monopoly of the situations of clerks and accountants in the offices of Government as well as in those of public servants and private European merchants." Then for a time a certain practical aptitude and power of taking responsibility, no doubt inherited from their British forefathers, found them ready employment in railways and telegraphs. Indeed, it is not too much to say that without the help of the domiciled community the progress of railway and telegraphic communications would have been vastly slower than it was.

The Indian penetration into all fields of employment was inevitable, and is one of increasing success. The smaller community is not, and for a long time past has not been, holding its own, especially in fields of employment to which the entry is through competitive examination. In 1900 Lord Curzon asked: "Why do you allow the European and native employees to increase on the railways at the rate, during the past year, of $3\frac{3}{4}$ and $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. respectively, while your numbers have only increased at the rate of $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.?" He added, speaking of appointments to the Finance Department, the Accounts Branch of the Public Works Department, and the Traffic Branch of the Railways, that owing to the failure of sufficiently qualified candidates from the domiciled community the Government had been obliged to ask that a larger proportion of these appointments should be recruited from home. Today these appointments are chiefly filled by Indian graduates in honours recruited by open competition.

I remember when the highest places in the examination for admission to the Roorkee Engineering College were taken year after year by candidates from one European

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school. This is no longer the case. And it has been lately stated that during the last seven years there have been only sixty candidates for one hundred and fifty places reserved in the medical colleges of India for military medical students from the domiciled community. The last quinquennial report on Education in India says that—

the introduction of representative forms of government and the adoption of a policy of Indianization in the public services revealed the fact that, in spite of the considerable annual output from European high schools, the number of Anglo-Indians qualified for admission to the superior services or capable of representing the community in public life was woefully small. If Anglo-Indians are to compete on equal terms with other Indian communities, they must avail themselves of the opportunities for higher education afforded by Indian Universities.

"India in 1925-1926," the annual statement presented last year to Parliament by the Government of India says:

It is unfortunate that very few European scholars in India go to the Universities. . . . Hitherto railways and Government departments have absorbed large numbers of domiciled Europeans and Anglo-Indians, but these numbers are bound to diminish in the future. The learned professions have not so far been very popular with Europeans and Anglo-Indians, but there is no reason why they should not be so in the future. The boys and girls of these communities should be encouraged, in order to fit themselves for the conditions of life in modern India, to regard University education as their normal objective, and to turn their attention to the professions and to business rather than, as in the past, almost exclusively to Government service.

But an inquiry lately made revealed the fact that the one remaining hostel for Anglo-Indian University students was not full, and that the scholarships offered in the various provinces to assist Anglo-Indian University students, though in most cases numerous enough, were not sufficiently valuable to tempt the poorer students to take a University course.*

Educational Needs

These are disconcerting facts. What is the explanation? Is it that the public opinion of the community lacks driving

* I see from "India in 1926-27" that there is a gratifying increase, especially in Calcutta, in the number of students from the domiciled community proceeding to University education.

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power and fails to take long views? or that the community is too poor to meet the cost of a complete education which has to be largely given in boarding schools? or that the organization of European education is defective, and that there is room for improvement in both the kind and quality of the education given? What is certain, and it is admitted on all hands, is that if this small community is to succeed in its struggle against odds for an assured and satisfactory position among the peoples of India it must have every advantage of discipline and equipment that education can give.

I am afraid that the present circumstances of European schools are not such as to enable them to do all that they might for the domiciled community. The standard of education, for reasons partly unavoidable, tends to lag behind that of English schools of corresponding status. The last quinquennial report says that the funds at the disposal of school managers do not allow of any general provision for science teaching. There are appeals from all over India for assistance towards better school buildings and equipment, and the provision of higher salaries for teachers. Something is being done for the promotion of efficiency and economy by the abolition of small, weak schools and the concentration of effort in larger schools, and by the amalgamation of schools that are by themselves financially too weak to be efficient. The latest instance of this is the amalgamation of two long-established institutions in Madras that did excellent work in their day—the Bishop Corrie School and the Doveton College.

As for the curriculum of the schools, it is clear that no single curriculum is suitable for all pupils, and that any curriculum must have a secondary character because there is no employment for pupils leaving school at the age which marks the termination of the course in an elementary school in England. A liberal education of English public school type is required for the abler pupils, with an aptitude for ideas and knowledge for their own sakes, designed to

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qualify them for the professions and the higher Government posts. A liberal education in terms of practice, in which scientific principles will be reached through applied science, is required for the abler pupils with a practical bent who will go on to technical training with a view to the higher posts in engineering and industry. And for the less able pupils, no doubt the majority, modified forms of these two courses with a definite vocational bias are required. The tendency to overload the curriculum, a manifest danger in these days, must be resisted in the interests of necessary thoroughness. An important place in any curriculum must be given to English and a provincial vernacular. A member of the domiciled community who is unable to speak, read, and write an Indian vernacular is in the position of a man who goes into a fight with one hand tied behind his back.

I should like to see European schools graded according to their fitness to teach one or other of the curricula I have indicated, and to see pupils entered in a school, or in one or other department of the same school, in accordance with their capacity to profit by the curriculum offered. European education has suffered seriously through the inclusion of boys of all sorts of capacity in the same course.

The Teaching Profession

European education in India owes a great debt to the devoted work for education done by the members of religious teaching orders, and by the lay teachers from England and America, both men and women. In my judgment it is a matter for regret that the great missionary societies which maintain colleges for Indian students have not done more for the education of the domiciled community. It cannot help the cause of Christianity that Indians should see a community in India, Christian by birth, suffering from want of education, and including a seriously depressed class which affords a very poor example of practical Christianity.

It is difficult to visualize a time when it will be possible,

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or desirable, to do without imported teachers, for they help to break up, as no others can, the inevitable cultural isolation of Anglo-Indian life, and to bring it into contact with a larger intellectual world. I do not suppose that Anglo-Indians themselves, with their strong tradition of a Western outlook—moral, mental, and social—would wish this association to come to an end.

Nevertheless, the domiciled community ought to take a greater and more effective part in the education of its own children. It does provide a large number of women teachers, and there are ten training classes for mistresses; but a recent report expresses the opinion that it would be desirable to replace the existing training facilities by one or more large central colleges with a first-class staff. As for masters, European schools have not hitherto commanded, except temporarily, or as the result of altruistic devotion, the services of the best men of the community; indeed, teaching has been called the refuge of the destitute. If a profession consists of a body of persons who have taken up work of a certain kind after an organized preparation for it, due safeguards being provided against the admission of the unfit, there is no teaching profession in the domiciled community.

To induce competent persons to undergo training, a profession must afford a career compatible with the performance of the full duties of citizenship, and hold out the prospect of satisfactory provision for sickness and old age. At present, European schools in general do not offer the necessary conditions of service; yet on their being enabled to do so depends the efficiency of their work for the rising generation of the domiciled community. The single training college for masters, the Chelmsford College at Sanawar, at the time of the last quinquennial report, had only fifteen students, and it was remarked that the maintenance of such an institution would only be possible in the future by co-operation between the provinces. I should like to see the staff of this institution strengthened by the addition of expert teachers in the chief subjects of the school curriculum,

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and I have wondered if it would not be possible for these experts to divide their time between the training college and the schools, helping the latter by friendly co-operation to make the teaching of the subjects with which they are specially concerned more effective.

As things are, a beginning only has been made of building up a body of professional teachers, and, in view of the material for training which is available under present conditions, it is of the first importance that students in training should not only receive professional instruction, but should, concurrently with this, continue their own education to a point at which it could be described as liberal. It would mean much for European education if the men who left the training college had a clear understanding of what education is, and had fully realized that no teaching is worth the name that does not create interest in the pupils. The pupils must be made to feel that the work is reasonable and has contact with reality. Dean Inge, in his latest book of essays, says: "The capacity for real intellectual interest is only latent in most boys. It can be kindled in a whole class by a master who really loves and believes in his subject." And Mr. Aldous Huxley, in his "Proper Studies," observes that while mistakes in physical education are exposed by resulting in pain, the distortion of a mind is not painful.

> A child may grow up into a mental cripple or paralytic without suffering anything more than boredom or fatigue. . . . If children suffered agonies from the process of mental distortion . . . if the stupid and mechanical teaching of German grammar or arithmetic actually made them scream with pain, we should by this time have learned something about right education. If the best way of teaching mental deficients is to interest them in what they have to learn, then that is also the best way of teaching the normally and abnormally intelligent.

Communal Organization

How does the domiciled community form and give expression to its views upon the questions that concern it? Every friend of the community must note with satisfaction

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the increased vitality of its associations and their educative effect upon the community; the evidence that the community is increasingly behind its associations; and the live interest of its journals. The fact that the community has representatives in the provincial councils and the Legislative Assembly, and that it has thus been definitely brought into the political field and is a political entity, has doubtless had an awakening effect. But it is not easy to frame a constitution for the central organization of a community scattered over a subcontinent that will function efficiently without infringing upon the independence and autonomy of the provincial associations, and it is not surprising that there has been a certain liveliness of disagreement upon this subject. At the moment there are two all-India bodies, the stronger of which has in Colonel Gidney, the leader of the deputation to this country in 1926, and the present representative of the community in the Legislative Assembly, a President of great energy and driving power. There are also in some provinces more than one provincial association. No doubt these differences, which often turn upon relatively unimportant personal issues, will eventually be composed, and it is satisfactory to know that they are not to prevent united action before the Statutory Commission.

It is fortunate at this juncture that the community has an independent Anglo-Indian Association in London, which is in touch with all the Indian associations, and with friends of the community in this country, both in and out of Parliament. It has done and is doing excellent work. It is able to look at Anglo-Indian questions practically and without being unduly affected by sentiment, and escapes the danger of not being able to see the wood for the trees. I have to thank Mr. H. A. Gibbon, its honorary secretary, for much help in verifying statements made in this paper.

Anglo-Indian Status

The community has been disturbed about its status in the body politic of India. It is certainly not one that can be

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readily expressed in a clear definition, as was shown by the reply of the Under Secretary of State for India to a question on this point put in the House of Commons two years ago. The reply was: "For purposes of employment under Government and inclusion in schemes of Indianization, members of the Anglo-Indian and domiciled European community are statutory natives of India. For purposes of education and internal security, this status, as far as it admits of definition, approximates to that of European British subjects." The latter designation has at times found favour with the community because it emphasizes their British connection; but if it were legal it would debar them from appointments to which, as statutory natives, they are eligible. The *Madras Mail*, which takes a practical and common-sense view of Anglo-Indian questions, advises the community to recognize the logic of facts, to drop all claims to have a peculiar status, and to be content with being natives of India. As such they would have all the advantages they now have as "statutory" natives, and would avoid the implication that while they are entitled to all the rights of natives of India, they possess something that natives of India have not. Nevertheless there is a danger that those who accept this apparently logical view may lose sight of factors that must be given due weight in dealing with the problem of the domiciled community. To be a native of India is not the same thing as to be an Indian, and the position of a minority community in India which has such strong British affinities as the domiciled community has, and will continue to have, is, and must remain, exceptional. Such considerations as these must be taken into account in any attempts to define the status of the domiciled community.

The Under Secretary of State added, in the reply referred to, that membership of the auxiliary force in India is "open to European British subjects, a term which for this purpose is held to include Anglo-Indians." As a matter of fact, this force has hitherto been composed mainly of Anglo-Indians,

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and as members of it they have rendered valuable service to law and order. They have certainly profited in many ways by inclusion in this force, and the community values the opportunities thus afforded. But there has been some nervousness of late lest their employment in the preservation of order should, in certain circumstances, lead them to be regarded as "strike breakers," and thus compromise their position as railway employees with Indians, and make them more out of favour with political Indians than they already are. It is obvious that their position is not altogether easy.

Army Service

Another question which has long aroused strong feeling, and which is still agitated today, is the question of service in the ranks of the regular Army. It must be galling to a gallant and loyal people that they cannot be admitted to a British regiment as a matter of right (though sometimes they get in by a window when they cannot by the door), and one must sympathize with their anxiety to have what they regard as a stigma removed. Proposals for an Anglo-Indian regiment have been made and rejected again and again by the military authorities during the last half century, on the general ground that such a regiment would be more expensive and less efficient than a corresponding European force. This attitude has made members of the community at times "boil over," as Lord Curzon said, "in a rather superfluous manner." I find the editor of an Anglo-Indian journal, in April, 1927, proposing that "a strenuous propaganda should now be undertaken to have the military defence of India . . . made over to our people, and, if necessary, to insist on the removal of all European troops. We are willing to take their place, and it is the right of sons of the soil to defend their country. . . ."

I wonder if the community has thought out the question in all its bearings? No one who has seen its boy scouts

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and cadet companies, or watched its boys and young men playing games on the Calcutta maidan, would doubt that a regiment could be formed from the domiciled community that could go anywhere and do anything. But an Anglo-Indian regiment that would do credit to the community (and nothing less than this would be satisfactory) would have to be recruited from the pick of its young men, and I do not think that the community can afford to give up to the Army, which, after all, in times of peace, offers but a sterile career, men who would certainly find openings for a satisfactory career, and would render their community better service, in civil life.

It is significant that the Anglo-Indian corps that were raised in the Mutiny were all disbanded between 1860 and 1870 because sufficient recruits were not forthcoming to maintain a total strength of 700 men. And, at the height of the late war, with all the excitement of the time to intensify enthusiasm, there were only 521 old boys of European schools in Bengal in the ranks. I feel sure that the maintenance of a thoroughly efficient Anglo-Indian regiment in times of peace would be too great a charge upon the vitality of the community.

Government Service

The shock which the first application of Indianization gave to the community, when it was already suffering from a wave of unemployment, has made some of its leaders inclined to claim for it a fixed percentage of appointments on the railways and in other public services. Claims for fixed percentages when circumstances are changing are dangerous things, and I cannot think that it would be to the advantage of the community to press any such claim. If it were dealt with on the basis of the numerical strength of the communities forming the Indian population the domiciled community would fare worse than it does now, and if the claim were that the present proportions of the communities now employed in these services should be

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fixed, which is surely impracticable, it would amount to a claim to be treated as a privileged class, a claim which the community no longer makes.

What does seem equitable is that there should be no sudden disturbance of existing conditions, so that the community may have the opportunity of adjusting itself to changing circumstances, on the assumption that employees will, in the future as in the past, obtain or retain appointments on their merits. I take this to be the view of the Government of India, for in the recent "Railway" debate in the Legislative Assembly the Railway Member, replying to a violent attack on the alleged excessive employment of Anglo-Indians and Europeans on the railways, said that as Anglo-Indians had attained such a position in the railway service that it formed an important element in the economic organization of their community, the Government must give that fact their cautious consideration.

Education Grants

In a recent issue the *Anglo-Indian Citizen* said: "Who does not realize that in education, and yet more education, academical and vocational, lies the salvation of the Anglo-Indian community?" The community has shown in the most practical way that it believes this. Nearly all, if not all, the Anglo-Indian associations maintain scholarship funds for the assistance of poor scholars. And, as the last quinquennial report on education pointed out, the bulk of the cost of European education (about 65 per cent.) is met from school fees and private sources, the corresponding figure for Indian education being only 35 per cent. The balance of the cost of European education (about 35 per cent.) is met from Government funds, and it is about these Government grants that the community is now most anxious. Whatever the reason there is a disposition on the part of provincial councils to look askance at them, inadequate as they already are, and although, as the late Bishop Copleston pointed out, when speaking for the deputation to

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Lord Olivier, the total sum involved is a trifling one in the finance of India. What both Indian and European schools in India require is a much larger and more generous system of Government grants.

The number of endowed European schools can be counted on the fingers, and it is discouraging to find that some recent benefactions for the improvement of these schools have been urged as a reason why the Government grants should be reduced. Such an attitude is unlikely to encourage pious founders, and must have reactions on Indian as well as European schools. In these circumstances it is not surprising that the leaders of the community have been looking about for possible ways of stabilizing and strengthening the financial position of European schools.

Suggested Central Control

With the object of securing relief from dependence upon education grants which have to be voted by provincial legislatures, Anglo-Indian leaders have urged, not for the first time, that European education should be made an all-India subject and maintained by Imperial grants. Whilst the reasons often advanced for this change are open to practical and political objections, it can be argued that the present tendency, in the interests of uniformity of standard, efficiency, and economy, is to make the training of teachers, and the inspection and examination of schools, an all-India matter, and that there are reasons, which did not exist ten years ago, why it would be to the advantage of European education to centralize its whole administration. I certainly think that a case can be made out for a full inquiry, after the fashion of the inquiries held on the whole educational systems of some of the great English cities by Sir Michael Sadler, when he was the Director of Special Reports and Inquiries. These inquiries brought about marked improvements in the co-ordination and correlation of education, and greatly aided its efficient and economical administration. The education of a small community spread over the whole of India must

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be organized very completely if the maximum of efficiency and economy is to be secured, and I doubt if this can be the case under existing arrangements.

Protection, not Privilege

The community, on whose behalf I have spoken this afternoon, is chiefly composed of the descendants of men who served a British trading company which, in the pursuance of its proper objects, obtained an empire as a by-product, and added a splendid page to English history. I think we owe these kinsfolk of ours something—some help and co-operation in their efforts to hold their own and "make good" in trying circumstances. Sir John Simon, in a friendly speech to the Anglo-Indians at Lahore a few weeks ago, impressed upon them the necessity of self-help and self-reliance. It is good advice, and it has often been given to the domiciled community. But for some time to come something more will be required—protection without privilege—such a guarantee of fair treatment in the matter of employment as would be afforded by an impartial and representative Appointments Board, and some arrangement that would prevent the financial starving of European education.

No doubt the domiciled community will continue to have some representation in the legislative chambers of the future, and it is possible for a small representation, given the proper representatives, to exercise a moral effect quite disproportionate to their numbers; in any case, the right of free speech and of interpellation will enable them to cry out loudly if they are hurt. But ultimately the only satisfactory solution of the problem of the domiciled community must depend upon the growth of a real goodwill, based upon mutual respect and a common patriotism, between Indians and their fellow-subjects of British descent. Is it too much to hope that statesmanship, and a wise magnanimity, will make Indian politicians see that a domiciled community generously treated, and given the opportunity of realizing

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the best that is in it, would be an asset that it is not worth the while of India to throw away?

No scheme of self-government for India can be regarded as entirely beneficent which does not afford protection to its minority peoples so long as that protection shall be necessary. And for Anglo-Indians a specially striking claim can be made—a claim which has already been made by our Chairman on another occasion—that they alone among the minorities of India can be said to be the blood relations of all its peoples.

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DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, April 13, 1928, at which Mr. W. H. Arden Wood, C.I.E., read a paper entitled, "The Problem of the Domiciled Community in India." Sir Campbell W. Rhodes, C.B.E., occupied the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir Reginald Craddock, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Michael O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Patrick Fagan, K.C.I.E, C.S.I., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Arthur R. Knapp, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.B.E., Sir Alfred Pickford, Sir Cecil Walsh, K.C., Sir Claude de la Fosse, C.I.E., and Lady de la Fosse, Sir Edward E. Gait, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Edward Maclagan, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. Surendra Nath Mallik, C.I.E., Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Mr. W. Coldstream, K-i-H., Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. T. G. Sykes, Mr. E. F. Harris, Miss M. Sorabji, Mrs. J. W. Roger, Pandit Shyam Shankar, Mr. V. H. Boalth, C.B.E., and Mrs. Boalth, Mr. W. P. Milne, Mrs. Dewar, Mr. W. G. George, Rev. S. F. Streatfield, Mr. and Mrs. Edmund Tydeman, Colonel and Miss Dowden, Rev. F. W. Marten, Mr. W. R. Butterfield, Mrs. Lawrie, Mr. F. W. Brownrigg, Mr. W. A. Shilstone, I.S.O., Mr. and Mrs. Claude Ismay, Mr. N. K. Agarwala, Mr. A. B. Kunning, M.B.E., and Mrs. Kunning, Mr. M. P. Rodrigues, Mr. J. Royal, Dr. and Mrs. Quick, Mr. and Mrs. Brandon, Colonel and Mrs. G. V. Holmes, Major Gilbertson, Mr. C. Kirkpatrick, O.B.E., Mr. H. A. Gibbon, and Mrs. Gibbon, Miss H. M. Bacon, Miss Gravatt, Mr. K. Fink, M.B.E., Mr. F. J. Richards, Mrs. Foy, Miss Collis, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. W. G. Bason, Mr. W. E. De Monte, Mr. J. Lewis, Mr. K. M. Ashraf, Miss Corfield, Mr. E. Patuck, Mrs. Martley, Miss T. Drake, Mr. J. C. Vyse, Mr. and Mrs. M. L. Chandra, Mrs. Lowday Randall, Mr. and Mrs. Fred Parr, Mr. and Mrs. E. Palmer, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—The subject before us this afternoon is one that has been discussed in very great detail for many years, and it would almost seem to be superfluous to go on discussing it, but I think it is desirable, if we can, to sum up the position, especially at this time when the whole constitution of India is in the melting-pot.

In the past we have gone, perhaps, too much into detail, and we have not been able to see the wood for the trees. I am very glad we are to have the opportunity today of both hearing and seeing the "Wood." (Laughter.) I know no man better qualified than my old friend Mr. Arden Wood to speak on this subject. He spent a great part of his life in educational work in India; he knew the Anglo-Indian boy from the time he left his mother to the time he started out in life; he followed his career later and was the constant adviser of the Anglo-Indians in Calcutta, and finally, as a member of the Bengal Legislative Council, he was able to take a statesmanlike view of the whole position and to gauge exactly where they stood.

The LECTURER then read his paper.

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The CHAIRMAN: We have had a very clear survey of the Anglo-Indian problem, the difficulties that surround it, and a hint at the solutions which will have to be found. The position of the Anglo-Indian community in India is rendered exceptionally difficult by the fact that the Government itself is such a large employer of labour. In my unregenerate days in the Assembly I fought hard against the nationalization of railways, as likely to produce what I think is coming about—namely, a greater scramble for Government office amongst all communities in India. I lost then and I now accept the position as I find it. When a country is striving for new political powers, I think there is always a danger that the communities making up a country may strive for privileges rather than for responsibilities, and I think, perhaps, the Anglo-Indian community has also lapsed a little in that direction. But if they have done so, it is because undoubtedly other communities have threatened their very livelihood. I hope to see a growing spirit in which all communities will feel a responsibility towards other communities, rather than grasping after privileges for their own; for surely, no community stands to lose if other communities become more prosperous and better educated. A great mistake is often made in thinking that if one man succeeds, he must succeed at another man's expense; that is entirely wrong. (Hear, hear.)

Our lecturer has rather stressed the educational side of the question, and some of us here may think that because he is an educationist he has seen only that side of the problem. I should not agree to that. The root of the whole trouble is education. The members of the community have done all they can; it is useless to talk about self-help to a community that has already provided 65 per cent. of its educational facilities from itself and from its friends. No educational system in the world, not excepting Eton and other public schools in England, can be self-supporting by fees; and there is no question that the Government could very wisely spend larger amounts on education, both for Indian and Anglo-Indian schools. Mr. Arden Wood and I are respectively Secretary and Treasurer of the European Schools in India Improvement Fund, and every year we have requests, many of which we have to refuse, for grants up to probably ten times what we have to offer. There are many other ways in which the Anglo-Indian community have recommended that their community can be helped. I regard them all as palliatives, necessary at present, but I think in education we have the real root solution of the question, and to that I think all who are connected with the community should direct their efforts.

May I say, before I call on other speakers, that I have been a little pained occasionally to see in Anglo-Indian journals and pamphlets statements that we English are not alive to our responsibilities to the Anglo-Indian community. I do not think that is correct; I do not say we do all we can, but I do think we are interested in our kinsfolk in India and are anxious to do everything we can to improve their lot in life. I have worked with Anglo-Indians all my business life; I have never had more loyal subordinates, and I have never had men that I could better trust—(applause)—but after all, if some of us have done what we can for the

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Anglo-Indian community, we are only doing what I think is our duty as well as our keen interest to do.

Sir CECIL WALSH said that, as he was a member of the High Court of India, it would be improper for him to deal with questions of a political character; but the Anglo-Indian community had no politics, or had but two items in its political creed. The first was to do their public duty conscientiously, and the second was a belief that, in the changes which were coming, the British Government would not allow their community to sink into gradual degradation and extinction. The speaker had understood Mr. Arden Wood to suggest that it would be well for members of the community to ask not for privileges but for responsibilities. He would like to say that he had never found them in any degree lacking in a sense of responsibility. He ventured to utter a slight criticism of the paper. He thought that the lecturer had understated the deep obligation which the British people were under towards the Anglo-Indian community, and had also failed to present any practical proposal for dealing with the situation which would have to be dealt with in a statutory provision after the Commission had made its Report.

The lecturer had referred to Mr. Stark's book as containing rhetoric. He (the speaker) had long lost his love for rhetoric, but if passionate belief in the justice of their cause and a justifiable fear of the fate in store for them was rhetoric, then the more rhetoric we had the better. He pressed all present to buy Mr. Stark's book, the proceeds of which would go towards propaganda on behalf of the community. A perusal of the book would convince everyone of the great obligation which British people lay under towards the community. He thought there was no lack of recognition of it in high places, but the question was how the obligation should be fulfilled and applied to the immediate necessities of the case. He thought the general public were not fully acquainied with these matters, but politicians were sensitive to popular pressure, and if public opinion were convinced on a subject it would not be long before politicians became convinced too.

He referred to the results of action taken by the East India Company in relation to marriage with Indians. When the Portuguese went out to India they married Indian women and they were left to themselves; their own country ceased to take any interest in them. God forbid that the Anglo-Indian community should ever reach their condition; high-sounding aristocratic titles of Portugal were found today among the menial servants in India. When the servants of the Company went out to India it was impossible for English women to go, and they married Portuguese women. As a direct result of interference during the Puritan era in this country, pressure was brought upon the directors because the Portuguese women were bringing up their children in the Roman Catholic faith, so that the directors encouraged their servants to marry Hindus and Mohammedans. The result was a directors' minute in 1687, which stated that marriage with native women was to be encouraged, and that a certain sum would be paid for each child born of any such future marriage.

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He himself did not hesitate to disagree with Mr. Arden Wood that it was unwise to ask for some sort of privilege. It seemed to him that the community was entitled to ask for the preservation of the privileges they had enjoyed. He pointed out that the number of employed amongst the Anglo-Indian community is very small. He was astounded at the lack of statistics in the case which would have to be presented to the Simon Commission. Before he came to this country he tried to obtain statistics, and was astonished to find how difficult it was to do so. The total number of the community in 1921 was roughly about 120,000, and out of that number of Anglo-Indians throughout the continent there were 80,000 dependents, leaving the actual number of Anglo-Indians employed only 40,000, and about one-third of those, he believed, were engaged upon railways, posts, and telegraphs. To his mind it was absolutely essential to the existence of the community in India, and for the protection of the British Raj, that the present level of employment of the Anglo-Indian community in the railways, posts, and telegraphs should be maintained. (Applause.) The cry of Indianization, if left to mere administrative action, would, he believed, result in a great diminution of employment.

The speaker recalled that when the Prince of Wales was going to Delhi Indian politicians determined to have a railway strike; they wanted to spoil the Prince of Wales' visit to Delhi. They began with the East Indian Railway at the big junction at Allahabad, where the speaker lived. The strike lasted there for nearly three weeks, and was a serious matter, but eventually it was broken down, largely by the voluntary assistance rendered by young Anglo-Indians. He would not attempt to say how those Anglo-Indians were rewarded and compensated for that. The Allahabad Association sent up a petition on their behalf, and had the typical reply that there was nothing in the rules authorizing a grant of money for voluntary help; but there were men who lost their jobs, and did not get employment from the railway. ("Shame!") He was satisfied that the Labour movement in India was becoming a very real thing, and it was not in any way discouraged by Labour Members of Parliament who came out from England from time to time and held meetings. If Indianization became a real thing on railways, places like Allahabad, Cawnpore, and Agra could be starved out by a strike in a month. The same danger existed not only on the railways, but on the posts and telegraphs.

Sir Cecil Walsh proceeded to give figures showing the great decrease in trade in Allahabad during the last seven years. To his knowledge, among Anglo-Indians and domiciled English, there had been the following failures: Two motor businesses, two restaurants, a grocery store, a boot-shop, a jobmaster, two chemists, and a confectioner. The big firm, now closing down, had produced figures to him, showing that, in Allahabad, their turnover of Rs. 100,000 per month had dropped to Rs. 35,000; in Lucknow, from 69,000 to 35,000; and in Jubbulpore, from 45,000 to 30,000, between 1920 and 1927.

Mr. KUNNING said that Mr. Arden Wood had given a good deal of

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prominence to the educational side of the problem, and it was with diffidence that he expressed any difference of opinion. The lecturer had pointed out that in the curriculum an important place should be given to the vernacular. The speaker's Association was responsible for securing the extension to India of the Empire Scholarship offered by the Loughborough College of Engineering, and the great difficulty they found was that many lads were unable to compete because they had not a knowledge of a second European language. He thought, therefore, that it would be better in European schools to teach a second European language, and when a youth was posted to a service he should then qualify within a given time in the vernacular of the province to which he was posted. With regard to teachers, he agreed that it was the duty of teachers to break up the isolation of the cultural life of Anglo-Indians, and to bring them into touch with a larger intellectual world; but his experience had been that teachers seemed to feel that after dreary hours of driving youth along the difficult paths of knowledge, they sought their relaxation away from the school and with their friends in town. They had not got the "house" system in India that obtained in England. He feared, however, that education, even more intensive and proficient than had hitherto been provided, was not in itself a panacea for the ills from which the community suffered. The lecturer had said that there were not enough scholars qualified for the Services, and enough did not go to the Universities; but, on the other hand, there was a feeling among members of the community that even those who had qualified themselves had not always been fairly treated in the matter of appointments.

He did not need to eulogize the services which the community had rendered to the Empire, or to expatiate on their claims on the Government. He thought that if these were sufficiently realized by the people of this country, the Englishman's love of freedom and sense of fair play would prevail to secure justice to the community. Unfortunately, little was known of them here, and whatever could be done to enlighten this nation, arouse its interest in the Anglo-Indian, and awaken a genuine desire to consider the claims of a people whom he might aptly call the indigenous Christians of India, was most welcome to the community. The lecture was a step in that direction, and he desired to thank the East India Association under whose auspices the paper had been read.

He felt that if there was any hope of an honourable place for the community in the new orientation it lay in the lecturer's plea for protection—protection without privilege perhaps, but, nevertheless, real and secured by statute. Provision already existed for their protection, for in the Instrument of Instructions, which all Governors of provinces received on their appointment, the protection of minority communities was expressly enjoined on them, and the authors of the reforms of 1919 had specifically mentioned the Anglo-Indian community as one whose interests needed safeguarding. But such executive injunctions had not proved effective, and needed to be supported by statutory rules; for if the Anglo-Indian had in the past received what Sir Michael O'Dwyer once described as "step-motherly treatment," there was not much chance of their getting any better treatment with a weakening of British control in India.

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Sir REGINALD CRADDOCK said that he could endorse all that the Chairman had said about the trustworthiness of Anglo-Indians. The only exhortation he would make to the Anglo-Indian community would be never to lose the particular characteristic which had procured them the appointments they had held in earlier days. A high standard of trustworthiness was the most valuable asset that such a small community in India could possess. He agreed with much that Sir Cecil Walsh had said about the difficulties of the situation of the Anglo-Indian in India and he felt that justice could not be done unless special safeguards were insisted upon for the protection of so small a minority of the people. He remarked that a Labour Member of Parliament had gone over to Burma and stirred up the Burmese to agitate against a single European good high school at Maymao; that Labour M.P. gave very great assistance to those Burmese who were quite willing to be stirred up, and a lot of trouble and political agitation was caused. When that Labour M.P. returned to England he wrote to a well-known newspaper and said that the majority of the pupils at these schools were bastards. That was a discreditable statement to be made by a Labour M.P., who in five days in Burma stirred up as much mischief as most men could do in as many years. The speaker agreed as to the enormous importance of education for the Anglo-Indians, and said that in a small community of this kind scattered all over India it was necessary that the handling of the matter should rest in the hands of the Central Government, as no local Government could possibly deal adequately with it, owing to the Legislative Councils reducing grants.

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER said that on this occasion he was glad to find himself again in complete accordance with the judiciary. It had always been his pride when in India that no point of difference had ever arisen between himself and the High Court. (Laughter.) He agreed with Sir Cecil Walsh in his criticism of what the lecturer had said—namely, that it was hardly necessary at this time for a minority community in India to claim guarantees. In the case of a small community with a great historic past confronted with the varying claims of different creeds and races pressed with great insistence, it was essential to insist that in the future provision for the better government of India its position should be unassailable. There was nothing unusual in such a claim. It had been accepted in the case of all the reconstituted States of Europe that came into being after the Great War—Greater Serbia, Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania, Austria, Poland, and other States. In all these cases there were admirable fundamental provisions laid down in the post-war treaties to guarantee the civil and religious rights of the minorities, and provision was made that if their rights were infringed those minorities should be able to appeal to the League of Nations. If such safeguards were needed in Europe with its advanced culture, civilization, and religious tolerance, how much more necessary it was to have similar guarantees for the Anglo-Indian and other minorities in the future constitution of India, with an appeal to the impartial Central Government—taking the place of the League of Nations—in the case of a minority if it complained of being oppressed by having its rights disregarded by the majority. The great

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disturbing factor in Central Europe today was the oppression of racial minorities by majorities. It was absolutely essential to provide against this in India where the danger was even a more real one.

The Rev. S. F. STREATFEILD, Principal of St. George's Homes, Madras Presidency, said that before he went to Madras he was chaplain of a large industrial district in Bengal, and a very large number of men came to him about employment in the mines and factories, and it was very noticeable how the men for whom he was able to get positions and who *kept* them came from good schools. The result of a good education was very noticeable in regard to obtaining appointments, and he would like to stress that point because the question of education had been stressed in the paper which they had heard. There were two dominating factors in the Anglo-Indian problem, Indianization and poverty; both were increasing, and both had gone very much further in South India. Preferential treatment had vanished in South India as far as Anglo-Indians were concerned. Schools could not expect very large fees from people getting fifty or sixty rupees a month with four or five children!

With regard to the question of the Indian Army he thought they should press for a *company* of Anglo-Indians, perhaps officered by Englishmen, though that would be a detail to be considered. To press for an Anglo-Indian *regiment* was not practical politics. Another thing that they might stress was that they had a very strong claim to extra-Government assistance in regard to children of soldiers who married "off the strength." The Government made magnificent provision for children of soldiers who married "on the strength," or who brought their wives out from England, but there was no such provision made for children of men who married Anglo-Indian girls in the country and then left the Army. We sent out vast numbers of young men to India at an age when they needed to marry —there was no home-life in the barracks—and men craved for feminine society, and it seemed to him inevitable that a large number would marry in the country, and there should be some provision made for them. If this were done it would make a great deal of money now being expended upon such children—who were a big percentage in our schools—available for other sections of the community.

There were two other such points: The amalgamation of Bishop Corrie School and Doveton College in Madras was not, he thought, due to financial weakness and inefficiency, but to the fact that the population had moved, leaving Bishop Corrie School as an oasis in a desert of warehouses and business premises. Mention had been made in the paper of the Chelmsford Training College, Sanawar. This college had now been moved to Ghora Gully, and the principal had told the speaker that the Government had been most generous in the buildings, equipment, and establishment.

Dr. PARANJPYE referred to the observation of the lecturer, with regard to grants, that while Anglo-Indian schools got only about 35 per cent. from the Government, Indian schools got 65 per cent. from the Government, and supplied only 35 per cent. from private sources and from fees. The speaker pointed out that statistics can prove anything, and he thought

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this was a case in point. What they had to consider was not percentages, but the actual amount per child spent from Government sources on Anglo-Indian children and on Indian children. If they looked at the figures in that manner, they would find an enormous difference. Talking of percentages, they might say that a child grew 100 per cent. in weight in his first year, but a person at the age of twenty probably grew in weight at the rate of 1 per cent., and that therefore a child was a hundred times as healthy as a young man of twenty. That showed that percentages were not a fair method of comparison. The speaker said that although he had nothing to do with Anglo-Indian education, he used to get applications from various schools for grants in aid, and he made a point of always seeing what was the actual provision for education made by the institutions; he was ready to give a certain amount from Government sources per child educated, and then anything extra or special should be met from private sources. Similarly he thought that a public school on modern British lines in India, although it might get a certain amount of help from the Government, should mainly be maintained from private sources or from fees paid by the children. After all, one had to see that all subjects of the State were treated fairly. In this afternoon's debate they had discussed a curious inversion of ideas on the part of Sir R. Craddock and Sir Michael O'Dwyer whose *bêtes noirs* were Brahmins and educated Indians. These gentlemen had always stressed the point that educated Indians should not have any special treatment, but that all Indians should be treated in the same manner; now the same gentlemen had come here today and asked for the creation of a new class of Brahmins by granting special privileges for one particular class. If Anglo-Indians had a privileged position, the result would be that they would become very unpopular with the vast mass of the Indian community, and the community had really to choose one of two alternatives—viz., considering themselves as real children of the soil, in which case he believed Indians in general would treat them fairly, or leaning on the support of Government and consequently incurring unpopularity with the vast mass of Indians on account of their special privileges.

Sir ALFRED PICKFORD said that they wanted to bring up the average of efficiency of the community by dealing satisfactorily not only with the higher elements in it, but by tackling boldly and completely the elements in the community that were not desirable. It was for that reason that one felt that education had to be regarded from a very wide point of view. He noticed that Mr. Arden Wood had said very little in his paper about the character-forming side of education; that was no doubt because he presumed it would be taken for granted that that was a vitally important side of education. The speaker said that his connection with the Anglo-Indian movement was chiefly through the Boy Scout movement. Therefore, in view of this discussion, he had looked up the progress of the Boy Scout movement amongst the domiciled community in Calcutta, and he found that while in 1913 there were 736 Boy Scouts in Calcutta, the number had declined, and in 1927 there were only 603. He mentioned these figures merely to suggest to those who were leading the destinies

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of the community in India that they had ready to their hands something which would maintain their reputation for trustworthiness among the higher elements of the community and would diminish any inefficiency that there was in the least desirable parts of the community, and that it was well worth supporting the Boy Scout movement with all their power. The speaker referred also to the valuable organization called Toc H, from which he believed a great deal of help could be obtained. He referred to what a previous speaker had said on the question of percentages in connection with the cost of education. The educational budget alone was not a complete statement of the case; other parts of the budget must be looked at. For instance, it would be found that the Army cost in India had been considerably lessened on account of the voluntary service that Anglo-Indians had given, and he believed that if those two parts of the budget could be put together, the domiciled community would be willing to accept the percentage per child test instead of the percentage per community.

Mr. T. G. SYKES said that, sixty-two years ago, after a voyage of 123 days round the Cape, he went to Madras, and there had the pleasure of meeting members of the domiciled community—Eurasians, as they were called in those days. Amongst them was an old prisoner-of-war who had been in the Napoleonic Wars, and who was a domiciled European at that time. Since then he had very much increased his knowledge in every province in India, and the opinion he had formed was that Anglo-Indians could hold their own in every respect with men of other communities. He gave, as examples, details of successful cases which had come to his notice, where competition had been very keen. He had received a letter only last month from one man who was both a C.S.I. and C.I.E., who went to the top of the tree in the Central Provinces, and he could multiply these instances, as they were not isolated. If he took ten boys in one form they would not all be geniuses, but out of those ten probably nine would take the highest places. It was his pleasant duty to propose a vote of thanks to the lecturer, his friend and colleague Mr. Arden Wood, whom he had known for many years, and for whom he had the very highest respect, and also to the Chairman, whose moral and material aid to the community was well known. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: I am much obliged to you all for the kind vote of thanks you have given, and I am going to call upon Mr. Arden Wood to acknowledge the vote you have so deservedly given to him, in the shortest possible compass; he has come here physically rather unfit, but he did not want to disappoint you.

There is only one word I should like to say. In his closing sentence Mr. Arden Wood said: "No scheme of self-government for India can be regarded as entirely beneficent which does not afford protection to its minority peoples so long as that protection shall be necessary." I heartily agree with Mr. Arden Wood, and I do not know why some bricks have been thrown at him this afternoon on the score of what has been called "privilege." I do not think the Anglo-Indian community have ever asked for privilege; at any rate, they do not do so now. What they ask for is equipment for the battle of life, and a fair deal when they start on that life.

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Mr. ARDEN WOOD: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I thank you very much for your vote of thanks. I think my paper has been successful to this extent, that it has done what I wished it to do—it has promoted discussion. I will not add anything to what Sir Campbell Rhodes has said about the use of the word "privilege." It reminds me of so many occasions in which different people have gone different ways, and have disagreed because they did not first of all define their terms. I rather think that some of those who have used the word "privilege," meant by privilege, elementary justice. (Applause.)

Mr. ARDEN WOOD writes:

I am indebted to the courtesy of the Hon. Secretary for the opportunity of adding something to the little I was able to say at the close of the meeting.

As often happens in the discussion of a paper read at a meeting, I have been debited with things I did not say, and with things I did not mean. I think some apparent disagreements will disappear if I explain what I understand by "protection" and "privilege." I advocated protection without privilege. Statutory provision is necessary for the protection of minority communities which differ in race, language, and religion from the majority of the people of the country in which they live, especially when the civilization of that country has developed along different lines from the civilization with which by ancestry the minorities are associated. So long as they are good citizens, and identify themselves with the interests of the land they live in, minorities have the right to preserve the characteristics of their own civilization. Indeed, it may be to the advantage of their adopted country that they should. Further, they have the right to be safeguarded against sudden changes of internal policy that would affect adversely their material welfare. In short, they have to be safeguarded against oppression by a dominant political party. Sir Cecil Walsh complained that I made no constructive proposals, but he did not say what he would require in any such proposals beyond what I have just said, and provision for the maintenance of European education in full efficiency.

Privilege in the present connection would imply a favoured race, and such privilege, as Dr. Paranjpye pointed out, is inconsistent with the domiciled community regarding themselves as "real children of the soil," and cannot eventually be to their advantage. A concrete instance of what I call privilege is the fact that Anglo-Indian candidates for admission to a certain department of Government service used to have an examination of lower educational standard than the Indian candidates. I am sure that this was not really good for the Anglo-Indian community.

I do not understand why Dr. Paranjpye objected to my statement by percentages of the incidence of the cost of European education, unless he wished us to be shocked by the difference between the actual amount per child spent from Government sources on Anglo-Indian children and on Indian children. I think we should be shocked by the small amount

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spent on the education of Indian children, rather than by the amount spent on the education of Anglo-Indian children, of which, as I said, 65 per cent. (I believe it is now more) is met from non-Government sources. The actual cost of European education in India, when I last compared the cost of education per head with the cost in similar schools in England, was by no means excessive. What is really important is that the expenditure upon the education of any particular class, whether Indians or Anglo-Indians, whether they are being educated in primary schools or in Presidency colleges, should be such as to make that class as useful to the country as possible.

I need hardly say how completely I am in accord with what Sir Alfred Pickford said as to the supreme importance of the character-forming side of education. I supported in such ways as I could the Boy Scout movement when I was in India, because I believed in its valuable effect upon the development of character. I venture to suggest to young Englishmen going out to India that they have the opportunity of doing great good by sympathetically associating themselves with the domiciled community in the furtherance of the Boy Scout movement.

May I add that I believe the Girl Guide movement to be of equal importance, and for the same reasons. I hope it is prospering as it should in the girls' schools of India.

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INDIAN REFORM AND THE SIMON COMMISSION

By the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.O.M.

I appear before you today in a rather dubious position, for your lecturer was to have been a very distinguished man with wide experience in England, who presided over the Legislative Assembly when the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were introduced. Sir Frederick Whyte's knowledge of constitutions, based on the principles of democracy as understood by the British public, would have been of greater help in a discussion of this nature than any exposition of my own experience and opinions. Moreover, I am well aware that extreme public opinion in India, and that of the majority of Indian Nationalists, clashes with my own, for my motto for political advance in India on the lines of British democracy has always been *Festina lente*.

Before coming to the question of the future of Indian Reform I invite discussion as to what political India really aims at. To many of us in this Hall today the thought must be uppermost that whilst India should, perhaps, eventually achieve responsible self-government on the lines followed in the great Dominions, such an achievement is made most complex when we look at the white population in India *vis-à-vis* the indigenous population; when we consider that in safeguarding the vested rights and interests of that population we have to allow the majority to shape their own policy in dealing with trade, with world commerce, and in deciding upon Imperial preference; also in the wish to remain within the Empire, for this cannot be forced upon India when she becomes a Dominion. You can then only rely upon the good sense of the Indian people to realize the enormous advantages there would be

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in continuing the British connection, and in India's remaining a part and parcel of the British Empire.

Opponents of British Rule

It is no good shutting our eyes to the fact that there is in India today a volume of opinion, small, perhaps, but yet not negligible, and which is growing every day not only in strength but in intensity, which desires to get rid of British rule at all costs. Lothrop Stoddart's book, "The Rising Tide of Colour," perhaps loses perspective by his fear of the supremacy, due to numerical strength, of the coloured races over white arrogance. But it should be noted that he writes as follows with regard to India:

> India is today governed by an English Civil Service whose fairness, honesty, and general efficiency no informed person can seriously impugn. But this no longer contents Indian aspirations. India desires not merely good government, but self-government. The ultimate goal of all Indian reformers is emancipation from European tutelage, though they differ among themselves as to how and when this emancipation is to be attained. The most conservative would be content with self-government under British guidance, the middle group asks for the full status of a Dominion of the British Empire like Canada and Australia, while the Radicals demand complete independence. Even the most conservative of these demands would, however, involve great changes of system and a diminution of British control.
>
> Such demands arouse in England mistrust and apprehension. Englishmen point out that India is not a nation, but a congeries of diverse peoples spiritually sundered by barriers of blood, language, culture, and religion, and they conclude that if England's control were really relaxed India would get out of hand and drift towards anarchy. As for Indian independence, the average Englishman cannot abide the thought, holding it fatal both for the British Empire and for India itself. The result has been that England has failed to meet Indian demands, and this, in turn, has aroused an acute recrudescence of dissatisfaction and unrest. The British Government has countered with coercive legislation like the Rowlatt Acts, and has sternly repressed rioting and terrorism. British authority is still supreme in India. But it is an authority resting more and more upon force. In fact, some Englishmen have long considered British rule in India, despite its imposing appearance, a decidedly fragile affair. Many years ago Meredith Townsend, who certainly knew India well, wrote:
>
> "The English think they will rule India for many centuries or for ever. I do not think so, holding rather the older belief that the empire which came in a day will disappear in a night. . . . Above all this incon-

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ceivable mass of humanity, governing all, protecting all, taxing all, rises what we call here 'the Empire,' a corporation of less than 1,500 men, partly chosen by examination, partly by co-optation, who are set to govern, and who protect themselves in governing by finding pay for a minute garrison of 65,000 men—one-fifth of the Roman legions—though the masses to be controlled are double the subjects of Rome. That corporation and that garrison constitute the "Indian Empire." There is nothing else. Banish those 1,500 men in black, defeat that slender garrison in red, and the empire has ended, the structure disappears, and brown India emerges, unchanged, and unchangeable. To support the official world and its garrison—both, recollect, smaller than those of Belgium—there is, except Indian opinion, absolutely nothing. Not only is there no white race in India, not only is there no white colony, but there is no white man who purposes to remain. . . . There are no white servants, not even grooms, no white policemen, no white postmen, no white anything. If the brown men struck for a week the 'empire' would collapse like a house of cards, and every ruling man would be a starving prisoner in his own house. He could not move himself or get water."

Mr. Stoddart wrote in 1920, when the whole of the West was still at sixes and sevens after a period of unlimited destruction and inroads made against all modern appliances of comfort, and against the life of modern civilization, by the great carnage of the War; but it is quite true that an independent India is the aim and the pious wish of a number of Indian political reformers, political thinkers and patriots of today—more so than it was in 1920.

Necessity for the British Connection

In the very thoughtful article in the *Observer* of Sunday, April 22, entitled "Rebirth in Asia," Sir Frederick Whyte brought out very forcibly the consideration that it cannot be denied that whilst Asiatic countries, including India, want to throw off the yoke of the dominance of the white race or races, they cannot overcome the maxim that "Might is Right." Whether the modern machineries of war by land, sea, and air, or the scientific progress in the West, will still make it possible for Western nations to continue in the march of dominance and in the march of supremacy over Eastern countries is a question that cannot be overlooked in nation-building in Asia and India. Nor can we ignore the fact that there is a growing discontent among non-white races against being ruled by the white races.

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Let us now apply this fact to India. The days of Asoka, the days of Harshavardhan, the days of Chandra Gupta, the days of Lord Buddha, the days of Prithi-Raj, even the days of Man Singh and Sita Ram in Bengal, are but things of the dim past, and they read more like fairy tales than realities. We have, therefore, to take the condition of India from the time of the Moguls, and then take a lesson for the future; and that lesson, briefly, is this: If India is tired of white rule, and if the British be tired of ruling India, then India must be prepared either to be ruled by the yellow races, or by those brown races whose religion is other than Hinduism, or by Soviet Russia. Let India choose. I may be called unpatriotic, or even a traitor, by those who, in their idealism, want an independent India, which geographically and racially cannot, alas! so easily crystallize; but I take the British connection as the only solution of India's problems, and from this standpoint I will discuss the future of British reforms in India. The Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 and the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919 have been so much talked about, and have been so much before the public, that the less one dilates upon them in detail the better for the purpose of our discussion here today.

I shall only take up three points as to the future of the Reforms:

1. Are there further subjects which could be transferred in provincial Governments to be entirely at the mercy of the vote of the different provincial legislative bodies, and if so, what are they?

2. Should there be Upper Chambers in provincial Councils, and, if so, is there any necessity to have two legislative bodies with the Government of India?

3. Should we make an endeavour to get a unified form of government by doing away with dyarchy, in name at least, if not in actual practice? Can we achieve this?

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Heads of Provinces

Before I deal with these three questions, I wish to say emphatically that in any recommendations that the Simon Commission may have to make, they must put the question of the official position and the personal comforts, not only of the Viceroy, but of all the provincial Governors, above and beyond criticism, and beyond the ken of the vote of legislative bodies, if these high dignitaries are to continue to maintain their prestige and position as representing the Crown in India.

It may be amusing, even to an Englishman who likes a joke, to hear the question discussed in the Legislative Councils whether a Governor should have a travelling saloon for himself, or a new carpet in the Government House which he may happen to occupy for the term of his office; whether he should appear on a race-course or at a Durbar accompanied by his bodyguard; or whether he should have a band of his own to entertain his guests, which his official position enforces; but it certainly does not add to the prestige of the British Government that the King's representative, whether at Simla, Delhi, or at any provincial capital, should be ridiculed for such things when they are not personal but attached to the appointment. To my mind it is disgraceful when, in provincial Councils, some non-official Europeans, who want to enlarge their importance by coquetting with members of the Labour Party or with Socialists here, encourage Indians in such discussions. They forget that India is not England; that the East is not the West; that the Indian *izzat* is not quite identical with British prestige, and *vice versa*; and that, therefore, it is derogatory for a Viceroy or a Governor to be subjected to such petty pinpricks at the hands of petti-foggers. The sooner that everything appertaining to the position of a Viceroy and of a Governor is made non-votable, the better for the administration of India, and the better for the prestige of the King's representative in that country.

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Transfer of Subjects

Now let me turn to the three points which I have enumerated. In provincial Governments you have what is known as the Executive half of the Government, and on the other side the Transferred half. The members of Government belonging to the Executive half are called Members, and those belonging to the Transferred half Ministers, the former being responsible by the Government of India Act to Parliament, and the latter to provincial Governors and to the provincial Legislative Councils. This is what is known as "dyarchy."

There would have been no difficulty, perhaps, in the actual working of dyarchy had not people had a grievance against the Financial Settlement—that is, the settlement for which our Chairman, Lord Meston, has been held responsible, and which has now come to be known as the Meston Settlement. In consequence of this settlement, some provinces were harder hit than others, for in some, Ministers had sufficient money with which to satisfy their supporters in the Legislative Council and in the country, whilst in other provinces shortness of funds was a distinct handicap, as no Minister wanted, in starting a new form of administration, to bear the brunt or odium of imposing new taxation.

Financial stringency was largely responsible for the failure of dyarchy on the Transferred side. Some Ministers were able to make a splash with schemes before the public gaze. Other Ministers, however, found it difficult to accustom themselves to the common, everyday red-tapism, which meant submission to them of schemes of education, sanitation, etc., which had been examined and passed by Government experts, and they were not able to introduce straight away items of expenditure for which their supporters clamoured and on whose votes their Ministries depended.

Now let us see what are the subjects which are really under the control of the Executive half of Government. My list may be incomplete, for purposely I have not examined the Transferred subjects in the different provinces;

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as, for example, in some provinces forestry is a Transferred subject, in others it is not, although the Reforms Committee of 1924 recommended that it should universally be a Transferred subject. I shall outline to you the subjects which were reserved when I was a member of the Bengal Government or rather Presidency, which has got the Permanent Settlement and all its peculiarities, and whose population is, perhaps, the most intelligent, as well as fostering the best agitators in India.

In Bengal, in my time, we had emigration, European education, land revenue, irrigation, forestry, appointment, political, judicial, and police on the Reserved side; whereas the main subjects relating to local self-government, sanitation, medical, the majority of commerce, industry, and agriculture and other subjects were Transferred. Now everyone will agree that the head of a province must be directly responsible for law and order, therefore anything relating to the military and the police, or to the administration of civil and criminal justice would be better in the hands of the Executive rather than in the hands of a Minister on the Transferred side. Unless there be anything special in the way of grave political reasons, I should think that in all provinces forestry and irrigation should be Transferred. The lists should also include the purely administrative functions of land revenue, safeguarding, however, in the hands of the Governor and his Cabinet the policies of land revenue, the terms of settlement, tenancy legislation, and vested rights and interests. European education may have to continue to be in the Reserved side, but if non-official Europeans had a chance of becoming Ministers (and some of them would be able to administer the departments of education and sanitation just as well, if not better, than some of their Indian colleagues), I do not see why that side of education should not become a Transferred subject, in some of the provinces at any rate. In fact, in time, all that needs to be Reserved will be the maintenance of law and order, the safeguarding of land

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revenue systems (based on laws and regulations which have become no less sacrosanct than the "scrap of paper" for which England went to war with Germany in 1914), matters relating to the political department and the appointment of Europeans to the statutory services of India, which must remain in the hands of the Governor and his Executive Council. There seems no reason why all other subjects should not ultimately be put under the popular control of the Ministers.

Second Chambers

Today, however, it would be essential, I think, to have a revising or second chamber in provincial Councils, in which there should be, in the beginning, a nominated majority over the elected majority, but an overwhelming number of those nominated should not be Government officials. This upper chamber should have the right to control the vexatious question of new taxation or other matters about which a lower chamber might have erred, having been carried away by popular demands or party considerations.

If such an upper chamber were possible, to my mind there would be no need whatsoever to continue the Legislative Assembly at headquarters. The Government of India could work with a Council of Elders or the Council of State with perhaps a larger number of men on it, but men with more or less the same qualifications for membership as at present.

On the qualifications for the second or revising chamber in provincial Councils, I should not like to hazard any opinion, but I think that a standard between the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State in the Government of India would be a good model upon which to work.

My proposals are purposely very sketchy, and I have scrupulously avoided the much talked of provincial autonomy, which bristles with difficulties, for there has been a volume of opinion already expressed by witnesses

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before the Reforms Committee of 1924—a body on which I had the honour to serve—as well as by those who have already submitted views to the Simon Commission. I do not think, therefore, that I should be justified in giving anything but the vaguest outline and suggestions with regard to the second chamber for provincial Councils and for doing away with the Legislative Assembly altogether.

Unitary Government

Now let me come to the question of a unified form of government for the provinces. Here also I shall be very brief. I shall begin by quoting from an article in the *Saturday Review* of April 21 :

> The Simon Commission has returned after a preliminary enquiry in which a good deal has been done to weaken extremist opposition to its composition and procedure, and Sir John Simon is so far justified in optimism. His firmness and patience will secure him all the co-operation needed for thorough investigation of the Indian problem. But if we are to understand that he is hopeful of a solution which will both protect vital interests and satisfy the left wing of Indian Nationalism we cannot share his hope. The wisest policy in India would be one, not of advance along the way marked out in 1919, but of return to unified government followed by progress along another route. Dyarchy ought to be scrapped, not in the interests of sheer reaction, but in order to permit of a political development more accordant with the spirit of Indian life. But who has the courage to propose scrapping dyarchy? The probability is that whatever the final enquiry reveals of its defects, dyarchy will be preserved, though modified. Few love it, but abandonment of it would be represented as vicious retrogression. Yet courage and imagination in politics are nowhere better rewarded, in the long run, than in India, and a bold policy would be accepted, after some initial protests, when a timid compromise would only increase agitation.

I endorse every word of the *Saturday Review* about dyarchy. We could easily scrap dyarchy by first of all abolishing the Executive Council of the Governor and by giving him a small Cabinet to deal with general matters of administration, and secretaries to administer with him departments relating to those subjects which I have already outlined and which should be in the hands of the Governor direct. The Governor could recommend names from the

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members of the legislative bodies (both elected and nominated, as this would give him a larger field for selection) to be Ministers, and the Ministers could be appointed, at the recommendation of the Governor, by the Crown. This would at once give them a greater importance than they now have : the knowledge that they were responsible to the British Parliament, and that India desired to continue the British connection, would give them a greater sense of duty than they possess at present, and to my mind party politics would get a greater impetus than it now has in India. In other words, there would be nothing but Ministers, and there would be no Reserved and Transferred sides actually before the legislative body. Certain powers of certification by the Governor would be continued, but they would be simpler and less arduous than at present.

These are outline suggestions which I hope may be found to offer food for thought to those interested in the future of India, and which I wish to put forward for consideration and discussion. So far as a dual machinery of government is concerned I may have to modify my views, should I be called upon to give my opinion on details ; but I think that the sooner we do away with the causes of jealousy now found among the Ministers against the Members of the Executive half, and the cause of irritation it is to Ministers to think that they have not been appointed by the Crown, or are not treated with the same confidence and courtesy as the Members, the better for the progress of the country and the better for the development of the spirit of responsible self-government in India.

The Electorates

There are two important questions on which the Simon Commission will have to decide outside those matters : namely, the present franchise and electorate, and the communal question.

With regard to the first, I hold views diametrically opposite, perhaps, to those revealed in Indian aspirations.

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I am not only whole-heartedly opposed to any extension of the franchise, but in certain respects I consider that the franchise is too wide rather than too narrow, thus opening the door to bribery and corruption, having regard to the relative increase in the standard of education in the country itself.

The British will continue to be accused of being at the root of all communal troubles, so long as they, in their desire to protect minorities, or in their desire to safeguard Moslem interests as distinct from Hindu interests, continue the system of electorates as they exist in India today. A mixed electorate requires a good deal of courage, forethought, and statesmanship. So long as there remains in the minds of the British and British administrators the fear that a Hindu-Moslem coalition would mean an untimely end of British rule in India, so long will there be a suspicion in the minds of political thinkers in India that England, whilst on the surface she desires progress and desires to make India realize responsible self-government, is not sufficiently earnest in the effort to unite the two great races and religions of India. It seems to me essential, therefore, to equalize the proportion of Muhammadan members on legislative councils with that of Hindus, and without altering in any way the numerical strength of either community. The sooner an electorate can return an equal number of Muhammadans and Hindus on a legislative body, the better for the political advance of India. I believe that this step would lead to the welfare of the two great communities in India. No one can accuse me of any bias in favour of Hindus, for I consider that a Muhammadan is just as much my brother as a Hindu.

I think that Indian Moslems, if they desire a united India under the British connection and British protection, must, in future, look to India herself for their political aspirations rather than to their neighbours and co-religionists across the borders of India, or to Turkey. Whether or not the discarding of the fez or doing away with taking the

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oath on the El-Koran means the doom of Islam as a State religion in Turkey, is not of so much concern as the abolition of the Caliphate, by which the Turks have ceased to be the religious arbitrators, at any rate, of the Indian Moslems. If the latter were patriotic enough to realize this, then all communal strife would disappear in no time with the march of the material spirit of progress under British rule.

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DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Monday, May 14, 1928, a paper was read by The Maharajadhiraja of Burdwan, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.O.M., on "Indian Reforms: Past and Future." The Right Hon. Lord Meston, K.C.S.I., was in the chair, and those present included:

The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., The Right Hon. Viscount Burnham, The Right Hon. Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, The Hon. E. S. Cadogan, The Right Hon. George Richard Lane-Fox, M.P., The Right Hon. Sir John Wallis, Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Reginald Craddock, K.C.S.I., Sir Patrick J. Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., and Lady Chatterton, Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., and Lady Walker, Sir Prabashankar D. Pattani, K.C.I.E., Sir Stuart M. Fraser, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Daniel Keymer, O.B.E., Sir Edward A. Gait, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir James Mackenna, C.I.E., The Maharaj-Kumar of Burdwan, The Maharaj-Kumaris of Burdwan, Lady Norton, General Sir Bindon Blood, G.C.B., and Lady Blood, Mrs. Robert Ware, Miss Andrews, Mr. J. E. Webster, C.S.I., C.I.E., Lieut.-Colonel S. B. A. Patterson, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mr. A. L. Saunders, C.S.I., Mr. D. H. Lees, C.S.I., Mr. Surendra Nath Mallik, C.I.E., Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. Henry Marsh, C.I.E., Mr. M. Hunter, C.I.E., Mr. N. C. Sen, O.B.E., Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Mr. W. Coldstream, K.-i-H., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mr. A. P. Das Gupta, Mr. L. L. Sundara Ram, Mr. K. M. Ashraf, Mr. V. V. Chowdhry, Mr. J. W. Lewis, Mrs. Nolan, Mrs. Herron, Commissioner F. Booth Tucker, Mrs. Eckstein, Mr. E. F. Harris, Mr. and Mrs. H. E. Holme, Mr. A. Sabonadière, Sister M. R. Carter, Mr. F. S. Tabor, Miss Corfield, Mr. L. M. Das, Mr. A. K. Sharma, Mr. F. J. Richards, Major G. W. Gilbertson, Mr. R. K. Sorabjee, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, C.B.E., Mr. H. Harcourt, O.B.E., Mr. Syed A. Rafique, Mr. Bosworth Smith, Mr. R. S. Mehra, Mr. N. S. Gill, Mr. G. S. Chattra, Mr. J. E. Woolacott, Mr. W. Jones, C.I.E., Mr. G. W. Chambers, Mr. N. D. Majumdar, Mr. H. A. D. Wathen, Mrs. Chambers, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Rev. Dr. W. Stanton, Mr. S. Omar, Mr. M. A. Rashmi, Mrs. and Miss Barnes, Mr. P. R. Bose, Mrs. Dorothy Chaplin, Miss E. L. Curteis, Mr. B. N. Ghosh, Mr. E. A. Foreman, Mr. H. R. Pardiwalla, Mr. H. L. Varma, Dr. Shah, Mr. H. A. Gibbon, Mr. Jaipal Singh, Mr. Scott Bremner, Mr. Frederick Grubb, Mr. Roopnarain Kanungo, Mr. W. G. Wells, Mr. S. Rasul, Mr. W. G. Bason, Dr. Macdonald, Mr. K. V. Apte, Mr. W. P. Milne, Mr. W. Kraus, Mr. M. A. Khan, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The Chairman: We meet this afternoon to hear a paper from the Maharajadhiraja of Burdwan on a subject upon which he is admittedly one of our greatest authorities, and not only admittedly but deservedly.

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The Maharaja to those few of us (and I think I might say that in this room there are very few) who are not familiar with his history and his personality, may be introduced as one of the greatest landlords of Bengal, who from a very early age indeed devoted himself to justifying the high position in which Providence had placed him by a continuous and zealous devotion to the working of his own estate and the people under his care. From that by a natural transition he moved to the higher or at least the wider and more responsible, duties of a public career in Bengal. He filled offices which up to that time had very rarely been held by compatriots of his. He filled them with universal approval. He has the great and rare gift of making no enemies, and his career up to that point was consummated by his being selected to represent India at the last of the great Imperial Conferences. He was placed in a position which had never before been held by a citizen of British India in preference to one of the great ruling chiefs. That piece of work being over, the Maharaja has now come to England for a short time, where he is engaged with his charming family in co-operating with us in making London brighter until he is again required for still higher and more responsible work, as we all sincerely trust, in his own land. In the course of a career such as I have briefly sketched the Maharaja has had rare and unique opportunities of studying the situation in British India. He served under the transitory institution which was known as the Morley-Minto Reforms, and he has held throughout and taken an active and vigorous part in what has since been known and is now described by the name of dyarchy. All through his varied career the Maharaja has been a patriot; and he is not only an ardent but also a discriminating patriot.

From all these points of view he has a message to give us such as few others could give.

The MAHARAJADHIRAJA OF BURDWAN, in introducing his paper, said: I am fortunate in having as the Chairman at this meeting Lord Meston, who happens to be not only a very old and valued friend of mine, but who in spite of the very highly coloured picture of me which his Lordship has been pleased to draw, has known me in the different spheres of my activities in India. He was also responsible for the beginning of the Reforms which existed in India and over which the Simon Commission have to decide what should be the future of those Reforms.

A lecture written beforehand and in print is very often uninteresting, and I do not for a moment suppose that when I read it what I have to say to you today will be anything out of the ordinary. But knowing as I do that most of you here, especially those of you who have been in India, have considered Indian problems from various aspects, I hope you will find that there are some remarks worth your while to think about.

The Lecturer read his paper.

At the conclusion of the paper the Maharaja said:

I know when criticism of this paper is vented, it will be put forward that my scheme in practice will bring the Muslims under the heel of the Brahminical rule in India, but may I remind the Englishmen that they are

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considered by us Hindus as the greatest Brahmins of the *Kali juga*, and therefore the dominance of other Brahmins might well be left out of serious consideration.

Sir REGINALD CRADDOCK in opening the discussion said that they would all be with him in saying how much the Maharaja of Burdwan's address was appreciated; it was a bold expression of his views in which he had not sought to side with any particular party, but had given reasons for the faith that was in him. The Maharaja had quoted to them Lothrop Stoddart's book "The Rising Tide of Colour," which again quoted from an older book written by Meredith Townsend. The extract from Townsend's book was writtten in striking language and talked about the removal of 1,500 men in black, and of the relatively small garrison. But what it really amounted to was that if Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation movement had been observed by everyone of the three hundred millions in India, no doubt British rule would come to an end. As a matter of fact, he did not think they could all agree with Meredith Townsend for the reason that, speaking for himself after his forty years in India and from all he knew of the people in the country, he emphatically affirmed that the British Government was there by the consent of the vast majority of the various peoples in India. (Hear, hear.) There were minorities, and no doubt the Maharaja was correct in saying that the number had increased. There were very small minorities of people anxious—and it was quite natural that they should be anxious—to take over powers and positions which would gratify their ambitions as Indians, or as Hindus or Muhammadans or Brahmins or whatever their particular designation might be; but as far as he could see they alternated between having hot heads and cold feet. The great point he wanted to make was that those people did not represent the opinion of the great masses. He was not speaking about what people said, but about what they thought and what they did; he judged them not by the speeches which they made in public or by articles in newspapers, but by what he would call the unguarded observations of the multitude to which he had listened for many years, and by the actions they took when emergencies arose. It was by that which he judged the people of India, and it was from a long knowledge of all classes from the aboriginal up to the extremist politician. He had met them and heard them speak in confidence, and it was from them that the best opinion could be sought. British rule would last as long as the majority of Indians wished it to last.

Although the Maharaja did not trespass voluntarily upon the controversial field of provincial autonomy, as a matter of fact he was laying emphasis on the great powers of the Central Government and the restricted powers of what might be called the popular side of the Local Government. There could be no question that that policy was the correct one so far as the Central Government was concerned, because the Central Government was engaged on a task of correlating and co-ordinating the co-operation of what might be almost a number of separate countries, and that task was one which required a firm Government, a Government that

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had an overruling power over any unusual or extraordinary action by various Local Governments.

With regard to the question of dyarchy, he, among others, was always opposed to it. It was said to be based on the principle that in no other way could that particular kind of responsibility which prevailed in a democratic system between the people, who returned the member, and the member, who becomes the Minister, be established. As a matter of fact, if the Minister of the present day was called to account it was not by a body of intelligent electors, but by the speeches or the newspaper articles which deal with the interests of a comparatively narrow section of the people. (Hear, hear.) His feeling was that responsibility could not be created in the sense that was wanted—namely, that mutual responsibility between electors and elected which marked a democratic system. That kind of responsibility could never be reached—by that he meant for a very considerable number of years—for the reason that if anybody was displeased with a Minister, the blame was not usually ascribed to the Minister himself but to the British Government. If you referred to dissatisfied people among the less intelligent classes, and were to say: "Well, it was the Minister who threw out this proposal or could not do this or could not do that," they would show you a coin and say to you: "Whose image and superscription is on this coin; whose is the flag that flies over the country? Who are the ruling persons holding the largest command and authority? If the Minister had any power it was you who gave it to him, and if you are foolish as to give to a Minister who is not competent powers of this kind, then the responsibility is yours and not his." That, in his opinion, was the great reason why so long as the British Government was present there this particular kind of responsibility between electors and elected was so difficult to establish. It was for those reasons that he agreed with the Maharaja entirely as he agreed with the article in the *Saturday Review* saying that dyarchy should be scrapped. They had come along the wrong road; it was no good persisting along a road which proved to be wrong. They did not want to go back to the pre-Reform days, because they had grown accustomed to privileges which could not now be withdrawn from the people of India; but they wished to advance along a more correct and more hopeful road, and that, he took it, was the general meaning of the policy which the Maharaja of Burdwan had so well put before them. (Applause.)

Mr. Yusuf Ali said he felt at a very great disadvantage in the short time at his disposal in continuing the discussion on a paper which had touched upon the most important and vital issues now before the country in India. However, he had one advantage—namely, that he had only just arrived from India. He also had another advantage, that on his way from India he had seen and studied a number of new countries in the Near East. These were setting up Parliaments which were no Parliaments, Courts of Justice which were like juries or advisory committees, and administrations which worked with closed doors. He had thought to himself that if even a respectable fraction of the 320,000,000 of people in India could

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only travel and see for themselves what happened when they placed simulacra in high places and glorified them and piled epithets and epithets upon them and claimed them for their ideals, then perhaps some sobering light of actuality might be thrown on these big questions. He was not going into that very wide region. It would be very interesting to follow the great issue which the Maharaja Bahadur had raised, and he was sure that the conservative radicalism which the Maharaja had shown in his paper was deserving of the most thoughtful consideration. He thought his best course would be to touch upon one point on which he could speak with some recent knowledge, and that was the question of the Mussalmans and the minorities. He fully agreed that the vital question on which all progress hinged in India was the Hindu-Muslim question. If they went on breaking each other's heads as they did in Lahore last year, or as they were doing in other towns even now, there was no hope either for democracy or for representative institutions or for good government of any kind whatever. But if the two great creeds of India could sit down and work out some amicable understanding to work together and to co-operate under the British flag for the realization of the great goal which he thought was indissolubly bound up with the British flag—namely, constitutional government—then there was every hope and every chance that they would be able to work gradually towards an ordered form of complete self-government. He had been in touch with nearly all the Mussalman and Hindu leaders in India, and although one might wish it otherwise, they were bound to recognize that great mistrust and suspicion existed on both sides. It would not do merely to ignore that suspicion. On the contrary, the august body in whose hands the hammering out of the future Constitution had been placed would have to devise some practicable means by which trust and confidence could be created and fostered between the two great creeds in India, and as also between them and the Government. He fully realized that the atmosphere in India, especially amongst his own advanced friends, was not enthusiastically in favour of the British connection; but he would also remind them that when untoward occurrences ending in violence and a reign of terror happened, every side was willing to call in the assistance of what they called "the third party." In the circumstances, in his opinion, the only solution of these problems was for the leaders on both sides, if there were leaders—he had searched for them but had not yet found them—to meet together and make a sincere effort, not to "best" each other or to snatch personal or party triumphs, but to discover practical paths of advance. The solution was to discover leaders who would be followed, and make them sit together and evolve some *modus vivendi*.

The Maharaja had put forward a suggestion. He said: Give the Mussalmans in every province 50 per cent. of the seats on the Legislative Council. He wondered that so conservative a man as the Maharaja could put forward so revolutionary a proposal. Let them just think of it. The Central Provinces had a Mussalman population of about 4 per cent., and Burma had even less. Madras had 6¾ per cent. Various other provinces had small Muslim minorities. Was it conceivable that the Hindus would

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consider it practicable politics to concede to the Mussalmans, who were 4 per cent., 50 per cent. of the seats on the Legislative Council? Or take the other side of the shield. There was the North-West Frontier Province where the Mussalman proportion was over 91 per cent. Was it proposed to give the Mussalmans only 50 per cent.? Or, again, if they took Bengal and the Punjab, the Mussalmans had majorities of 54 and 55 per cent. In the Punjab, with which he had been most intimately associated for the last three years, the Mussalman 54 per cent. was virile and alive, both in agriculture and industry. Would the Mussalmans be satisfied if they gave them only 50 per cent. of the seats? Or did the proposal mean: Give the Mussalmans 50 per cent. of the seats where their population was only 7 per cent. or 4 per cent., but give them 54 per cent. or 55 per cent. or 91 per cent. of the seats where they were actually in the majority? He would very much like the Maharaja to work out that part of the scheme. He did not wish to criticize a spirit of such generosity, but it did strike him that a number of questions would have to be answered before they could consider it in the field of practical politics.

There was another question: The Maharaja had said that he represented no one except himself. That was a position in which he could also accompany him, but if they were to make any proposals out of their own individual instincts of chivalry and generosity, was it likely that those proposals would go through? Would they command the assent of a sufficient number of people in India to make them practical politics? He did not pretend to know the minds of the members of the Simon Commission, but he supposed if he appeared before them (very much in fear and trembling) that the first question they would ask would be: Whom do you represent? Even the Maharaja might be asked the same question, and they must necessarily put forward a scheme which had been the subject of consultation with the large interests with which they were concerned. Under present conditions some sort of safeguard for Mussalman minorities and other minorities, Sikhs and so on, was necessary. However unpalatable it might be for them to envisage the fact, some protection was necessary; but the man who was able clearly to define the form in which it would be practicable, adequate, and acceptable to all parties concerned had yet to be born. He would like the Simon Commission, after they had examined the large mass of conflicting evidence which would be sure to be placed before them, more or less to appraise the evidence on its qualitative side, and work from their experience of Indian conditions as interpreted by their experience in other countries, and give us a lead as to what was likely to help in the evolution of Indian society. He felt conscious that he had trespassed a little more on their time than he had intended, and he would only close his remarks with an appeal to common sense and practical patriotism. The great questions of Indian policy at the present moment could not be decided in a discussion of five minutes or five hours, but would require very close study, not only close study by oneself from the point of view of a scholar or statesman or man of affairs, but also close study from the

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point of view of those whose interests were directly affected by the questions which were discussed. (Loud applause.)

Mr. N. D. MUJUMDAR said that he must admit the paper which they had listened to was very well intentioned. But it was well intentioned for the landlords of India and for the British interests, or, to make it more precise, it was well intentioned for the ruling classes of Great Britain in India. One always heard all sorts of talk of leaders claiming to be leaders in India who had been flirting with Government here as well as with the Labour Party. But those flirting with the Labour Party had been disillusioned, and they had gone back to respond to the real needs of the country. The existence of the British Government in India was by strength of force, and the continuance of the army of occupation in India was justified by these people. The Lecturer had spoken about Bolshevik Russia; they had heard about Brahminical tyranny, and that was repeated over and over again not only in that place but in other places. The scheme put forward boiled itself down to this: Transfer certain of the offices to Indians and give the Governor certain powers and leave the rest to the Council, the executive function of which was to be carried out by the Cabinet, to be composed of members to be nominated by the Government. The Lecturer had not claimed to represent anyone, but he represented interests which he wished kept in the hands of the Governor, and had asked that the revenue policy of India should be continued as it was today.

The real issue between Great Britain and India was the aspirations of the Indians. Indians today were not in a position to resort to violence; otherwise it would have been legitimate for them to do so. There should not be British connection with India any more than there should be French, German, or Russian.

Mr. G. W. CHAMBERS (Madras) said, being a member of the mercantile community in India, he would like to put forward one or two views. That community, of course, was not one of the depressed classes, but it had had its apathetic contentment stirred by the events of the last few years. There were three points which the Maharaja had set forth. The first was whether further provincial subjects could be transferred. The Maharaja used a rather significant phrase, "entirely at the mercy of the Provincial Legislative Councils," and it was suggested that this could be done provided that law and order, the land revenue system, statutory appointments and foreign relations—which he hoped included relations with the Indian Princes—were preserved. In view of their experience of the defects of dyarchy such a policy, amounting to an extension of dyarchy, would require a very careful examination and very cautious acceptance. In his opinion dyarchy had failed because Ministers had not sufficient control of the finance which pertained to the department they had to administer. Thus Ministers could not be expected to accept the full responsibility for the success of their departments, and perhaps what was more important, Legislative Councils and Assemblies on many occasions had proved that at present they were not entirely capable

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of political responsibility. It seemed hardly necessary to ask where India would be if the Viceroy's powers had not been used more than once; in other words, the main defect of dyarchy was that it did not develop or encourage responsibility. Again, there was an overlapping in dyarchy. Friction arose, and delays in legislation occurred. In the South of India, to the best of his belief, the important department of Public Works was under dual control, partly Reserved and partly Transferred. It would thus be seen that an extension of dyarchy in the provinces would be a great experiment. Whether it was the right road or not he did not know, but the present system would never foster responsibility.

In dealing with the second point, he said there was no real case of analogy with other countries as regards second chambers, since conditions in India at present were not suitable for the creation of second chambers. If the second chambers were chosen in anything like the way the present legislative chambers were chosen, they were faced with the same difficulties. If a second chamber was chosen largely by nomination, a lot of people would say it was the creature of the Government, and it would lose its influence. As regards the Maharaja's third point, which was a suggestion to modify dyarchy, he had not had the time quite to make out where the suggestion differed from the present system. In conclusion, he said that no scheme of government in India would be given a fair chance of success on its merits until there was a vigorous, united, and fearless party in India composed mainly of Indians who were ready and able to put in their proper places some of those who at present improperly claimed to speak for India.

Mr. RAFIQUE said he considered there were much more important and weighty matters to be considered than such things as were referred to by the last speaker—namely, the privileges enjoyed by the Governors or the Viceroy in India. They all knew that they enjoyed certain privileges which were necessary for the maintenance of their dignity. The paper which they had heard referred to Reforms, past and future, of India, and the introduction of such a trivial subject as he had mentioned was not at all necessary. He did not deny that there was something to be said about the necessity of giving the Viceroy a saloon, and a Governor-General a few horses, but it was far less interesting than the subject which was of much more vital importance, and that was the Muslim and Hindu question in India. The Maharaja had referred very casually to those subjects which he thought might have been dealt with with greater force. The size of the political units in India should be reduced, and the newly formed units should be given entire self-government. The elected body should be completely responsible to the Legislature.

The question of Hinduism could not be solved by a mere stroke of the pen or by dividing a line through the middle—a hundred cut into two and making it fifty-fifty. It needed much more and deeper thought shed upon it than that which had been given by the honourable speaker. In his experience at Cambridge University he found Indians could pull along together in a thing, however small or however significant, if it was run entirely by them. (Hear, hear.)

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With regard to the question of the system of communal representation, the Muhammadan had to return a Muhammadan, and the Hindu had to return a Hindu. Was it not possible to have an electoral system which would cause less friction among the Hindus and the Muhammadans than there was today, so that the Muhammadans could work with and for the Hindus, and the Hindus could work with and for the Muhammadans? The segregation of the two communities, in his opinion, was one of the most awful mistakes committed by any Government in any country. He submitted this point, which had struck him, for elucidation by the distinguished lecturer.

Mr. WOOLACOTT said that he was very glad to hear that the Hindu and Mussalman got on so well together at Cambridge, but what was more important was, how did they get on at Kohat? He was much interested in the violent speech from his friend at the other side of the room, because he had made violent speeches himself in his youth. He was afraid, however, that at the time he did not listen to the facts that were put before him in reply to his rhetoric. They had heard it said that British rule in India rested on bayonets. Was that true? (Cries of "Yes.") If that were so, then 320 millions of people, including millions of virile men belonging to the martial races, could be kept in subjection by a few hundred British civilians and 60,000 British troops. Who were the people in India who were demanding the British should go? They were generally pundits from Allahabad and other parts of Northern India. They were the very men who, if the British did go, would have no concern with any other question than the sailing of the next P. and O. boat for England. They knew that perfectly well themselves, and they also knew that the British did not intend to leave India. He was in India at the time of the attempted Afghan invasion a few years ago, when it was necessary to mass over 300,000 men across the frontier. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, which was not a British paper, then said: "Indians must drop all their differences; they must cease their attacks on Government; they must stand together, because if the Afghan invasion succeeds it will affect the lives of people in Bengal yet unborn." That was the attitude that would be adopted if it were seriously suggested that the British were going to leave India. He invited them to look at the Indian Army, notably in the Punjab: one of the finest armies in the world. How many men from India went to the Great War? Why, about twenty times as many as the British troops in India. There were millions of fighting men in India at the present time, and it was obvious that British rule continued because it was by consent of the people. The facts were obvious, and all the windy rhetoric of the pundits and others could not affect them. In conclusion he desired to say that it was highly satisfactory that Indian questions were being more and more discussed in London. They wanted to hear all sides. The more the facts could be hammered out the better it would be for India. British interests and Indian interests were identical, and as long as the British remained in India their policy would be aimed at improving the social, political, and moral condition of the people at large. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

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The CHAIRMAN: It is now five o'clock, and under the traditions of your Association the meeting should come to an end; I am afraid I am under the unhappy necessity of being unable to call upon quite a number of gentlemen who have sent in their cards as desirous of speaking, and I trust that they will accept my apologies for not calling upon them. It is merely on account of the lateness of the hour and not from any lack of desire to hear their contributions to the discussion.

We have had a most interesting afternoon. My old and close friendship with the speaker, and my long knowledge of his habits and of his mind, made me confident from the very outset that we should hear a remarkable pronouncement, and we have had a pronouncement which is indeed remarkable as well as wise and weighty. He has succeeded in putting the problem in its true proportion. He started with certain assumptions which obviously are not universally accepted in this room, but in order to get down to practical questions he had to start with certain assumptions. Then he proceeded to deal with the practical questions which are now before that body which we are proud to see represented in this room tonight; I refer to the members of the Simon Commission. It is a pleasure to hear those propositions and to hear them practically discussed in a reasonable way. It was a pleasure even to hear the criticism of the financial settlement which was referred to, and with which I occasionally see my name associated. I suppose a day will come when an opportunity will be given of defending both dyarchy and that much maligned settlement. But it would be unfair this afternoon that I should lay any burden on your patience. We have listened tonight with advantage, and no doubt a certain amount of instruction, to many diverse opinions. If we can lay those opinions aside in our minds, and turn them over during the next year, we may be in a position—and that after all is the most important position (I am speaking for the old Indians mainly in this audience more than the young ones)—in which we can most suitably and profitably help to brigade public opinion behind the Report of Sir John Simon and his colleagues, when that Report comes to be written. Never has a more difficult proposition been laid before public-spirited men than the reference made to that Commission. When they do pronounce their verdict, that verdict I am fully convinced will have the fullest consideration by the thinking public mind in this country. But in order to give it intelligent study, and in order to give it the support which it will require, we have first of all to know something about our subject and then to help others who are not so familiar to appreciate the facts and the grave decisions which will have to be taken. I now invite the Maharaja to reply to the discussion.

The MAHARAJADHIRAJA OF BURDWAN: The discussion has been very fruitful if only in the sense that we have had a remarkable speech from my old friend Mr. Yusuf Ali. I am exceedingly grateful to him for the lucid explanation of the difficulties regarding the Hindu-Muslim question in India. However, before I deal with his points perhaps I had better make short work of my friend Mr. Mujumdar. I met him at Sandown, and he put some-

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pertinent questions to me regarding the duties of a landlord. I believe when he reaches the sun-down of life he will realize that it is better to have the British connection than to pay a pilgrimage to Leningrad.

Now, with regard to Mr. Yusuf Ali's comments, they deserve the closest attention by all those who desire the real cementing of differences between the two great communities of India. In my lecture I purposely put down fifty-fifty as a basis for discussion. It is perfectly clear that in certain provinces it could not be fifty-fifty. But I am not concerned so much with the percentage. Let it be 55 and 45 in certain provinces, or even some other proportion. What I am concerned with is this: The accusation which is made day after day that the British will divide and rule. Let those provinces which are ripe for the experiment have a mixed electorate for the Legislature, so that each member of each community would be careful to avoid treading on the pet corns and idiosyncrasies which are engrafted in them. That is the main point on which I have made the suggestion. My point is that if there are real differences of opinion between the Hindus and the Muhammadans they will come out in a mixed electorate much more than in any other kind of electorate we may devise. As regards the protection of minorities, be they Hindus, Muhammadans, Sikhs, or be they Christians, in those provinces where that protection has to be given it must be continued because we have to protect the minorities. That is what the British are there for—to be fair to every community in India. (Hear, hear.)

There is one thing more I should like to tell my friend Mr. Yusuf Ali, because he and I were close friends when he was still in the Indian Civil Service. What we have to realize as Hindus and Muhammadans is that if we are going to have a British India we have to remember that we are Indians first and Hindus and Muhammadans after—(Hear, hear)—and to get at that we shall have to introduce sooner or later these mixed electorates where we can get the best opportunity of intermingling and at the same time reducing to the minimum our little susceptibilities. It is with this object that I have introduced the question of mixed electorates and no other. I say again, as to the fifty-fifty, you can put it 70 and 30 if you like, but what we want is that the Muhammadan should feel that the Hindu has just as much a right as the Hindu must feel that the Muhammadan has a right. The Muhammadan is just as much a brother of the Hindu as the Hindu of the Muhammadan. We have nothing to do with pundits or Brahmins, or any other caste. All I am concerned with is believing in British traditions and British fairness. I desire that a fair trial should be given in seeing whether mixed electorates can or cannot work in certain provinces. I think from that point of view I have met Mr. Rafique's point. As to whether Governors or Viceroys should have their *izzat* safeguarded or not I do not wish to argue any further, for there are others who would not allow such things to be mentioned. As regards the point that was mentioned by Mr. Chambers as to whether or not I had really asked for an extension of dyarchy, I do not think he has been able to quite grasp my idea. What I said was: Let there be, with the excep-

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tion of a few subjects, everything votable by the Council, let those subjects be under Ministers and let there be no dividing line as to being Ministers or Members, and thereby dyarchy will automatically fall to the ground. There was no question of an extension of dyarchy. Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank you all for the patient hearing you have given me. (Applause.)

Sir Louis Dane, in proposing a vote of thanks both to the Lecturer and to the Chairman, said that no doubt another occasion would be provided by the Association for those whose contributions to the discussion had been precluded by the lateness of the hour. He would like to point out the present state of affairs in India rather reminded one of the position of Germany after the Franco-German War. The Germans were very competent people, and it might be well worth the attention of the Association and even of the Commission to consider how they set about managing after the Franco-German War. The Empire consisted of large self-governing countries like Prussia and Bavaria with legislative bodies on a more or less representative basis, smaller States with independent internal jurisdiction, great free cities and tiny chiefdoms. They created a Council of State, the Reichsrath, consisting of delegates from all the bodies constituting the Empire in proportion to the size and importance of each unit; and it was this Reichsrath that was the real high governing body of the Empire, and only measures approved by it could go to the larger Assembly or Reichstag. Some similar arrangement might suit the present stage of developments of the Indian Empire and enable us to meet the equities of the position of the Indian States, whose existence and even whose further expansion, as he had often urged, was desirable and even necessary for the effective maintenance of that Empire.

He was sure that he was voicing the sentiments of them all when he thanked the Chairman, Lord Meston, and the Lecturer, the Maharajadhiraja of Burdwan, for sparing some of their very valuable time to be with them that afternoon. (Applause.)

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BOMBAY TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW

By Sir Stanley Reed, K.B.E., LL.D.

The subject chosen for my address this afternoon is "Bombay To-day and To-morrow." But how can we think of Bombay present and future without recalling the Bombay of the past? And when I think of the city I first knew, and soon learned to love, in 1897, and that which I left in April of this year, I long to meet the particular idiot who coined that phrase—"The Changeless East."

It was a tearing day in July when I landed in Bombay thirty-one years ago; and Lovat Fraser, who came to meet the ancient tub in which I made the voyage, was blown to Mazagon before he could make the ship at her moorings in the harbour. We landed in the docks and drove with the monsoon floods lapping the floor of a decrepit buggy to the frowsty tank which rejoiced in the name of the Great Western Hotel. My room looked out over Mother Tincom's boarding-house. The kindly friend who took me in hand drove on the first Sunday to Colaba cemetery, which reminded me of the grim churchyard where Scrooge saw his tombstone, and a week later to Sewri, where he gloated over the monuments of those who had died early and unpleasant deaths. The tents still rose like mushrooms on the Cooperage and in Marine Lines every cold weather, and it was from one of these that a fertile Frenchman, entangled in an unwelcome engagement, used to write to his impatient fiancée telling how every morning he had to remove the heaped plague corpses before he could emerge.

From Malabar Hill, in the dawn, you could look out over the glorious sweep of Back Bay, and see the Rajabhai Tower rise like the Campanile of Venice, with the blood-red sun beginning to illumine the harbour—still to my mind the most fascinating view of Bombay. But from Malabar Hill you looked down on a palm grove which was Gamdevi;

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if you climbed the tower of the mansion David Sassoon builded but never lived to occupy, and gazed northward, Mahim and all the lands to the north were fields of palms and paddy. The business quarter of Bombay was huddled into Elphinstone Circle and Apollo Street, and I can recall the miserable shanty which was the home of *The Times of India*, and the air of resignation with which Thomas Bennett asked me one day if he could finish his work in my own room, as the cloth ceiling of his had fallen in. To visit Vehar was a day's adventure, with a change of horses at Bandra or Sion; mean and tortuous lanes provided the only means of escape to the north; and the quickest way from Malabar Hill to the docks was by way of Churchgate Street and Frere Road. Those were the days of plague; I can recall with horror the appalling congestion and filth of Second Nagpada and Oomerkhadi; the rabbit warrens of Lohar Street, where, except in the monsoon, the men slept in the streets to make room in their close-packed hovels for the women and children.

Then and Now

A friend asked me if a Rip Van Winkle who had slept for thirty years could find any landmarks whereby to recognize the Bombay he knew. Yes; the High Court stands, the University Buildings, and the Secretariat; also Victoria Terminus, with the fretful decoration which we used to regard as the highest expression of Indo-Saracenic architecture. Few other of the old landmarks remain. Where the Gymkhana kept their boats, and whence I have often taken a whiff to scull to Mazagon, there is the tremendous pile of the Taj Mahal Hotel. That Apollo Bunder, where the White House stood so lonely and forlorn, is now a solid mass of flats, and the graceful little shed, with the curved roof which was reminiscent of a Mongol tent, has given place to the noble gateway, which is one of the many monuments to the genius of George Wittet. Generations of Anglo-Indians braved typhoid,

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gulping oysters by the dozen in the low-verandahed restaurant of Green and Reed, and courted Sewri by copious draughts of Bass from the long bottles which have passed into the limbo with many another institution; they would not know themselves in the towering palace which now bears the name of Green. The palms of Gamdevi have given place to the flat-bordered Hughes Road, where the gold mohurs and peltophorums are splendid in May, and I rejoice that one of the side roads radiating from it bears the appropriate name of Laburnum Avenue.

Who could believe that where the broad sweep of Sandhurst Road cuts right across the Island from west to east there was a generation ago a plexus of mean streets so complex that none dared to enter it in any more expensive vehicle than a ticca gharry, or where Princess Street now runs into Girgaum Road, and bifurcates to the Market, was the close-packed lane which bore the name of Lohar Street? The mean and tortuous way which led from the end of the Vellard to the north, and the narrow old Purbhadevi Road, along which I used to motor in fear and trembling before the dawn to the hunt at Santa Cruz, have been swept aside for the broad highway which with Cadell Road and the new Lady Jamsetji Road are bringing Bandra as near the Fort as was Malabar Hill in the days of which I am speaking. Where Thomas Withey Cuffe used to manœuvre the Bombay Light Horse in the care-free days when I was a trooper, at muddy Antop Hill and Wadala, there is now a network of railway sidings.

When I think of the breezy offices of Wallace and Home Street, and the new business quarter which has grown up on the Ballard Estate, my thoughts go back to the plague-haunted rabbit warrens in which the merchant princes of my time used to pass their not unhappy days. The Bombay chawl can never be anything but a chawl, and that is not a lovely thing; but contrast the chawls of to-day, whether at Agripada or Ferguson Road, with the dreadful back to back abominations, without light or air, looking out

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into fetid sweepers' gulleys, which drove Lord Sandhurst into the passing of the Improvement Trust Act, and we win some idea of the changes which in this brief span of time have passed over Bombay.

Bombay in Transition

And whilst I am on the subject of topography, and the reconstruction of the city which is proceeding at such a furious pace, may I glimpse the morrow? In some respects Bombay is passing through the most uncomfortable stage of transition. When the Development Scheme was launched I ventured to remind Lord Lloyd that there were three stages in all great improvement works of this character—the enthusiasm of launching, the cold fit of construction when everyone was uncomfortable and toes were being trodden on, and the final stage of completion when everyone had forgotten the creators. We are now in the intermediary stage, and the mere mention of the Development Scheme is sufficient to raise sardonic laughter or furious protest. Let us try and look a little ahead. If you stand on the sluice-house above the Hanging Gardens which gives a convenient eyrie for an examination of the island, you can see the thin line of the wall and staging, with a gap in the centre, which outlines the future area of the Back Bay Reclamation. The ululations of those who said the engineers were going to ruin Back Bay are then seen to be of no account; the area taken is so small a part of the whole that a sweep of incomparable beauty will remain.

Let me take you to what used to be Colaba Point. Where once stood the low rocks—and many an hour have I spent there on the rifle range—is the greatest expanse of open land Bombay has seen for half a century. Much of this will be preserved for all time as an open space, for although it is in the hands of the military they cannot mask the fire of the forts. Moreover, we owe some duty to our soldiers, and when we contrast the spaciousness of their

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new quarters, with some field for training and recreation, with the dreadful cells at Paltan Road, and the scarce better barracks in Marine Lines, whatever the cost we are doing something for the men to whose protection we owe so much. But if we are going to talk about the Development Scheme, let us cast our minds back for nine years.

Land Values

It is easy to be wise after the event, but consider for a moment what were the conditions when this scheme was launched. For as long as I can remember the Back Bay Reclamation hung over the growth of Bombay like a nightmare. Whenever any scheme of public utility was proposed, the answer was always the same—"Wait for the Reclamation." I believe it is correct to say that this work, which was in the doldrums of reaction after the Share Mania, was first revived by a committee which sat in 1898. Certainly throughout the governorships of Lord Lamington and Lord Sydenham it was constantly in men's thoughts.

Then came the War, and with it the greatest boom in land values the city has ever known. I believe it is correct to say that a small plot of land in Esplanade Road was sold for nearly Rs. 3,000 a yard, and I know from painful experience that the question of those in business was not where they could get office accommodation, but whether any was to be had at all. The city was so desperately crowded that the Municipal Commissioner, who ought to know, estimated that 60,000 tenements were imperatively required. I was chairman of two committees appointed to inquire into the settlement of industrial disputes, and every witness who spoke with authority declared that housing was at the root of all industrial ills. Plans were being matured for the electrification of the railways, but there was no single authority responsible for the developments of the lands to the north; indeed, some parts of Salsette (I am thinking particularly of the malodorous village of Khar) were really slums in the country. The Improvement Trust had dealt

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resolutely with the lands to the north-east, but in an evil moment Walter Hughes, then the chairman, was debarred from scheduling Mahim and confusion worse confounded was being created there.

Certainly, the business men of Bombay were under no illusions on the subject. Two separate syndicates, comprising the best brains in the city, were anxious to reclaim Back Bay as private ventures; when they coalesced and sent in a joint application, the Government of the day, on the advice of the shrewdest judge of land I have known, came to the conclusion that the scheme was likely to be so profitable that Government should keep it in their own hands. If Lord Lloyd erred, it was in uncommonly good company.

Open Spaces

If you want to appreciate what the Reclamation will ultimately mean to Bombay, look at the map. You will then see that from Colaba Point to Bellasis Road, it is a city almost without open spaces. The Oval and the Maidan are just little blobs of green; there is no real recreation ground until you reach the racecourse and the new park which is being made beside it. For all that dense-packed mass of humanity, lying between Back Bay and the Harbour, there is no recreation ground at all, and no possible chance of clearing one, owing to the tremendous value of the land. And yet how our Bombay folk love the open air and the sea! That little strip of sand at Chaupatti is alive with people every evening, and to look down upon it on a festival is to gaze on a flower garden of turbans. One of the cardinal features of the Reclamation was to furnish in what is known as Block One, on the westward side of the railway between Marine Lines and Churchgate, a generous park where Girgaum, Bhuleshwar, and Mandvi could breathe the air, and whatever be the fate of the work, I sincerely trust that none will allow this project to be marred.

Another matter: Bombay has the finest sea face in the

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world. It has made no use of it. South of Cuffe Parade there was nothing but the rocky foreshore; north, the Ride, the narrow footpath, feebly protected from the encroachments of the sea by the decaying crib-work constructed by the original Back Bay Company; and at Chaupatti those who walked the sands had to dispute place with the pie dogs worrying the offal left by the fishermen. As for Worli, the less said the better, and even Mahim, with its noble stretch of sand, was captured by dyeworks which spilt their effluent over what should have been the golden strand. Bombay cries aloud, certainly for eight months in the year, for the open air; that is the one thing Bombay has been denied. If you want a cup of tea outside one or other of the Clubs, the chances are that you must take it in a stuffy shop in Churchgate Street or Rampart Row.

Although the re-housing plans have been arrested, and scores of the new chawls lie empty, I believe that this is only a passing phase. It is not only in England that the slum mentality exists and a considerable section of the community which would rather herd in a hovel than pay a little more for a decent room. But times are changing, the community will not indefinitely tolerate the slums which remain, and as they are razed—and may it not be long—shall find these new tenements none too many.

Bombay of the Future

When I think of the Development Scheme, I feel inclined to pray that we may forget it for ten years, and abandon the practice of appointing committees so numerous that none can keep tally of them, and leave the engineers to do their work. The errors committed and the mistakes made—they are many—belong to the past; neither will be undone by witch-hunting. I want to try and realize the Bombay of to-morrow. And first, that park near Marine Lines where the unfortunate dwellers of Bhuleshwar and Mandvi may have a chance of the open air, and the facilities for games which will harden their bodies for the

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struggle in life. Then that great Marine Drive and walk, which is to stretch from Chaupatti to Colaba Point—the reservation will run right round the military area—where all Bombay can take its walks abroad. I like to think of this great promenade, through which Bombay will for the first time in its history make use of its unsurpassed sea-front, bordered with cafés and clubs, where men can meet their friends in a better atmosphere than that of the sodden bar or heated card club. There is only one new house on the new area which the Improvement Trust has laid out where once Worli stank, but already folk are beginning to flock to the Marine Drive. I think of this reasonably occupied by new houses, so that we shall no longer pile flat on flat, until Malabar and Cumballa Hills are in danger of being as crowded as Chaupatti. Then at long last the dying stench from Love Grove shall expire, and the Willingdon Club no longer be in danger of gusts of sewage-laden air.

That amazing survival of the days when Bombay was huddled for protection within the walls of the Fort—I mean the extraordinary dwellings round about Gunbow Street and Parsi Bazaar Street—has been cut through by the fine road hewn by the municipality between Hornby Road and Ballard Pier, and the day may not be far distant when the Fort fulfills its true purpose, a place of business, not for impossible dwellings. And when the axe of the reformer falls on the remaining slums, and a new generation forgets the slum habit in the better tenements, robbed of some of their present prison-like air by the growth of trees and signs of life, we shall see a still healthier labour force, and one which by greater steadiness of work and less drinking will not be content with single rooms, but will throw two or three into one decent habitation. That day may not be as far distant as it now seems, if we have a little faith, and concentrate on the promise of the future instead of gloating over the errors of the past.

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Makers of Modern Bombay

When I think of Bombay, yesterday, to-day, and to-morrow, I like to recall not only the beautiful city itself, but the men who made it. How rich we have been in great men? Gerald Aungier and Elphinstone in the formative days; Bartle Frere in the constructive stage, which was entered upon during the American Civil War, when the city ran with silver; and Jamsetji Tata, Walter Hughes, and Pherozeshah Mehta in our own times. Perhaps I shall not carry all of you with me if I say that one of the greatest of them was Walter Hughes. He was a dry man, secretive to a degree—I always called him Mr. Nagett—with peculiar methods of his own. If Walter Hughes had not lived and worked in Bombay, should we have had to-day the best-equipped port in Asia, if not in the world?

I can remember the day when he asked me to come to his office and discuss the plans for the Alexandra Dock. His room was papered with plans dating back for fifty years. I can recall that one proposed that the main entrance to the dock system should be at Chaupatti, running to wet docks on the east side by a canal. Another was for a canal from Worli to the basins. He pointed out that even in the sixties Malet said that the real site for the docks was in Mody Bay—a remarkable instance of prevision. Perhaps Hughes deliberately underestimated the cost, knowing well that too big a scheme would frighten the Trustees and Government of the day. Perhaps he planned big, leaving his successors to find the money for the complementary works, knowing that they were bound to come. Look at his handiwork! The twenty-thousand-ton liners of the P. and O. lie easily alongside the mole at Ballard Pier. North stretch unbroken his chain of docks, then the grain and cotton depots and the railway sorting yard—links in one great chain. Those of you who can recollect the ceaseless stream of bullock carts and motor lorries which painfully carted north the cotton which had been as painfully railed

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south, can realize something of the change which Walter Hughes wrought.

He was for only a brief period Chairman of the Improvement Trust, but long enough to plan nobly streets and roads broad enough to allow the population to be diffused, instead of frittering away its resources in unrelated "improvement schemes," which could only have cleared one slum to make another. The name of Jamsetji Tata suggests to me above all things courage. I can recreate now his strong figure, and almost hear his voice, as he discoursed on the hydro project, the ironworks, and the Institute of Science, which I believe was nearest his heart, and wound up by saying, "Burjorj will give you details." Pherozeshah Mehta let me leave until I come to the Bombay of the future.

You all recollect Lord Morley's story of the young journalist who came to ask for a job. When Morley inquired what was his particular qualification, the youth replied "Invective." If I were asked what was the dominant characteristic of Bombay to-day, I should say "Depression." Truly we have passed, and are still passing, through anxious days—the harder to bear because they follow the golden sun of the late war and post-war boom. Those were, indeed, glorious hours; fortunes were made in a year and lost twice over in the twelve months which followed. It was worth something, even the agonies of the surfeit, to have lived through them. Truly, we have all passed through lean times, and the pressure of life on the middle classes to-day is grievously heavy. But when I look back on the days of plague and famine, when grass grew in Abdurrahman Street, and Lord Northcote had to refuse an application to whitewash the walls of Elphinstone College for want of funds, I ask myself whether we have not rather lost heart. Our present depressions arise from general and special causes.

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The Mill Industry

In Bombay everyone is interested in the mill industry; it is part and parcel of our lives. That industry is passing through very hard times. It shares in the stagnation of the textile trade in every part of the world; it suffers in an acute degree from competition from the Far East and in India itself. We older folk can recall the days when Bombay ground out vast quantities of low-grade yarn and shipped it to China and Japan. That trade has gone; there are few merely spinning mills left. But it is not easy to switch mills constructed for yarn-spinning over to the production of cloth, and though it is being done, it is not easily done in competition with mills in the up-country centres which were laid out for cloth production from the first.

We have to meet high rates and other charges, and electricity has not brought the cheap power anticipated. We have to deal with a very fluid labour force of limited efficiency. And I think we have something to complain of in the stepmotherly attitude of Government. The scandal of the cotton excise duties lingered until it was partly bought off, and finally disappeared because a bitter strike promised the Government neither excise revenue nor income tax. We criticize—I think reasonably—the attitude of the Government towards the competition of a country which evades the obligations of the Washington Convention to which it set its seal and thereby obtains a preference in our market, estimated at 4 per cent. on the lowest computation, and at 10 to 12 per cent. if a reasonable allowance is made for profit. No easy task or lies will bring us to our goal, but a good deal of iron sacrifice.

Unless wages are to be reduced—and no-one wants to see wages brought down—labour must, especially now it is so much better housed, give a fuller return for the wages it draws. The industry must be treated as a national

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enterprise, demanding the constant support of the Government, the local authorities, and the public. Shareholders must take to heart the advice which Mr. Baldwin gave to Lancashire. Capital which is lost cannot be regained by regarding the figures printed on share certificates as sacrosanct, though shareholders betray an invincible reluctance to recognize it, and some of the practices associated with the system of managing agents must go. Given these premisses, I am no pessimist in regard to the Bombay industry; nothing was more heartening on my recent visit than to remark the energy and courage with which some of our millowners were adapting themselves and their industry to the changed conditions.

No; when I look abroad my thoughts of Bombay are not greatly concerned with its material future; that is assured. We seem to have lost something of the spacious political days of Pherozeshah Mehta and Gokhale and Ranade; there is a note of acrimony in our politics somewhat foreign to the days when Bombay was the political lighthouse of India, towards which all turned in time of difficulty. How far this is induced by experiments in currency I will not this afternoon attempt to determine. But let me make one matter clear. Behind this political veil the heart of Bombay beats as warmly and generously, and it is as rich in friendship between all communities as ever, as none has more reason to know than myself.

Bombay Materialism

What does rather depress me is a note of materialism in our daily life. We miss the intellectual stimulus of men like Campbell, Enthoven, and Edwardes; of Ranade, Bhandarkar, Jackson, and Chandavarkar, and the robust Victorianism of Pherozeshah Mehta. We are in a little danger, I sometimes think, of the stage visioned by the cynic who said that no seaport can have a soul. Although times are hard, it is difficult to find signs of real economy, and the scale of expenditure on the racecourse and in the clubs is

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not a good thing. Although one can motor from Malabar Hill to the Fort in fifteen minutes, and Juhu sands on a Sunday are reminiscent of Hampstead Heath, when I see the change the motor has made in the scale of expenditure, I wonder whether the car is a blessing or a curse.

Gone are the days when I was young, and we were not only content with a salary of Rs. 300 a month, but had an uncommonly good time on it. True, the cost of living has vastly increased, but then people want so much more. They insistently demand a car where we were content with a bicycle or a ticca gharry and thought it a bit of an extravagance to launch out in a country-bred tat, or a three-hundred-rupee Arab. Looking on these things, it seems to me that the greatest service the leaders of opinion can render to Bombay is to set the ginger-beer standard from the highest to the lowest, and to illuminate the materialism of the hour by a revival of the culture which was vivid in my early days. As I say this, I can almost hear our young folk saying, in the words of the Slav in Kipling's story—"Get away, you old people." The times have changed; new men are wanted to deal with them; but I often think regretfully of the simple, happy days we had.

Bombay of the Future

Mr. Chairman, I have no fears of the future of Bombay. It is a magnificent city. Even after more than thirty years I can never drive unmoved from the Apollo Bunder to Malabar Hill on a moonlight night, when the very houses seem asleep and all that mighty heart is lying still. It is going to be more magnificent still, as all may see who will wander in its bazaars and try and visualize the tremendous change which will be wrought when the Back Bay Reclamation is completed, and the remaining slums are razed to the ground. It is more alive than ever, and I wish I could take my audience to the wonderful curative centre which, on the grounds of Old Government House at Parel, has raised one of the noblest groups of hospitals in the world

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round the nucleus of the memorial to King Edward. Nothing can impair the security of its geographical position. Nothing seems to weaken the currents which course through its generous heart, and we have a new generation of business men growing up to carry on the tradition of Jamsetji Tata, Dinsha Petit, and Nusserwanji Wadia.

I thought when, stricken almost unto death, I looked over the stern of the outgoing mail steamer five years ago, that I was taking my last sight of Bombay. I have seen its splendid panorama unfold every year since, and it will tear my heart from its roots when I see it for the last time. For we who come from Bombay are citizens of no mean city, richest of all in its kindness, its generosity, and its friendship.

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DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Monday, June 18, 1928, at which a paper was read by Sir Stanley Reed, K.B.E., LL.D., on "Bombay To-day and To-morrow." Major-General Sir Frederick Sykes, G.B.E., K.C.B., C.M.G. (Governor-designate of Bombay), was in the chair; and the following amongst others were present:

The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., and Lady Lamington, Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir Benjamin Robertson, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., C.I.E., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggree, K.C.I.E., Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., and Lady Walker, Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., and Lady Chatterton, Sir Montagu Webb, C.I.E., C.B.E., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Thomas and Lady Strangman, Sir Duncan J. Macpherson, C.I.E., Sir Thomas Smith, Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir Amberson and Lady Marten, Sir Rustom Jehangir Vakil, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Daniel Keymer, O.B.E., and Mr. Kenneth Keymer, Sir Evan Cotton, Lieut.-Colonel S. B. Patterson, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mr. P. R. Cadell, C.S.I., C.I.E., and Mrs. Cadell, Lady Tata, Lady Reed, Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. W. Coldstream, K.-i-H., Mr. Surendra Nath Mallik, C.I.E., the Hon. Mr. Justice C. P. Blackwell and Mrs. Blackwell, Professor L. F. Rushbrook Williams, C.B.E., Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. Shantidas Askuran Shah, Mr. F. W. Brownrigg, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. F. A. T. Phillips, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mr. L. L. Sundara Ram, Mr. Syed A. Rafique, Mr. J. Sladen, Colonel D. Warliker, Mrs. Dewar, Miss E. L. Curteis, Mr. S. K. Engineer, Mr. N. K. Agarwala, Mr. and Mrs. H. E. Holme, Mr. S. D. Pears, Colonel and Mrs. G. V. Holmes, Mr. B. W. Perkins, Mr. H. L. Varma, Mr. A. Sabonadiere, Mrs. Martley, Mrs. Herron, Mr. C. P. Caspersz, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mrs. Nolan, Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai, Mr. Manorama Sheth, Mr. L. Lulbhai, Mr. M. D. Shah, Mr. N. J. Yusuf, Mr. A. J. Yusuf, Mr. H. Royal, Mr. J. Royal, Mr. S. A. Strip, Mr. Stubbs, Rev. Dr. H. W. Stanton, Mrs. Hartley Perks, Mrs. J. R. Reid, Mrs. and Miss Barnes, Miss Loxtor, Mr. S. S. Muhamedi, Mr. R. A. Bartholomew, Mr. Holford Knight, Dr. S. A. Kapadia, Miss Lorimer, Mr. H. J. Bhabha, Commissioner F. Booth Tucker, Miss Ashworth, Major and Mrs. W. J. Kendall, Mrs. Brisley, Mrs. Drake, Miss Colborne, Miss Lucas, Mrs. Atkins, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

Lord LAMINGTON: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I propose to present to you, and not introduce to you, Sir Frederick Sykes, because I am sure he needs no introduction. He is well known to you as one-time head of civil aviation, and he has kindly consented to occupy the chair this afternoon in the absence of H.H. the Aga Khan. I am sure I envy him

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very much, not because he is going to occupy the Chair, but because of the fact that he is going to Bombay. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: I will not stand between you and the lecturer, so I will at once ask him to speak upon this great subject of "Bombay To-day and To-morrow."

The lecturer read his paper.

The following letter from H.H. the Aga Khan was read by the Hon. Secretary:

"I had every hope, notwithstanding my recent serious illness, that I should be able to fulfil the engagement previously made to preside at the lecture by Sir Stanley Reed on 'Bombay To-day and To-morrow.' I left London when convalescent with the full intention of returning to take the Chair, but my doctors have interdicted the journey, and I must bow to their decision. It would have been a great pleasure to have presided at this lecture by one of the most distinguished of the citizens of Bombay on the past, present, and future of a city where my family and I have had our home during the last seventy-five years. Sir Stanley Reed will have given a brilliant description of the Bombay of to-day and a prospect of the great future that lies before it. I have no doubt that as a beautiful city built on the sea it will hold its own for all time with Naples, Rio de Janeiro, Sydney, and Melbourne, the only other cities I know which can claim comparison with what Kipling has so rightly described as 'The Queen of All.'

"I have had the advantage of perusing a proof of the paper, and I regret that I am not able to agree entirely with the optimistic expressions of my friend Sir Stanley Reed regarding the economic future of Bombay. I see little or no hope for the mill industry unless the Imperial Government, with the support of public opinion throughout India, recognizes the necessity to adopt definitely protective measures for a few years, so that the industry may be readjusted to the changing conditions of the time. (Cheers.) No doubt the further opening up of the agricultural resources of the great hinterland served by the port will go far to maintain the business of the city. The immense docks and maritime works to which Sir Stanley has referred will ensure its continued and increasing importance as a great port. But when all is said, the cotton mills cannot be replaced as the staple industry of the 'Town and Island.'

"Many valuable subsidiary measures can be taken. Much can be done, especially during the winter months, to develop luxury trades, and to draw to Bombay fairly well-to-do people from the interior. We have in India only the cities of Bombay and Calcutta to play, on a more limited scale, the rôle that London, Paris, and Rome play in Europe. The provision of furnished flats, of a satisfactory taxicab system, good theatres and cinemas, new clubs of the Willingdon Club type, racing, polo, and sports generally, also fêtes such as those which were so successfully organized by Lord Willingdon and Lord Lloyd, and only last year by our deservedly popular Governor, Sir Leslie Wilson, will go a long way to encourage development. The tourists who visit India in increasing numbers in the cold weather will do much to develop the luxury trades beyond anything that has so far been realized; but in this matter also we

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depend on our agricultural hinterland and the surrounding country for a steady and constant demand from visitors. While the foreign tourist trade must inevitably increase in importance, it can never play so large a part in a city with the climatic drawbacks of Bombay during the greater part of the year as in such centres as Cairo or Rome.

"Cheap electricity may go a long way to meet some of the economic difficulties of Bombay, but the present prices cannot be regarded as cheap in comparison with the cost of the supply of electric current in more fully developed countries.

"In recent years there has been a marked tendency for development northwards of Bombay, and this is likely to be a prominent feature of the progress of the 'Town and Island' in future. It may well in the end have a greater influence on the prosperity and progress of our city than the Back Bay Development Scheme, even on the assumption that the full programme of the latter is carried out.

"At every point, however, the consideration I mentioned at the outset of this letter crops up. If the capital, energy, and enterprise sunk in the mill industry is crippled, I see no great future for the developments, whether seawards or landwards, which are taking place, nor do I see anything to replace the mills as the backbone of Bombay prosperity. I can advocate their cause with detachment, for I have never put a penny into the mill industry and I own no mill shares. I sold the four or five small holdings of these shares I inherited when I came of age. The question is not to be regarded only as one of local importance. It is not for Bombay alone, but for the whole of India, to see to it that what has been for two generations at least the prime industry of the second city of the British Empire should not be maimed by a blow from which it can and should be protected." (Cheers.)

Sir Amberson Marten, in opening the discussion, said in the first place, on behalf of the citizens of Bombay, he would like to extend a very hearty welcome to their Chairman, the Governor-designate of Bombay, and to express the keen pleasure that it gave them all that he had been able to come there to preside at that meeting. Those who were at the Bombay dinner a few days before would remember that they were tantalized by Mr. Haig Brown's statement that he had hoped the Governor-designate would have been at the dinner; but the appointment had not been announced, and he did not even know the name of the Governor-designate. But that afternoon they were very fortunate in getting their Governor-designate in person.

With regard to the address which they had listened to, he would like to say that they were most fortunate in having Sir Stanley Reed to speak on the subject. Nobody knew more of present-day Bombay, nobody was a greater lover of Bombay, than Sir Stanley Reed, and, therefore, he was sure that all Bombay men were extremely pleased to know that it was Sir Stanley Reed who was to speak to them that afternoon.

He would like to touch on one or two points in the address. He was satisfied that in Bombay they had to think large, and must not be frightened by big schemes; they must not be frightened by what Sir

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Stanley described, and very truly described, as the depression through which they were now passing. They must think of Bombay from two aspects: one, the place, and, secondly, the people of Bombay. As far as Bombay itself was concerned, he appreciated to the full the vision which Sir Stanley had brought to them of a future Bombay where they could have a glorious sea-front for miles with cafés and other enjoyments. Speaking of the depression, it was natural that those of them now living in Bombay were bothered by temporary drawbacks such as the noisy dredger which works in Back Bay at night. Fortunately he was on the other side of the hill, so that he could only hear it with great difficulty. So, too, in the High Court they had at times much hammering on the pipes from the dredger. He did not quite know how many men were hammering at the same time, but he had had many complaints of the trouble which the noise caused in some of the Courts, although the hammering was some 700 or 800 yards away. They also knew the depressing effect the Back Bay scheme had on the finances of Bombay and the unfortunate answer it provided to a large number of legitimate demands for Government financial aid in other matters. But he would like to think that they were only suffering for a great future. And it might be said that in order for Bombay to be beautiful, or rather more beautiful, it was necessary for those who were living at present in Bombay to suffer.

There was a matter with which Sir Stanley had not dealt and which he personally was particularly fond of—that was the harbour. He had a vision in days to come of the development of their glorious harbour for more yachting, and with steamers for the people across the harbour, up the harbour, and down the harbour to the numerous beauty spots or future towns. He was sure that yachtsmen would bear him out that they had in the cold weather as fine a place for yachting as they would find in any part of the world, and they could rely upon having good weather—and the sun.

Passing from the place to the people, he thought perhaps the principal characteristic of Bombay was its cosmopolitan nature. They had representatives of almost every race in India working together, they had all creeds, and almost all nationalities. It was a great pleasure to see the way that they all shook down together in Bombay, both in their work and in their play. His own view was that, so long as they could keep that spirit in Bombay, all would be well; and they need not be frightened of big schemes even when some of them did not go altogether right. Sir Stanley would bear him out in the fact that the Willingdon Club, which Sir Stanley had helped to found, had undoubtedly been a great asset in Bombay, as both Europeans and Indians could come together there for sport and also socially. Similarly there were other institutions in Bombay which Sir Stanley had materially assisted. Speaking for himself, he desired to lay the greatest possible stress on the fact that they must all go hand-in-hand for the future of Bombay. For instance, on the Willingdon Club Committee, composed as it was of European and Indian gentlemen, they had not had a single disagreement on any point during the eight or nine years which Sir Stanley and he had been associated with it. So, too, as

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regards the High Courts of India. They were a good example of how Indians and Englishmen and Englishmen and Indians could work together. Their Division Benches, with two Judges sitting together, he believed could show a larger proportion of agreed judgments than would be the case with similar Benches in England. It was very rarely that such Benches in Bombay differed.

In conclusion, he desired to thank Sir Stanley Reed for his speech, and he hoped that those present would agree with the optimism Sir Stanley had expressed as regards the financial side of Bombay rather than with what His Highness the Aga Khan, a great lover of Bombay, had expressed in his letter. Perhaps His Highness's comparative pessimism could be traced to the illness which he had unfortunately had, which they were all very glad to hear he was recovering from, and he hoped he would return to Bombay fully recovered. (Applause.)

Sir THOMAS STRANGMAN said that Sir Stanley Reed as editor of the *Times of India* and afterwards as a very live director of the Bombay Tramway Company, had had unexampled opportunities of becoming acquainted with Bombay, its peoples, and its problems. From the extremely able and lucid address that he had given, it was obvious that he had taken the very fullest advantage of those opportunities.

It was a singularly happy idea on the part of the Committee on the occasion of that address to secure as Chairman Sir Frederick Sykes, who was about to assume the position of Governor of Bombay. All who had been associated with Bombay—and looking round the room he saw a great many like himself who had spent a very large part of their lives there—wished their Chairman God-speed in his new venture; their wishes were the more sincere in that they realized that so far as the Presidency town was concerned, the conditions were far from propitious. He entirely agreed with both the last speakers that the importance of Back Bay was liable to be exaggerated. But there was something very much more important than the legacy of Back Bay, and that was the continued depression in the cotton trade. The prosperity of Bombay entirely depended upon the prosperity of the cotton trade; a depression in the cotton trade meant a depression throughout. The Prime Minister in Manchester the other day had delivered an exceedingly thoughtful and helpful speech: practically everything he had said in regard to Lancashire applied to the mill industry in Bombay. He was very sorry to say that when he went out to India last cold weather he did not find that spirit of confidence which had been referred to by Sir Stanley Reed; on the other hand, a well-known mill agent had summed up the position to him in this way: he had said it was a case of faith, hope and charity; for the last six years they had been living on faith; this year they were living on hope, and who knew but what next year they might not be living on charity. (Laughter.) However, it was a long lane that had no turning, and the best wish he could think of was that the turning might be attained at a very early stage in their Chairman's Governorship of Bombay. (Hear, hear.)

The Chairman, no doubt, had heard during the last few weeks of the

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proud claim of Bombay to the *Urbs prima in Indis*. Those who had been associated with Bombay had no doubt whatever as to the justice of that claim; there were two respects, however, in which Bombay was not only *prima in Indis* but *prima* throughout the Empire, neither of which had been referred to that afternoon. One was the landing arrangements at the Ballard Pier, and the other was the racecourse. With regard to the landing arrangements in Bombay, as the ocean passenger neared the city he was allotted a distinctive number; he was also presented with a Customs declaration form, which told him exactly what was dutiable and exactly what concessions the Customs were prepared to allow; there was no uncertainty whatever about these things. To take a specific instance, with regard to tobacco, the passenger was told that he might take in one pound free, or 100 cigarettes free, or 100 cigars free. That was a very great advance over this country, where the amount that could be taken in free appeared to vary from port to port and from day to day. If the passenger were travelling by the mail steamer his ship would in the ordinary course tie up at 6 a.m. No matter how crowded the ship might be, by 8.30 a.m. or thereabouts all the baggage, both cabin and hold, would be transferred into a spacious Customs shed on the Mole, and not merely transferred into the shed but sorted accordingly to the allotted numbers. The passenger had merely to step ashore, collect his Customs declaration form, pay what duty might be payable, pay some small dues to the Port Trust, and take delivery of his baggage. By 9.30 a.m., with reasonable luck, he could be in his residence or hotel. He ventured to think that every ocean-port authority in this country would obtain the very greatest advantage by sending an official to Bombay in order to learn how passengers and baggage should be handled. (Applause.)

Then in regard to the racecourse, that at Bombay had been constructed in a most unpropitious place, certain dirty mud flats as he remembered them thirty years ago. The flats had been filled in, and when you go there now you could never believe they had existed. The course itself and the stands had both been designed by experts, and he had been told that the grandstand was larger than any in this country. In front of the stands were vast lawns, and behind them again were vast lawns and pleasantly laid out pleasure grounds. Spaciousness, convenience, and beauty were the prevailing features. Every visitor could enjoy the races in the greatest comfort and at a most moderate cost. When one compared the conditions there with the discomfort and expense attendant upon a visit to an English racecourse one marvelled, first of all, at the long-suffering nature of the people of this country, and secondly, why it was that the racing authorities in England had not taken a cue from the other side of the Indian Ocean. All the advantages to which he had referred were due to the totalisator.

He did not know how their Chairman had voted, or indeed whether he had voted in the House of Commons on the Bill which was now in committee, nor did he know what the Chairman's views now were regarding the totalisator; of this he was confident, that when the Chairman returned from Bombay he would be an enthusiastic supporter of the totalisator: firstly, because it encouraged racing, and gave the people who attended

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the races a good time; and secondly—and this was perhaps a point that would interest their Chairman most—because it was an exceedingly valuable aid to the Exchequer.

Mr. SHANTIDAS ASKURAN SHAH said they were fortunate in having as their lecturer to-day a gentleman of high accomplishments who had played a most influential part in the development of the life of Bombay in the last quarter of a century. He wished to speak only on one matter dealt with in the paper, and he did so as a business man having close links with the cotton textile industry. He entirely agreed with Sir Stanley that the attitude of the Government of India towards that industry has been step-motherly. Take, for instance, the excise duty. Though condemned from its imposition in the early nineties by all shades of Indian opinion, it was maintained for more than thirty years, and much longer than seemed to him to have been consistent with the pledge of Lord Hardinge's Government during the War that it should be abolished immediately financial conditions permitted.

Again, they in Bombay were keenly disappointed that the Government took such inadequate action on the report of the Textile Tariff Board in face of the grave injury the industry was suffering and still suffered from Japanese competition. The reluctance of Government to grasp this particular nettle has led people in Bombay to ask whether there is some undisclosed understanding between Whitehall and Tokyo which stands in the way of State action to conserve one of the greatest of manufacturing industries in Indian hands and maintained by Indian capital. The most-favoured nation treaty provisions could not be pleaded, for fiscal arrangements made within the Empire were outside their scope. In response to strong protests the Government amplified their first meagre proposals to the extent of imposing a graduated import duty on yarn. What they now needed was strong protective measures by the Government.

Without State assistance in one form or another, how could Japanese millowners buy their raw material in India, pay freight and insurance charges to and from Japan, and yet undersell local cloth in the Bombay market? They know that one form of support has been the dilatory tactics of Japan on the question of ratifying the Washington Conventions of 1919 on the hours of labour and the employment of women at night. She, like India, was a signatory, but had allowed years to go by, pending the fuller development of the industry, before ratification, whereas effect was given to the Conventions by the Bombay millowners even before the prompt amendment of the Factory Act by the Legislature in India. To add to their troubles a strike in the Bombay mills (without justification arising from any conditions of employment) had gone on for more than two months. He hoped that this would be no more than an unhappy memory when their distinguished Chairman went out to Bombay in November to succeed their popular Governor, Sir Leslie Wilson. But the greatest of Bombay problems, the revival of the prosperity of its premier industry, must be faced without delay, otherwise there would be grave risk of the collapse of a very considerable proportion of the mills of the town and island of Bombay.

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Mr. CADELL said his only excuse for adding anything to the praise which had been justly accorded to Sir Stanley Reed's speech was that he had been fortunate enough to be both chairman of the Port Trust and Municipal Commissioner of Bombay. Sir Stanley Reed had done full justice to the work of the Port Trust, at least as personified by that great man Sir Walter Hughes; but perhaps a little more mention might have been made of the work of the Municipality, and would doubtless have been made if Sir Stanley had had unlimited time. Bombay would not have reached its stage of development if it had not had a comparatively effective municipal administration. The success of that administration was largely due to the delicately poised framework devised by that great citizen whom Sir Stanley Reed had mentioned, Sir Pherozshah Mehta, and also to a very distinguished civilian, Sir Charles Ollivant. The future prosperity of Bombay must depend very largely on the continued efficiency of the large public bodies, and particularly of the Port Trust and of the Municipality.

The cheerful optimism that permeated Sir Stanley Reed's paper was largely based on a correct estimate, as the speaker believed, of the ultimate benefit of the development schemes. Many of the difficulties of the schemes arise from the fact that they were, if not mutually antagonistic, at least difficult of simultaneous execution. Bombay had often been compared with New York. It was like New York as regards its physical configuration, but it was unlike New York and every other great city in that much of its population of all classes and most of its clubs and important educational institutions were situated either in or very close to the business centre of the city. People living there were very unwilling to move themselves or their schools or clubs, or even to go outside for purposes of recreation. There must be a certain change of heart and habit if the advantages of the Bombay developments were to be fully realized.

As regards the gloomy views expressed in respect of the Bombay mill industry, perhaps a shred of comfort could be derived from the fact that that industry had always been in difficulties even when prosperous. One of the speaker's earliest recollections of Bombay was the application to that industry by a distinguished Bombay citizen of the line of Shakespeare, "This is a bloody business." (Laughter.) Yet the industry had survived, and many fortunes had been made from it. Here again lack of efficiency, whether of management or of labour, was a far greater danger than foreign competition.

The best ground, however, for sharing Sir Stanley's optimism was the manner in which Bombay's citizens have held together from the days of Sir Gerald Aungier to those of Sir Leslie Wilson, and, it may be hoped, of Sir Frederick Sykes.

Sir STANLEY REED: Everyone has been so kind that I have only a few sentences to say. One of them is that you will gather from Sir Thomas Strangman's eulogy of the magnificence of the racecourse that I was not entirely inaccurate when I said I did not see much sign of serious, unbending economy in Bombay. Mr. Cadell was perfectly correct in saying that I should have paid tribute to the work of the Municipality.

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That has never been carried on with greater vigour and success than in recent times, nor with greater benefit to all classes in the city. But when I sent the first part of my paper to the Honorary Secretary he reminded me that there was a time limit, otherwise I should have sought to do justice to the great work of the Municipal Corporation. Some have expressed the thought that I take too optimistic a view of the future of the city. I base that optimism not only on its geographical position and established industries, but on the unconquerable energy of its people. I believe we have the most virile and progressive community in India. We still have lean times ahead of us in the mill industry, and the tide of depression will not turn to-day or to-morrow. Nor will relief come from protection alone, because the mofussil industry is a severe competitor with Bombay. The flow will set in when the industry is reorganized, a work to which the millowners have set their hands ; but I hold strongly that the industry is entitled as a minimum to protection equivalent to the advantage obtained by the competitor which has not implemented the Washington Convention. Apropos of Sir Thomas Strangman's praise of the racecourse, may I say one thing? It is that the highest service anybody can render to Bombay, in whatsoever position he may be, is to set the ginger-beer instead of the champagne standard in our administration and public and social life. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN: I feel sure that I represent you all when I express our sincere regret that His Highness the Aga Khan is not able to preside here to-day, and our even greater regret at the cause of his absence. I know you will desire our Honorary Secretary to send him a message, on behalf of those present, expressing our sympathy and every best wish for his speedy and full recovery to health. Personally, much as I should have liked to attend this meeting under his chairmanship, I must confess that, as that was not possible, I am very grateful for the opportunity of presiding here to-day, and of meeting some of those whose interests I am to be allowed to share.

I should like to thank Sir Amberson Marten and Sir Thomas Strangman and others who spoke so kindly about me for the words they have used and for the way you have received them. Your President, Lord Lamington, this year celebrates, if that is the right term, his twenty-first year as a retired Governor of Bombay, and, as one who is to be privileged to follow him, I regard it as a very happy omen that, as a humble subaltern, I had my first view of that great gateway of India in the year that he became Governor of the Bombay Presidency. As we know, his interest in India and Bombay has not abated by one jot or tittle, and I can only hope that if I am here in twenty-six years' time that I shall be as full of enthusiasm for Bombay then as I anticipate I shall be in the near future. Your President's Governorship brings me to refer also to our addressor (not our lecturer), for Sir Stanley Reed, then a rising, if youthful, journalist, was amongst those who met Lord Lamington when he arrived at Bombay all those years ago. I do not think my youthful entry into Bombay is noted in the annals of that city, but I, at all events, have the consolation of knowing that it led me to some of the most strenuous and interesting years

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of my life—years when I began to realize the vastness and fascination of India, and when I was encouraged and helped by the many friendships I received, amongst them being that of your Chairman of Council, Sir Louis Dane. It was there too, perhaps, that my thoughts towards speedier communications between home and India were moulded; towards securing not only a facilitated interchange of commodities, but a facilitated, and therefore a greater, interchange of visits between these two great units of our Empire, and towards a facilitated interchange of thought, sympathy, and understanding. In 1910 I returned to England, and took a part in developing the—shall I say?—stick and string or stick and wire air contraption in which men were then beginning to take the air, and which now promise to be the forerunners of the instruments of that speedy communication. I have, therefore, every reason to look forward to seeing Bombay and India again and trying to help in their future problems.

Sir Stanley Reed has told us of the wonders of Bombay to-day, of the immense changes in the past few years, and the furious pace at which change is taking place. He has also, being a very experienced and, as we know, a bold man, told us from his intimate knowledge his views of the Bombay of to-morrow. He has certainly fascinated us with his visions of the future, based upon the unique geographical position which he has so clearly described, and perhaps, as he has said, even more upon the great men who have had the vision and spent their energies in building up that magnificent city. I think we must inevitably agree with him when he says that if these basic advantages, the geographical and the human, both continue as they have in the past there can certainly be no fears for the future of Bombay.

Finally, I would add that there is one feature of life in India as I knew it twenty-five years ago, and as I look forward to experiencing it again in the next few years, which cannot well be developed because it is already inherent, it is the rich endowment of India with kindness, generosity, and friendship. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

Lord LAMINGTON proposed a vote of thanks to the lecturer and the Chairman, which was carried with acclamation.

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EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

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1925

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1926

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"The Lay Work of Missionary Societies in India," by the Rev. C. E. Wilson, B.A. Chairman: Sir Frank Dyson, F.R.S., Astronomer-Royal.

"Some Points of Difference in the Criminal Law of England and India," by F. G. Butler, I.C.S. Chairman: Sir Francis Oldfield.

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1927

"Indian Forest Administration," by W. F. Perrée, C.I.E. Chairman: Sir Robert Warrand Carlyle, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

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"Western Influence on Bengal Life," by Surendra Nath Mallik, C.I.E. (Member of the Council of India). Chairman: Sir William H. Vincent, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.

"The Exploration of the Himalaya," by Lieut.-Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E. Chairman: Colonel Charles H. D. Ryder, C.B., C.I.E., D.S.O.

"The Indian Navy," by P. R. Cadell, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S. (retd.). Chairman: Vice-Admiral Sir Herbert W. Richmond, K.C.B.

"Dyarchy in Indian Provinces in Theory and Practice," by Sachchidananda Sinha (late Finance Member, Executive Council, Bihar and Orissa). Chairman: Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I.

Resumed Discussion on foregoing Paper. Chairman: Sir Patrick J. Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

"Political Views of Orthodox Hindus," by Pandit Shyam Shankar, M.A. Chairman: The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E.

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THE OBJECTS AND POLICY

OF THE

EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE object of the East India Association is to promote, by all legitimate means, the public interests and welfare of the inhabitants of India generally. To attain this object the Council earnestly invite the co-operation of all those who, by their position, influence, knowledge of India or administrative experience, are able to render effective assistance, and without whose active and liberal support the work of the Association cannot be adequately accomplished.

The Association specially appeals to the Ruling Princes of India, and to all classes of influential and educated Indians. It values the co-operation of the commercial and non-official community in India—British and Indian—and of retired and present members of the Government Services, civil and military, who have consistently laboured to advance the best interests of the people, and have helped to consolidate, maintain, and defend the Indian Empire.

The East India Association is essentially non-official in character, avoiding any connection with English party politics, and welcoming as members all those who are interested in the welfare and progress of India, whatever their political opinions. Its policy on Indian questions is progressive, while maintaining a due regard for the conservative traditions of the Indian Empire. It desires to encourage all wise and well-considered projects of reform, but at the same time to protect the people of India from rash and hasty experiments opposed to the customs of the country. It endeavours to regard all questions of political, administrative and social progress from the point of view of the interests of the inhabitants of India, whose wishes, sentiments and prejudices should be respected, and whose legitimate aspirations should be sympathetically upheld.

The objects and policy of the Association are promoted—(1) by providing opportunities for the free public discussion, in a loyal and temperate spirit, of important questions affecting India; (2) by constituting a centre for the friendly meeting of Indians with Englishmen interested in India; (3) by lectures and the publication of papers or leaflets correcting erroneous or misleading statements about India and its administration; and (4), generally, by the promulgation of sound and trustworthy information regarding the many weighty problems which confront the Administrations in India, so that the public may be able to obtain in a cheap and popular form a correct knowledge of Indian affairs.

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FAR EAST

RECENT BOOKS ON THE FAR EAST

(Reviewed by Brigadier-General C. D. Bruce)

BEFORE inviting the consideration of readers to these books upon China and the Far East it may be advisable to emphasize their contents. The purpose of the author of the first of the three books reviewed has been primarily to explain the clash of Western with Eastern civilization, also to outline the main difficulties which have hitherto prevented any fusion of the two. The authors of the second and third books reviewed have set themselves to give, and have given, life-like presentations of the state of China today, but from two entirely different points of view.

Before endeavouring to follow these explanations and presentations there is one question it is essential we should ask ourselves, and it is this: Are we clear in our own minds not what we mean by "Civilization," "Imperialism," or "Nationalism," but what interpretation is given to these three terms by Chinese minds? It may be correct to urge that no definite implication can be expected from the millions of Chinese minds, for the most part wholly illiterate, who are being taught to think in these terms. But until the difference between their interpretation and ours is clearly grasped we are not in a position to pronounce judgment between the two.

To discuss at length the conventional meanings of these three terms is here out of the question. Taking for example only the first, "civilization" can be thought of in as many forms as there are standards of "advanced" and "backward" peoples and races. We in the West might define it as the coming of democracy, of universal suffrage, of parliamentary government, of industrialism, railways, motor-cars, aeroplanes, telephones, and electric power. To the vast majority of Chinese such things in no way imply civilization. They are still only very dim realities. To their minds they have enjoyed for 3,000 years and more a civilization second to none, nor do the masses desire any other. To those who may have heard of "Imperialism" it merely represents the economic exploitation and penetration of their country by outsiders whom they call foreigners—with a suffix. These latter have forced trade upon them against their will, exacted treaties from them derogatory to their self-respect, and have placed them in the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water for the sole benefit of the self-same foreigner—with a suffix.

"Nationalism" as interpreted by the Kuomintang is the reaction of China—indeed of all Asia—to what they call Western "domination." Real "Nationalism" has yet to be evolved, and will be granted favourable conditions.

That these interpretations of the Chinese mind are merely broad generalities is all that the reviewer claims. But without some such

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standard no reader unacquainted with China and its millions can begin to grasp their mentality. It may be that the "vociferous minority" in power will continue to lead and misrepresent the at present inarticulate millions in their resistance to Western "Civilization." So much the worse for China; for in its highest form Western civilization, diluted to suit Chinese requirements, can give China what she so badly needs and is groping after so blindly. Strange as it may appear, for many are themselves Western educated, it is this minority and the "Militarists" who are preventing any re-orientation of the situation between Great Britain and the "Chinese People."

China and Foreign Powers: An Historical Review of their Relations. By Sir Frederick Whyte, K.C.S.S. Second and revised edition. (*Oxford University Press.*) 3s. 6d. net.

To what are known as "old China Hands," reared, mentally, upon the leisurely pages of Wells Williams, Alexander Michie, or H. B. Morse, Sir Frederick Whyte's "Historical Review" may savour somewhat of knowledge in tabloid form. It might, by them, be considered almost as a desecration of ancestral tombs. Yet it speaks a language the most ignorant student of things Chinese can understand, provided, that is to say, he is prepared to do some serious thinking in the perusal of its ninety-odd pages.

The actual review consists of only forty pages, and into this brief résumé are packed over one hundred years of China's relations with Foreign Powers. It is no exaggeration to say that this record is one of the most extraordinary in the history of any nation or people, so far as concerns the kaleidoscopic changes which have occurred in these foreign relations. Consider for one moment the state of China, her practical isolation from the rest of the world, and the hatred of foreign interference in the reign of the Emperor Chien Lung. In the light of future relations it would be unwise to forget that the old spirit is still there. As it appears in the Mandate of the Emperor Chien Lung (Appendix I.), so this spirit remained up to the Nanking incident of March, 1927, and must still be reckoned with. In this intense craving to be left alone to live their own national life lies the key to much of the present misunderstanding in China. It is fundamental in Chinese character, though more often than not it lies dormant.

For the purpose of his narrative Sir Frederick Whyte divides his "China and Foreign Powers" into four main periods, though whether the years selected best suit the purpose may be open to argument. As the author allows, these periods are arbitrary and overlap. Would, for example, the Chinese consider that "The Period of European Aggression" commenced only in 1873? Again, is not the fall of the Manchu Dynasty with the disappearance of the rule of semi-divine Emperors in 1911-12 one of the most momentous periods in the 4,000 odd years of China's history? Does it not mark the start of an entirely novel period?

Of the four arbitrary divisions, that described as "The Period of

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Chinese Revolt"—presumably against Western encroachment—is naturally the one most readers will turn to for enlightenment upon present-day affairs. Nor will they be disappointed, for to those who have neither the inclination nor the time for detailed research the fourth period is a storehouse of well-arranged facts. It is, too, a record upon which great care and much skill in compression must have been spent.

Though attention is specially called to Period IV., there is a great deal that should be carefully read and assimilated in the earlier periods by anyone not familiar with the past history of China's foreign relations. By now all the world is more or less familiar with the circumstances leading up to the first China War, the miscalled "Opium War"; also how and why the "Arrow War" was forced upon the British Government. These incidents are all links in the chain of circumstances which eventually, and against her will, opened up China to the rest of the world. They are also examples of the spirit which *au fond* still animates the race—*i.e.*, that there is some inherent superiority in them to the rest of the world.

The beginning of the third period deals briefly with the challenge by Japan of China's predominance in Korea. But the China-Japan War of 1894 was far more than that. It stands for the psychological moment when Japan's "Elder Statesmen" made up their minds to challenge China's national position in the Far East. It is easy today to be wise after the event. Up to 1894 the whole world had accepted China at her own valuation. A few, only a very few Europeans were aware how entirely false that valuation was.

In Period IV. (p. 10) we are told something of more modern events connected with Russian diplomatic action in Manchuria. To those who took part in the suppression of the Boxer Rising of 1900, and who during those fateful years watched on the spot the play and counter-play of Russian and Japanese moves on the Manchurian chessboard, the coming struggle was already clearly indicated. Already the shadow of the Russo-Japanese War loomed large. Although since then the pieces have been rearranged, for Russia has exchanged extreme autocracy for ultra-extreme democracy, to make use of a somewhat mild term, the play continues. Manchuria may be the rock upon which the future peace of the Far East is shattered. Recent events there forecast a fresh triangular struggle on the part of the three chief protagonists, the rightful owners of the soil, and the two claimants to its exploitation. For Japan at the present time (April 15) the Manchurian question is a supremely embarrassing one. The "Nationalist" advance upon Peking directed against Chang Tso-lin may force Japan to interfere in North China, or at least to make momentous decisions which her leading statesmen would prefer at almost any price to postpone.

Reference is then made to the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and to Japan's action in the early portion of the Great War. In his comments upon the former, Sir Frederick gives a clear summary of the pros and cons of the Alliance. Of how deeply the abrogation, at the behest of the United States—as Japanese consider it—hurt Japanese national feeling, or of the overwhelming loss of face to Japan over

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America's treatment of the Japanese immigration question, little mention is made. It is as well to remember that both happenings are irrevocably inscribed upon Japanese mental tablets, and must be reckoned with in any judicial summing up of peace prospects in the Pacific.

Sir Frederick Whyte's reflections upon China's behaviour at and after the signing of the Treaty of Versailles are entirely correct, even if sufficient emphasis be not laid upon the bitter blow to China's *amour propre*.

That the late President Wilson failed to act up to his avowed principles upon that occasion, and that he misled the Chinese representatives, is today a matter of history.

In Chinese eyes, once more, the West had wittingly deceived them.

The Washington Conference of 1921 is fully dealt with (pp. 23 *et seq.*), and (p. 28) Sir Frederick Whyte records his approval of the results of the (pp. 27 and 28) "Four" and "Nine Power Treaties." With reference to the Report on the subject of extra-territoriality (p. 28) signed at Peking in September, 1926, by thirteen Powers, he adds: "This Report represents the first constructive step taken collectively by the Powers and, though it cannot come into full operation for an indefinite time, it is none the less a feature as novel in their behaviour as it is important." Unfortunately, there is so far no sign whatever that the signatures of these thirteen Powers to a report drawn up by their accredited agents represents united action; and this is the only thing that counts.

Dealing with the Kuomintang and Dr. Sun Yat Sen's position after failing "to secure any encouragement for the Cantonese movement from Britain and America," the author refers to the entrance of the Communist section into the Kuo Min Tang Party. Without Russian "Staff" work it is safe to say the "Nationalist" advance from Canton could never have taken place. During its progress to the Yangtze and down that great waterway to Nanking the "Nationalist" party exposed to the world its worst side. It left in its wake a destructive record hardly equalled in modern times. It has so far shown no glimmer of constructive statesmanship, though by the Powers it has been given every possible chance. With Peking in its hands (June) a further chance has been given it; yet the Nationalist Party, the Kuomintang, is represented by three jarring factions—Feng Yu-'hsiang, the Russian nominee; the Shansi Tuchung; and in the background, Kiang Kai-shek.

The brutal and uncivilized behaviour displayed at Nanking has once again been repeated at Tsinanfu. No such party, even in China, can survive a like record and pretend to represent the nation as a modern government. Chiang Kai-shek, like many previous ephemeral military leaders, has been hailed as the saviour of his country. Others have played the leading rôle for a brief period, and having made vast fortunes at the hands of their miserable and inarticulate countrymen have disappeared even more suddenly than they arose. Chiang Kai-shek may be a man of entirely different ambition, a constructive military genius of the highest order. But military genius will never reunite China. True "Nationalism" alone can do that.

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In Sir Frederick Whyte's final résumé of "The Main Features of British Policy" (p. 36) we are briefly given the outlines of British Commercial Policy in China. Of this there can be no more honest, more definite or clearer statement than that made by Sir Austen Chamberlain in his speech at Birmingham in January, 1927. In Appendix VI. are to be found extracts which no student of Chinese affairs should fail to read. As the basis of British policy, together with the "Xmas Memorandum" of 1926, these principles will stand the test of the most unfriendly criticism.

Sir Frederick Whyte does well to end upon a note of healthy optimism. "Already committed," he writes (p. 40), "by the Nine Power Treaty to a constructive policy in China, she (Great Britain) is now doubly committed by her own act, in addressing the Treaty Powers last December, to the welcome responsibility of leading a new departure in the policy of the Foreign Powers in China." But is it possible to assume the rôle of leader when there are no followers?

WITHIN THE WALLS OF NANKING. By Alice Tisdale Hobart. (*Jonathan Cape.*) 6s. net.

This book of under two hundred pages is the work of an American lady. Mrs. Hobart gives us a plain unvarnished story of the experiences in China today of herself, her husband, and of other American business men. To readers unfamiliar with the British Official Report (China Papers relating to the Nanking incident of March 24 and 25, 1927) this story may appear almost incredible. Mrs. Hobart might have been retelling experiences of the massacres at Cawnpore during the Indian Mutiny.

That Mrs. Hobart is well equipped for the task she has set herself there will be little doubt in the minds of her readers. Nineteen years' residence in China at amongst other places Changsha—no semi-Occidental treaty port—a distinct pro-Chinese predilection before the terrible happenings at Nanking, a nodding acquaintanceship with Chinese official methods both civil and military, and last, but by no means least, from the point of view of obtaining information, an intimate knowledge of those wonderful purveyors of secret service the Chinese servant class, are no mean assets for the compiling of such a story as this.

The book is divided into two portions, the first fifty pages being a kind of introduction or prologue. In the book it is called a proem. Whatever exactly may be the function of this otherwise interesting prologue, it is not easy to understand its presence here, unless it be to offer a violent contrast between the "real," as simply told by Mrs. Hobart, and the "ideal," as set forth by Mrs. Ayscough. On page 9 the latter admits that "the summit on the Mountain of Perfected Civilization is still as remote, unassailed, and illusive as is the shining peak of Mount Everest." When the terrible pages so vividly depicted by Mrs. Hobart have been read and pondered, there will be time enough to discuss "Perfected Civilization" in the flowery periods of Chinese scholars (Shih). In the meantime to most readers the interest of this book will lie in the perusal of Mrs. Hobart's narrative of how "nationalism" advanced first from Canton to the

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Yangtze valley via Changsha, thence down river via Hankow, Kiukiang, and Wuhu to Nanking, leaving in its trail a story of human misery and cold-blooded atrocity not often paralleled in modern history.

THROUGH JADE GATE AND CENTRAL ASIA: AN ACCOUNT OF JOURNEYS IN KANSU, TURKESTAN, AND THE GOBI DESERT. By Mildred Cable and Francisca French. (*Constable.*) 10s. net.

In these days of acrimonious theological criticism—not, it might be added, always "higher" criticism—when ecclesiastical dignitaries as well as sober parish priests belabour one another in the columns of the daily Press, it is with relief that one turns to the outpouring of that simple faith which, we are told, can remove mountains. Such faith is surely the embodiment of all the most devoted mission work.

"Through Jade Gate and Central Asia" is a unique book in this twentieth century. It is the description of an almost incredible series of journeys—incredible, that is to say, considering the conditions under which they were carried through. It is first and foremost a missionary book, which expresses the true missionary spirit in a very remarkable manner. In "Through Jade Gate and Central Asia" the three ladies concerned have written their names for all time upon a roll of honour, which may be said to have begun when certain missionaries "went down to Seleucia and from thence sailed to Cyprus," though nothing could have been further from their thoughts than to do so when they penned this extraordinary record. The book is far more than a mere journal of mission work, unique as that is. It contains also records of courageous travel in wild districts such as no white women have ever visited; of intensely interesting comments upon Chinese official methods; of vivid descriptions, always humorous, of life as lived among the poorest classes in China and among the Lamas of Tibet, as well as among the Soviet-Chinese border inhabitants—all told in simple, modest language, which might easily mislead readers as to the ever-present difficulties and dangers—difficulties not only in their daily lives, but ever-recurring dangers, when those three courageous ladies were pioneering in the wild districts of a remote province in the far north-west of China. In the Sinkiang, as in Kansu, so far as their personal safety was concerned, they were almost as cut off from the world as if they had been at the North Pole.

It is a mere truism to say that China today is not the China of the past, especially where the safety of foreigners is concerned. Of old, as has been the good fortune of the reviewer, one might pass with little risk from one end of China to the other overland from Simla to Peking.

In most of the Chinese cities in Kansu referred to in this book the reviewer has spent days both pleasant and the reverse. He has also traversed Russian Turkestan and trekked in tarantasses along the Soviet-Chinese border from Tashkend to Semipalatinsk, passing thence down the Irtish River to Omsk on the Siberian railway, as did the authors of this book. Reference is made to these coincidences solely for the

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purpose of indicating that this review is not merely academic. With his own eyes the reviewer has seen many of the places and peoples discussed in this book, and for many weary months has endured the discomforts of the road in China. But he travelled in luxury compared to the conditions these courageous ladies cheerfully suffered. In the book itself little is said of these conditions, much of the work which alone filled their thoughts. All honour to them.

It was at Hwochow, in Shansi province, that their travels began, where already for twenty-one years they had laboured. The true missionary feeling for a wider call, a more extended sphere to work in, came to them as many times in different lands it had come to others. In Kansu they found what they sought for, and for some three years they laboured there afresh. Then came the period, in 1926, for home furlough. "Kansu was at this time in a political ferment." Feng yu-hsiang, the stormy petrel of Chinese politics, was in charge in the far North-West. To return to the coast was practically out of the question, so "after much deliberation" the travellers decided to enter Soviet territory, and to make north for Semipalatinsk and the Siberian railway at Omsk, thence via Moscow and Berlin for London.

All this and much more was successfully accomplished through the faith that was in them. All this and much more is recounted in this remarkable book.

CHINESE GHOULS AND GOBLINS. By G. Willoughby-Meade. With sixteen illustrations. (*Constable and Co.*) 24s. net.

(*Reviewed by* N. M. PENZER.)

All students of folk-tales and of "things Chinese" will thank Mr. Willoughby-Meade for this work on Chinese ghouls and goblins. While the title suffices, it perhaps tends to minimize the real scope of the work. It is not a mere collection of "uncanny" stories, but is rather an introductory guide to the whole intricate mentality of one of the world's most amazing peoples. The author's method of treatment is as interesting as it is novel. We have here no scientific annotated collection of stories, such as Cosquin, Chauvin, or Bolte might have given us. We have something much more alive and human—something that demands and receives both our sympathy and appreciation—the resulting tales of all the conflicting beliefs of the numerous religious systems of China. At times we may feel our credulity is being forced rather much, at times we may spot an obvious Western "import," but on the other hand we shall find pathos and beauty mingling with grimness and horror in a manner which merely mirrors the mind of the people themselves. The object of the author has been "to interest the general reader in some of the folk-tales . . . in which China is so rich." He has not only succeeded in this, but has helped to fill a very large gap which all students of folk-lore have so long felt when searching for Chinese analogues to stories from other parts of the world.

After dealing with the Chinese idea of the soul and classifying the good

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and evil spirits, we are given a brief account of Taoism, which is illustrated by stories from numerous collections. As is to be expected, we then contrast those with Buddhist tales, or rather with the tales that were moulded subsequent to the introduction of Buddhism into China.

The next two chapters show us that Chinese folk-tales have drawn to themselves all the *dramatis personæ* and, we must add, *animalia* with which we are familiar from collections of other widely distant areas. The were-wolf, dog, fox, and tiger all figure in the tales, and the author wisely points out in a very few lines useful analogies from other countries. The snake also plays a small part, but had soon to step—or rather glide—aside for the much more important and popular dragon, to whom a whole chapter is devoted. The butterfly, the swan-maiden,* the parrot, owl, the soul-stealing bird, spectral rats, the tortoise, and even ants, all find a place in the curious animal stories with which Chinese folk-lore abounds.

Chapter VII. is allotted to a study of divination and magic—and a very interesting chapter it is. The "River Monster," whose picture faces page 178, is really a marvel of ingenuity. Imagine a fat, Zeppelin-shaped balloon or German sausage, with absolutely no features at all, but the owner of four wings and six short legs—and you have the River Monster! The story in this chapter which appears to the present reviewer of most interest, however, is the strange story of "Mrs. Number Three," in which the hero peeps through a crack of the wall, like Apuleius, and sees "Mrs. Number Three" remove little wooden models of a drover, plough, etc., from a box, bring them to life with magic water. They then proceed to plough, sow, reap, and thresh the grain, and make buckwheat cakes—all in the one evening. These cakes have the property of turning people into asses, and, as can be guessed, our hero has his revenge on "Mrs. Number Three." Now the point of interest here is that this magic seed-growing *motif* is found in many Eastern countries, but where it began (if indeed it *did* "begin" at all) is a very hard question to answer. In a long note on the subject ("Ocean of Story," vol. vi., pp. 62-66) the present reviewer has given several extraordinary analogues to the Sanskrit version. Apart from being found in the "Thousand and One Nights," it occurs in a collection of proverbs, known as the *Fākhir*, of the ninth century A.D., as well as in works of Ibn Qutaiba, Ṭabarī, Rāzī, Tha'labī, and Harīrī. The present Chinese version is of great interest, therefore, as being a proof of the existence of the *motif* to the east of India, thus greatly extending the field of research on the subject.

We have now got over halfway in this brief survey of the work before us, but as yet we have met with few strange beings that can really be described as either ghouls or goblins. In Chapter X., however, we are at last introduced to the vampire proper, who for over 200 pages we had been gradually fortifying ourselves to meet. We find on introduction that the Chinese

* This *motif* has been finely treated by Holmström in his work "Studier över svanjungfrumotivet," Malmö, 1919. See also Penzer, "Ocean of Story," vol. viii., pp. 213-234. For Chinese analogues see Dennys, "Folk-lore of China," p. 140, and "T'oung Pao," vol. vi., p. 68.

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vampire much more closely resembles that of Eastern Europe than of India. It has all the nasty little habits of the Slavonic vampire and none of the redeeming features of the Indian *vetāla* or *piśācha*, who is always ready to reward a brave man with advice and riches.

The Chinese vampire, Ch'iang Shih, inhabits corpses, and preserves them from decay by deriving nourishment either from other corpses or from the living. The Chinese soul theory, coupled with the amazing fertility of their imagination, has endowed their vampires with a horror which is only equalled by their own personal belief in them.

The chapter closes with an interesting suggestion as to the "infection" of vampires. The author will probably be interested to study the first book that deals with vampires in a comprehensive manner, shortly to appear under the authorship of Rev. Montague Summers.

Space will not allow of any but the very briefest reference to the remaining chapters of this important work. The spirits of inanimate objects, especially trees, are dealt with in Chapter X.; while the widespread belief in "Fêng Shui" (the effects of environment on the living and dead, the two words meaning "wind" and "water") is discussed in Chapter XI.

An interesting chapter on "Foreign Devils," one each on comparative mythology, a Chinese sceptic, and Spiritualism, conclude the work. Mention must be made of the good index, and the publishers are to be congratulated on the very attractive *format* they have created.

NEAR EAST

THE PERSIAN GULF: AN HISTORICAL SKETCH FROM THE EARLIEST TIME TO THE BEGINNING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. By Sir Arnold T. Wilson. (*Oxford Press.*) 25s. net.

A work on the Persian Gulf and its history has been wanting for some time, although, of course, books and articles have appeared which deal with various parts of the Gulf. No one is better fitted to fill this gap than the author, who has spent much time in these regions. It may be stated at once that the book is worthy of the author's experiences and services, and that it will remain the standard work for years to come.

The only way to understand the present is to become cognizant of the past, and the author not only gives a description of the country, but also furnishes a history dating back to the Assyrian Empire. Naturally little is known regarding the Persian Gulf at that remote period, but the author, a man of very wide learning, has found new material that sheds an important light upon that era. The Greeks and the Romans have left quite a volume of literature, and this is skilfully introduced into his account. McCrindle did excellent service in the eighties of last century in translating the passages from these writers, and his scholarly books, though less fascinating, must have provided the present writer with useful information. In the chapters that follow the various parts of the Gulf are dealt with

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separately until we come to the arrival of the Portuguese. This portion is naturally detailed and exhaustive. The Dutch also found their way to the Persian Gulf on their voyages to the East. Lastly, there came the British, who are now in a stronger position there than ever before. The volume concludes with a chapter on international politics, which predicts for Great Britain a permanent position of power. In an appendix the author provides a summary of scientific research, but perhaps he will find the time later to write an additional volume on the resources of the Persian Gulf. For the convenience of those who wish to obtain more detailed information the author has added a large bibliography, which is, in itself, a valuable piece of work. Altogether this is a volume of great value, and it may be confidently expected that it will see several editions.

PERSIAN PICTURES. By Gertrude Bell. (*Ernest Benn.*) 10s. 6d. net.

Some thirty years ago there was issued a book of modest appearance entitled "Safar Nameh." They were Persian pictures, which would have been forgotten had Miss Bell, the author, not come before the public since on account of her journeys in the Near East and her important work for the Government. It is gratifying to see this charming book saved from oblivion in such an attractive form. Miss Bell has shown us life in Persia from various angles. Her description of the indoor dress of a Persian lady is amusing, particularly as what is described by her as unbecoming in 1894 has now become the fashion of the day in the West.

INDIA

THE LAND WITH THE FIVE RIVERS: AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE PUNJAB FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO 1890. By H. K. Trevaskis. (*Oxford Press.*) 15s. net.

The number of books on Indian economics is increasing almost daily, yet, when many of them will be superseded or have become antiquated, the volume of Mr. Trevaskis will still have honourable place on the shelves of the economic student, for it is of permanent value. The author, an Indian civil student, has made excellent use of his opportunities to study the problems of his province. This volume deals entirely with the Punjab, and opens with a chapter on the dawn of history, in which the life of the nomad and of the villager are fully described. The second chapter introduces the student to the development of the Aryan State, with its kingship, religion, and law. There follow researches into the Islamic and English administrations, and the author comes to the conclusion that all the races of the Punjab and the British have combined their efforts to establish that state of efficiency in which the province is today. Attention may be drawn to the four useful maps that have been provided.

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THE EMPIRE OF THE GREAT MOGUL: A DESCRIPTION OF DE LAET'S INDIA. By H. S. Hoyland, with critical notes by S. N. Banerjee. (Bombay: *Taraporevala.*) Rs. 5.8.

When De Laet issued his booklet "De Imperio Magni Mogolis" he little thought that exactly three hundred years later it would be revived in an English form. It is interesting to read his opinions and observations. As Hakluyt and Marco Polo are still enjoyed by many readers and students, so we hope that also De Laet will not be forgotten. The price of the book seems rather high, but printing in India is becoming much better, and is therefore more expensive.

RGVEDIC INDIA. By Abines Chandras Das. (Calcutta: *Cambray and Co.*) Second edition revised.

It is remarkable that a work like the present should run to an early second edition, and it must be presumed that the volume has had a ready sale in India as well as in Europe. The author holds that the theory generally promulgated by scholars regarding the immigration of the Aryans from Central Asia, Northern Europe, or the Arctic regions cannot be sustained, and maintains that these Aryans were autochthonous to ancient Punjab. He is therefore opposed to the late Mr. B. G. Tilak, whose views are indeed not shared by European scholars. The existence of Aryan languages in Europe are explained by the emigration of Aryan tribes from India. Mr. Das has thus provided us with a large work on Aryan expansion and colonization in prehistoric times, and has given proof of extensive learning. His conclusions will naturally not be shared by all his Indian and European colleagues, but they will certainly welcome them as a basis for argument. The map is clear and the index is complete.

INDISCHE FAHRTEN. By Joseph Dahlmann, S.J. Two vols. (Freiburg: *Herder and Co.*) 30 Marks.

The author of this work, Father Dahlmann, has been through the length and breadth of India, and has seen the country thoroughly. He has not limited himself to the study of the peoples and their religion, but has also paid attention to the art monuments. It is, perhaps, chiefly from this point of view that he has written these two large volumes and illustrated them with almost 500 pictures. Perhaps, for this reason, the book has met with success, and arrived at a second edition. English readers will also find these attractive, and, in fact, if it were not for the language in which it is written, it might prove an attractive book of travel. Perhaps, however, we may look forward to an English translation.

BOOKS ON ART

L'ART KHMER PRIMITIF. By Henri Parmentier. Two vols. (Paris: *Van Oest.*) 300 fr.

Our first knowledge of this subject was a booklet in French by Crozier, which was little more than a catalogue. A few years ago there appeared

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two excellent volumes: "Art et Archéologie Khmers," to be followed by a work on Khmer Bronzes by Mr. Coedès, issued in the well-known series Ars Asiatica. The two volumes under notice, issued through the École Française d'Extrême Orient, form therefore the first comprehensive study on Khmer art, especially architecture. The author requires no introduction to English lovers of Oriental art, and it may be taken for granted that any new work from his pen will be as conscientiously carried out as the previous ones. These two new volumes are devoted to archæology, architecture, and allied arts, and though highly technical permit of the ordinary student following his description. The style is fluent and elegant enough, but to help the reader to find his study more interesting, numerous illustrations and plates have been inserted in the text volume, while the plates in the second volume should appeal particularly to the archæologist and the architect. No such comprehensive work is likely to be written in English, and therefore it should be greatly welcomed by our institutions and museums, and also in India and Burma; the two volumes should find a place not only on the library shelves, but still more so on the work-table of the archæologist. A word of praise should be added for the fine and very clear collotype plates, on which, even details, are absolutely distinguishable.

L'Art à Java: Les Temples de la Période Classique Indo-Javanaise. By M. P. Verneuil. (Paris: *Van Oest.*) 220 fr.

Some very large works on Borobudur have been published for the use of specialists and museums. The author has now presented us with a volume of well-selected plates, for which the publishing house of Van Oest is justly famous. It illustrates architecture and sculpture, thus giving the student with limited means the opportunity of obtaining a work on the subject at a moderate figure. On 88 pages of text these illustrations referring to Tjandi Kalasan, Tgandi Mendout, Borobudur, and the Temple of Siva are explained. The work is therefore not only for the scholar, but also designed to be of use to a wider public, and the cheap price, together with the tasteful appearance of the volume, should ensure it a great success.

Au Japon: Promenades aux Sanctuaires de l'Art. By Gaston Migeon. (Paris: *Paul Geuthner.*) 50 fr.

The author is one of the leaders of Oriental art study, and has already delighted us with many books. But we are not at all tired of him; in fact, we feel increasingly happy when he is there to guide us. Not only has the author for years past studied Japanese art at home, but he has gone himself to the Far East to see the art treasures in the museums as well as in the temples, which have not yet been described by other writers. And the author has come back full of enthusiasm, and anxious for the reader to partake in the pleasure of his recollections. Who could not enjoy his description of the Fuji, and he reminds us also of Hokesai and Hiroshige, the artists of the Holy Mountain. The theatre, the tea ceremony, and the gardens are all described. The volume has been

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adorned with a number of fine collotype plates of views, paintings, and sculptures, which may well be envied by book-lovers on this side of the Channel.

Histoire de l'Art Chinois de l'Antiquité jusqu'à nos Jours. By G. Soulie de Morant. (Paris: *Payot.*) 100 fr.

Within the compass of 300 pages the author has condensed a charming account of the history of Chinese art. The eleven chapters are divided according to the Dynasties, and each chapter contains sections on painting, sculpture, architecture, and decorative arts. It therefore corresponds to the English work by Dr. Bushell without, however, going quite so much into the detail. An additional attraction is the large number of illustrations, which are excellently produced. Mr. de Morant is not only a stylist, but also a scholar of Chinese, and has given a long list of Chinese works on art. We do not remember seeing such a useful list in any other book.

Utamaro. By Yone Noguchi. (Paris: *Van Oest.*) 30 fr.
Hokusai. By Yone Noguchi. (Paris: *Van Oest.*) 30 fr.

Mr. Yone Noguchi, the poet and art-critic, has provided us with two new volumes on Japanese artists: the two best known to European admirers of Japanese art. The volumes are small in size, but the monographs are full of appreciation of their subjects. Special credit is due to the publisher Van Oest, who has not spared expense in giving us once more examples of his wonderful plates. Some of the best drawings of the two artists have been selected, and are beautifully reproduced.

Les Antiquités Bouddhiques de Bāmiyān. By A. Godard, Y. Godard, and J. Hackin. (Paris: *Van Oest.*) 250 fr.

It will be remembered that a few years ago France obtained permission from the King of Afghanistan to make archæological researches in that country. The volume before us is the first-fruit of these efforts, and for the first time we learn of these Buddhist remains in a positive and, at the same time, a learned manner. If the series is continued in this excellent manner, we shall not only obtain a clear view of Buddhism in Afghanistan, but also be able to judge the place that country takes in the general history of Asiatic art. M. Pelliot has given additional notes to the text; he has translated a number of Chinese texts, giving yet another proof of his extraordinary knowledge of the language. The plates are very fine; they illustrate the places where the remains were found, and further, the Buddhist objects that were discovered. It is a fine achievement to have produced the beautiful colours in their natural state.

GENERAL

Blue Trousers, being Part VI. of the Tale of Genji. By Lady Murasaki; translated from the Japanese by Arthur Waley. (*Allen and Unwin.*) 10s. 6d. net.

This translation from the Japanese classics is very difficult, and therefore a very creditable piece of work. The present volume is the fourth,

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leaving only one more to conclude the series. Each chapter can almost be read independently. At every stage the reader is taken back to ancient Japan. Mr. Waley's picturesque and fascinating style is most attractive, and if he had not taken up the study of Japanese and Chinese, he would have found time to become one of the most prominent English prose writers.

Huc and Gabet. Travels in Tartary, Tibet, and China. Translated by William Hazlitt; new edition, with an Introduction by Professor Paul Pelliot. (*Routledge.*) 25s. net.

Messrs. G. Routledge must be congratulated upon having issued in their Broadway Travellers series a new form of the nineteenth-century classics of Asiatic travel, and particularly upon having obtained the assistance of Professor Pelliot, who, it is believed, has always looked upon this work with special favour. The editor has, in fact, not been content with providing an introduction of over thirty pages, but has also gone into the subject thoroughly, and his hand seems to be on nearly every page. The work is too well known to the general public to require a detailed review. It must suffice to state that this new form should find many new readers amongst the younger generation, who have, of late, found difficulty in obtaining the older editions. These two volumes form a notable addition to the works already published, and there doubtless will be an early occasion of reviewing further books in the same admirable series.

Introduction of the History of Science Vol. I.: From Homer to Omar Khayyám. By George Sarton. (London Agents: *Baillière, Tindall and Cox.*) 45s. net.

It is not our purpose to frighten the reader of this review when it is revealed that this first volume contains 839 pages. This information, on the contrary, is volunteered in order to give an idea of the vast labour the author must have undertaken in compiling his volume. The material available is absolutely overwhelming, and the wonder is that the author has found his life long enough to study so much literature, to sift it, to understand it, and, lastly, to compose this volume. The reader is under an additional debt of gratitude to the author for his arrangement. The book is divided into chapters and subdivided into sections, each of which belong to a certain period. Supposing one wishes to study science at the time of Aristotle, one turns to pages 124 to 148 after reading the introductory chapter, which alone contains 50 pages, and is an entertaining and inspiring piece of work. We learn of Chinese and Greek philosophers, of mathematics, astronomy, physics, technology, botany, and medicine, and each section has a complete bibliography. Although each chapter is fully dealt with, the information regarding Chinese and Arab philosophy is especially welcome, as our knowledge of them is still far from complete. Science has progressed gradually, and the more one looks into this volume the more one must marvel at the constant searches after truth and science

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from the earliest times, and the rapidity with which the present state of our knowledge has been arrived at.

THE AGE OF THE GODS: A STUDY IN THE ORIGIN OF CULTURE IN PREHISTORIC EUROPE AND THE ANCIENT EAST. By Christopher Dawson. (*John Murray.*) 18s. net.

Numerous research workers and archæologists have during the past one hundred years carried on the most useful and silent work with a view to reconstructing the cultures of the past. The author's summary reveals the work of a well-read man, who has also consulted a great many German publications, which are enumerated in the long bibliographies attached to each chapter. Beginning with the Glacial Period, he gradually arrives at the religion of the hunter, the civilization of the peasant and the city state. As our civilization originates from the East, we naturally obtain a good insight into the culture of that portion of the world, and it must be said that he has presented an almost complete panorama of its gradual development. The very latest discoveries in Mesopotamia, Egypt, Crete, and Greece are set forth, and it might well be hoped that this volume will serve as a synopsis of a series of books, each of which should treat a separate chapter in a more lengthy and detailed form.

IBN SA'OUD OF ARABIA: His People and His Land

By AMEEN RIHANI. Illustrated. 21s. net.

SIR E. DENISON ROSS in the *Observer*: "The book has two distinct sides: the one political, the other historical and descriptive. . . . For the first time we have a book in English written by a man whose native tongue is Arabic. To students of current politics it is very valuable, as it gives reliable information regarding the origin and peculiar tenets of the Wahabis, and considerable insight into the character of Ibn Sa'oud himself."

CHINESE GHOULS AND GOBLINS

By G. WILLOUGHBY-MEADE. Illustrated. 24s. net.

Nation: "Bogies and hobgoblins abound in Mr. Willoughby-Meade's delightful compilation of Oriental extravagances and lore. Mr. Meade has a scientific seriousness, but some of these stories of rolling skulls and talkative heads surely prove that the Chinese liked to make each other's pigtails bristle with horror."

THROUGH JADE GATE AND CENTRAL ASIA: An Account of Journeys in Kansu, Turkestan and the Gobi Desert

By MILDRED CABLE and FRANCESCA FRENCH

With an Introduction by the Rev. J. STUART HOLDEN, of the China Inland Mission. Illustrated. 10s. net.

ISLANDS OF QUEEN WILHELMINA

By Mrs. CLIFTON of LYTHAM. With an Introduction by LORD DUNSANY. Illustrated. 18s. net.

CONSTABLE ORANGE ST W C 2

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UR: EXCAVATIONS. Vol. I., Al-Ubaid; a report on the work carried out for the British Museum, and for its joint expedition with the University of Pennsylvania in 1922-23. By H. R. Hall and others. (*Oxford Press.*)

No reminder need be given of the importance of the explorations in Mesopotamia by these two institutions. The first volume of this beautiful and important work contains the chapters on the temple and the cemetery. Mr. Hall, now the keeper of the Egyptian Department in the British Museum, has given us a vivid account of the work in the first season, and a full description of the objects found. The work of the second expedition is treated by C. L. Woolley, whose chapters on the objects from the temple and its reconstruction are worthy of his previous work. Mr. C. J. Gadd has deciphered and commented upon the inscriptions, and Sir Arthur Keith has provided a report upon the human remains. The work in connection with the compilation of the volume must have been enormous, and the authors deserve great credit for the achievement. The plates are in every way worthy of the text. A few of them are beautifully coloured, especially the specimens of pottery. We are pleased to learn that the next volume is likewise in active preparation, and may be expected at an early date.

SEX PROBLEM IN INDIA. By Professor N. S. Phadke. (Bombay: *Taraporevala.*) Rs. 6.

This volume is prefaced by a note from Mrs. Sanger, President of the American Birth Control League, who writes that the plea which the author makes for eugenic marriages is the plea of the far-sighted patriot, whose desire it is that the country of his allegiance shall grow strong on sound biological principles. In a chapter on "The Way of Reform" the author quotes from the hymns which were included in the original rituals of the Aryan marriage service to show that they regarded the institution of marriage from the sociological point of view.

THE RUSSIAN EXPERIMENT, 1917-1927. By K. T. Shah. (Bombay: *Taraporevala.*)

The author, who is Professor of Economics at Bombay University and the author of several books and pamphlets on finance and commerce, has here republished a series of lectures delivered by him as a course in extension of the usual lectures on economic history at his University. Perhaps the most important part of the book is that in which he describes the various financial experiments of the Bolshevist state, and gives some valuable statistics of taxation, etc.

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PERSIAN ART AND CULTURE

By Arthur Upham Pope

Advisory Curator, Muhammedan Art, Art Institute of Chicago, U.S.A.

(*Continued from p.* 304.)

One might object to Bihzad or Mirak, that their pictures were not like the real world, that they had forgotten to put in shadows, and that they did not understand perspective. They might answer, "Such objections are quite irrelevant and overlooking the main purpose of our work. How much more beautiful are our pictures than anything you have ever seen in real life! Here all is arranged, concentrated, intensified. We have made a wonderful cluster of jewels of what in ordinary life is a plain wall—and were ever such graceful trees! and how much more perfect and charming the folds of the garments we depict than any you are likely to see in real life."

In discussing the art of the Persians one need hardly argue as to whether lines and contours are in themselves beautiful. Have they not produced the most magnificent caligraphers? And all of these principles here mentioned are illustrated in the works of Yaghut and Mir Ali Kazvini. We examine caligraphy not merely to read the words but for the swing and rhythm, the contour and proportion, the accuracy, elegance, and expressiveness of the writing. In caligraphy we find an important clue to Persian art, and it is a good sign that Persians today take their caligraphy as a most serious art.

It is interesting to see how constantly the Persian artists, even when they are making careful pictures of

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human beings or animals, keep the necessity of the vital line before them. The famous painter Bihzad once copied a European portrait. It was Belini's portrait of a Turkish sultan. Belini had left the underpart of the robe vague, melting away into a shadow. Bihzad, with a true instinct of the decorator, however, could not overlook the opportunity to insert a clear and graceful contour full of animation and interest. This line and the other marginal lines give a vivid, inspiriting quality to the drawing that Belini had not put in the original. So the Persian artists when they drew plants, animals, or men, or merely abstract designs which were the product of their imagination instilled into them a sense of energy and tension, a feeling of excitement or of elegance and suavity which the attentive observer immediately catches and to which he responds with a quickening pulse and a kindling eye. The life and movement of the design passes over into his own being. Heart and mind respond and echo to the artist's call, and he is refreshed and exhilarated.

But to make lines live and move requires a sensitive and understanding nature. It requires an artist who is a master of his craft and who himself is full of enthusiasm. Artists who do not love their work, who are not moved by a passion for perfection, who themselves thrill to no great emotion, produce, as we might expect, dull and lifeless work. And no sooner has a great artist produced some superlative work than other artists begin to copy slavishly, often without understanding or feeling. Now copying is not the same as creating. The fire has cooled, and the life fades away. When in still later periods, further removed from the original inspiration, we find artisans working merely for pay rather than for the honour of their craft and the glory of God, working without interest and inspiration, without skill, their lines become weak and vague, their designs confused and meaningless, their compositions little more than corpses. The soul has flown.

But decoration involves more than the problem of the

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beautiful arrangement of living lines or harmonious colours. It requires an ability to see the essential, and to select out of a great variety of possibilities only the most important, to simplify to the last degree so that only the inner spirit be now revealed and preserved in the world of art. One sometimes finds on Rhages bowls a very simple black outline drawing of a head of wheat. There are indeed far more lines in the real head of wheat than in the drawing on the bowl. The drawing has not sought to reproduce the head of wheat as it really is in all its detail but merely to catch the infinite grace of its outline, and even to improve on it. It is a rendition not of wheat but of the spirit of gracefulness and elegance that may be sometimes found in the wheat-head, just as attar of roses is made not by preserving all the leaves and the rank juices of the stems. Nor is it even great heaps of rose petals. It is the one essential drop expressed from thousands of roses; the central principle of their fragrance now set apart and delivered of everything else and made permanent.

By simplifying his rendition, the artist stimulates the imagination. He draws out what is hidden from ordinary eyes and gives it to us so that in imagination we may reconstruct the whole and thus share with him some of the exhilarating work of creation. Thus we help to create the beauties which we enjoy, and such co-operation and effort on our part yield deeper satisfaction than mere passive receiving.

In creating decorative patterns the artist uses his imagination and invention, and produces things which are not to be found in the world of nature. For example, the Persian arabesque, which is almost the first letter of the Persian decorative alphabet of the last four hundred years, does not represent any real object in nature at all, but it is probably the work of a succession of keen analytical minds that sought for the essential fact in a Greek architectural ornament, the anthemion, or perhaps the Assyrian palmette, having found the irreducible minimum produced a design so simple

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and yet so fundamental that a remarkable number of combinations and developments were possible.*

The original palmette or anthemion was like a whole word or sentence. It could not enter into many combinations, and there were no possibilities of developing it except to perfect its own form. The arabesque, on the other hand, could, like the single letter, be combined in an infinite number of ways. But although the ingenuity of Persian artists has created many thousands of arabesques and found great numbers of combinations, the possibilities of its development are still unrealized.

The arabesque, thanks to Persian discovery of the essential and fundamental, became the basis and starting-point for a new chapter in the history of decorative art. The arabesque is the work of the human mind. It is not a mere random fancy, however, but has a good deal in common with scientific law or a mathematical proposition. It seems to express some universal principle of form and to provide satisfaction to some capacity of the mind that belongs to all. As an invention it is more important than many industrial and mechanical inventions. Like other Persian inventions in the realm of art, it has contributed to the elevation and refreshment of the human mind without exacting any price. Industrial and mechanical inventions often increase power at the expense of happiness, and it is not yet sure that the deepest concerns of mankind have been advanced by the arts of the industrial inventor. The products of the machine are fought for, they are causes of jealousy and strife ; whereas an invention in the realm of art is something that can be enjoyed and shared by all without being diminished. It is the real ambrosia, the food of the gods, soul-nourishing and itself immortal.

We may now briefly try to indicate what are some of the standards which Persian art has at its best realized.

* Historically the process was not quite so quick and simple. *Cf.* A very learned and penetrating discussion of the Arabesque by Professor Herzfeld in the "Encylopædia of Islam," who takes a much wider definition of the figure.

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The first requirement is energy or vitality of line and pattern, the force of the contour which seizes hold upon our attention, the weight and distribution of masses, and as an essential corollary to these qualities the depth, purity, contrast, and organization of colours employed. It is all of these brought together in an expressive ensemble which is the central aim of decoration.

A second principle, lucidity or rationality, is quite as important as energy and vitality, for confusion always means weakness. The tendency of the craftsman to keep at work, to tinker with a design, to trim it up and elaborate it, is a fatal way of corrupting the original conception. And it must be confessed that Persian artists and poets, particularly of the later days, have often been victims by the fallacy of over-elaboration. It is essential in any given design that its main purport be clear. We must be able to tell just what part each element is playing. We must be able to tell the background from the foreground, and the main structure of the design should stand forth boldly. Frequently in modern work, both of faience and carpets, the designs are so intricate and confusing that the fundamental elements cannot be recognized. Hashed-up patterns, mushy, indeterminate colours, which unfortunately characterize most modern rug designing, mark the degeneration and ruination of carpet weaving as a decorative art.

A third principle which must be rigidly observed is appropriateness. The design must be in keeping with the character of the material, and the patterns, so far as they mean anything, must be logical and natural. While it is not the business of decorative art to give pictures, none the less forms of real objects are so often reproduced that we must beware of doing violence to their character. In some early and beautiful Turkish prayer rugs made in the sixteenth century we find the columns of the Mihrab drawn with accuracy and understanding of an architect. They rest on strong, finely built bases. But in the degenerate period, when workers become indifferent and cease to think clearly,

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we find the similar columns terminating in coffee urns or in vases or flowers, arrangements so truly preposterous that they are immediately disagreeable. As a pendant from the peak of an arch we often find ewers or vases in the early carpets. Later, for the sake of easier weaving, these are depicted upside down, again a ridiculous blunder.

But aside from such obvious and gross absurdities, there is a far more important type of appropriateness which the Persians in the great period felt with exceptional delicacy and justice. And that is that the quality of design must reflect and express the quality of the material in which it is embodied. This is perhaps the chief source of the extraordinary charm of the poetry from Rhages in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It is made of clay. Clay shaped and fired is a thin, delicate, and fragile substance, and must be moulded and decorated in such a way as not to contradict these qualities, but to enhance them. And so the Persian artists, with a wonderfully sensitive instinct, shaped their bowls so that they looked light and fragile as they really should, and the decorations were also in keeping. The best taste of the world today would regard the rendition in a clay of an elaborate painting with shadow and perspective as wholly fallacious, and even the great pottery of the Greeks and the Chinese, superb as they are in many ways, are, in respect to the fitness of contour, shape, and material, less perfect than the work of the Persians in the best periods. The Chinese porcelains of the fourteenth century on are perhaps a little too hard, firm, and finished. They are more substantial than the material would warrant, and they seem almost as if they had been made out of metal or carved out of stone; while even Greek vases really follow bronze shapes with clean and exact outline rather than the more flexible and tentative shapes that the Persian potters used.

The same principles apply to other materials. Metal, which is so slowly worked and so hard, calls for the kind of ornamentation in which precision and exactness are the first requisites. Where a substance permits of an extremely

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sharp and exact line, that line should be given, whereas in pottery the lines cannot compete with metal; the lines should be graceful and delicate, but with none of the rigid accuracy and severity of outline appropriate to the metal. Clay calls for the free and careless sketch.

There has been an unfortunate tendency recently, although there is some antecedent, to try to make rug weaving compete with painting and reproduce pictures often in European styles. In any such test the rug weaver is certainly to be hopelessly worsted. It is entirely and for ever out of the question for a pile fabric to comprise the infinite nuances of colour that are possible in paint. When each art does that which it can do best and strives to bring to the highest expression the possibilities of its own material, then there can be no odious comparison, and each art will stand on its own merits. Rug weaving, which is primarily an art designed for floor covering, should follow the general character of mosaics. The pattern should be only in two dimensions. It should be of the kind that arouses in us no sense of impropriety when trodden upon. Thick mushy leaves, large bulbous blossoms such as we found depicted in the European Brussels carpets of the nineteenth century or in the Savonnaries of the eighteenth, threaten to trip us up in some of their realistic drawn tendrils. Persian carpet designs of the great periods always kept to flat and abstract patterns, and one is never bothered by the thought of stepping on real things, and our eye is free to enjoy the subtle curves, symmetries, and luscious colours without disturbance. No doubt many of those rugs that are pictorial are done with astonishing skill, and when a great many figures are put into a rug they do sometimes attain a flat and decorative effect something suggestive of the tapestries. But relative success in doing something not worth doing is hardly a justification. It is possible to walk on one's hands, and people have been admired for so doing. None the less, feet are rather better for the purpose.

It is a tragic thing that Persian art has by a combination

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of political and economic misfortunes been brought to a low ebb. Foreign invasions, the ravages of bandits; poverty, misrule, famine have, since the eighteenth century, combined to blight the soul of art. Discouragement and indifference took the place of enthusiasm and ardent effort. The influence of some Persian monarchs has not been fortunate. The influence of Europe in the nineteenth century, with its gaudy and vulgar taste, has been, so far as it reached to Persia, nothing but a calamity; for it must not be forgotten that we have had our dark periods as well as Persia, and Persia has perhaps never touched such a low level of taste as we reached in the so-called "Age of Horror" that afflicted so many monstrosities on us in the middle of the nineteenth century. It is most deplorable and unfortunate that Persia's first effective contact with Europe in recent times came when our arts were in such a depressing state.

Thanks to the exportation of works of art from Persia, artists who depended upon great models for guidance and enlightenment have been deprived of nourishment. They have become spiritually starved, their hands and minds have become feeble, and their eyes, no longer illumined by the glory of their great predecessors, could not see to execute anything but commonplace and meaningless work.

But though barely, living art in Persia is still alive, and we can hope that with intelligent effort and genuine resolution on the part of those who control the life and destinies of Persia a new epoch of Persian art may be soon inaugurated.

Many of the fundamental factors to which Persian art in the past owed its supremacy are still operating. The Persians, despite the admixture of other blood and the dreadful calamities which have so many times wracked the nation and left it a wilderness, are still a gifted people. One finds the same lively imagination, the same quick wit, the same delicate touch that created marvels for Darius, Chosroes, and Shah Tamasp. The exhilarating climate and

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beautiful landscape are still moulding men's minds and affections. Quite as important is the noteworthy and most encouraging return of justice and security, of a Government which now has the interest of the people at heart and in which the people themselves can participate. On every side there are stirrings of new life in Persia, and Persia, which has in the past so many times risen out of the ashes of misery and destruction to create again a great and brilliant culture, seems destined to repeat again that miracle of vitality and persistence.

But more is needed. The artist of today could, from the great examples of the past from which they derived their inspiration and guidance, once more be put in touch with the work of their own masters. Persia has been too busy in the last few years in reclaiming and defending her independence, in creating those fundamental necessities of government and economic order without which a cultured life is impossible, to have yet had time for the creation of great examples or schools of art.

This must not be long delayed, and even small beginnings would have great results. Muhammadan countries already have museums, some of them world-famous, to which scholars of the world must repair to do their work.

There is the Ewkaf museum in Constantinople, filled with glorious treasures, many of them of Persian origin. There is an important museum in Konia, and a finer one in Tiflis, and two in Baku. In Cairo there is the splendid Arab museum, daily thronged by students both native and foreign. One of the first acts of King Feisal on assuming power in Damascus was the opening of an Arabic museum which contained, as might be expected, many Persian things. There is a museum in Baghdad and a very efficient department of antiquities aiming at the preservation of public monuments and the rational development of archæological research. Even little Quetta in Baluchistan has its own museum, and there are reports that the Emir of Afghanistan has established a museum in Herat.

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Persia alone, the mother and inspiring force in the creation of most Muhammadan art, is still without any important assemblage of her own best work. Despite the lavish export of great works of art to all the world, Persia still holds within her soil unrecovered and in the possession of her great families superlative works of art which, could they be assembled in a common and public place, would revive the spirit of the nation still more and would awaken artists to new achievements.

There are superb manuscripts and miniatures in the Imperial library, and there is pottery and woodwork in the Dar-ul-Farnoun museum of beautiful quality. Once brought together and proclaimed to the world, it would bring further honour to the country and induce travellers of the best sort to come, and would be of untold value to artists, craftsmen, and students.

The people of Persia would themselves be astounded could they see properly assembled in a dignified and spacious way the best examples of their own art, and if such a museum was once successfully launched it would be sure to rally to its support the enthusiastic co-operation of all classes, and Persia might hope again for the development of great patrons and art collectors, who would regard it, as it is in the Western world, as one of the greatest honours to be able to give to the nation some precious and beautiful work of art which he had the good fortune to preserve or the taste to find.

By teaching the principles of Persian art in the schools, setting up more schools for theoretical and practical instruction of the various types of Persian art; by seeing that artists are regarded as public benefactors and accorded honour and distinction by the Government; by organizing means for the exportation and sale of her modern crafts, not only can new revenues be found and more wealth brought to Persia and the standard of life raised, but many of the common people provided with opportunities and occupations that give happiness and contentment.

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The many practical measures that are necessary for the revival of Persian art can hardly be dealt with here. But in addition to historical instruction, which can be given even if very briefly at first in all the schools, much can be done in practical ways. There are splendid craftsmen still at work in Persia. The precious mosaic faience which was thought in Europe to be a lost art is still here practically almost as perfect as in the classical days. There are embroiderers and textile workers who still have some of their ancient craft. There are caligraphers, in Isfahan a *relieur* making book covers of excellent quality, and in Shiraz an inlay worker whose work is not far from the best of ancient times. These men must be encouraged and required to have apprentices to whom they shall impart the full details of their art so that there shall be no further disastrous break in the artistic tradition of the country.

One of the best ways to appreciate the qualities of the foreign art and to discover qualities useful for the enrichment of domestic work, is to learn to practise in the foreign style, and the subtleties of European painting can hardly be appreciated in full without long study and actual practice in the art. But European art must not be thought of as a substitute for or an improvement upon Persian art. It is merely one of the infinite ways in which the infinite spirit of beauty reveals itself to man. The art of other peoples must also be taught, and those great styles which contributed so much to Persia, the Greek, Byzantine, Chinese, Egyptian, and Assyrian should be once more thoughtfully studied. It ought to be possible to gather together a group of instructors in the characteristic Persian arts so that those who have ambitions and ability can receive the most expert guidance and be saved long periods of blundering and experiment which retard achievement.

The Government must see to it that, as in the ancient days of Persia's greatest glory, the artist shall receive encouragement from the highest sources and be shown to the public for what he is, a benefactor to the nation.

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But such projects can hardly be more than pious wishes unless practical and solid means are devised to provide economic support for the new generation of artists. Persians themselves must in every way be encouraged to acquire the best that is produced by their own countrymen, and foreign bureaus should be organized to facilitate the export of the Persian decorative arts and to secure larger markets. The Western world is developing a rapid and enthusiastic appreciation of decorative art. Persian styles are best adapted to meet the new demand, and if public and private agencies in Persia can co-operate to improve standards, to give proper publicity in foreign markets to the merit of Persian wares, a great tide of orders may sweep toward Persia.

In all undertakings for the encouragement of art the absolute essential must never be forgotten, and that is the constant and severe insistence upon the highest standards. Any compromising with æsthetic standards, any admission of poor, shoddy, or ill-conceived work, is sheer poison, and little can be held out for the future unless those in whose hands the responsibility lies are riveted in their resolution to improve the quality of work. Such improvement in the standard of workmanship will result not only in increased happiness to the workers, but to a marked improvement in the standard of living. Persian carpet weavers are, for the most part, today somewhat slavishly reproducing designs that are supplied to them by foreign designers, and even when Persian in character they do not approach the quality of the classical period of weaving. The demand, particularly from America, for cheap carpets of relatively poor artistic quality has been, artistically at least, a curse to Persia, and until the old standards are revived, something which is entirely possible, the returns to this industry will be relatively meagre, for although the bulk of quantity demand in America is for commonplace work, none the less there is a great demand for superlative quality, and a demand that is willing to pay the price once the

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market be properly organized and the supply and quality assured.

But these practical measures are likely to be in themselves ineffective, or in some degree thwarted, unless certain unfortunate views of the nature of artistic work now too common in Persia can be corrected. Theoretical soundness precedes practical success, or at least theoretical fallacies can make practical success impossible. So long as so many workers and buyers alike in this country, and often abroad for that matter, consider that art is measured by skill and labour and finesse of the work rather than fundamental qualities of colour and design, just so long will craftsmen be labouring at painful trifles, and, like mountains labouring mightily, producing only mice. It is not true that the best rug has the greatest number of knots to the inch. There are rugs with more than two thousand which are æsthetically worthless, whereas some of the great carpets in the world, those monumental so-called Dragon carpets from the Caucasus region, are very frequently less than eighty to the inch. Not more skill and time but understanding and inspiration are what create great art. Skill and patience is necessary for the execution of the great conception, but to substitute skill for taste and sincere feeling is to enfeeble art at its source.

A similar and common fallacy is that the work of art is excellent in proportion to its age, as if the mere rolling by of the years endowed an object with artistic merit. If so, the common stones by the roadside ought to be the loveliest of all creative things.

The greatest periods of art have been in the past, and hence there is a favourable presumption that the old work of art may come from a time when first-class work was common. Much poor work was also done in the past, and date is no guarantee. The beauty of a work of art is not derived from the years that have passed over it but from the understanding, skill, and inspiration of some serious, hard-working person.

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Nor are things that are expensive necessarily beautiful. The mere display of vast wealth is regarded by aristocrats always as vulgar and ridiculous. Why should Persians or Europeans bow down in awe before the peacock throne as if it were some supernatural being? The peacock throne in the Imperial museum is only a copy made by Fath Ali Shah of the original Indian throne which was chiefly the work of a French jeweller. Even if the original were genuinely beautiful as well as being costly, it is not likely that a good copy could be made in the time of Fath Ali Shah, who was an unqualified calamity to Persian art, as different as possible from Shah Abbas and other great monarchs. He had no taste, and during his reign Persian art degenerated rapidly, and his removal of a glorious Sassanian rock carving at Rhages and the substitution of the grotesque and stupid carving of himself and his family will remain as one of the greatest artistic scandals in the history of the world. One could almost say of Persian work, "If done in the time of Fath Ali Shah, probably bad." So instead of worshipping at the peacock throne, Persians can do much better to study thoughtfully the work of their own true artists. One page of the work of Mir Ali Kazvini is worth a hundred peacock thrones in the judgment of at least one student of Persian art. At least the principle that it is not wealth and display that mark art, but something more fundamental and more noble, cannot be challenged.

If by instruction and example these wrong theories that retard the revival and development of real artistic sense can be corrected, then with the Government's energetic support of practical measures the future of Persian art is secure.

The claim of art on the attention of busy Ministers and Administrators may at first seem slight. Art always speaks with a still small voice while practical necessities thunder at the door. Yet art is a vital necessity of life for the nation as well as the individual, and as saith the Proverbs of Solomon (xxix. 18): "Where there is no vision, the people

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perish"; or, to quote Joel (ii. 28): "Your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions."

At least we can say that without the vision of beauty, the fullest and happiest life is not possible. May the new renaissance of Persia that is now dawning usher in again a day of great artistic achievement in which Persia will once more delight mankind and bring honour to herself. Persians should not forget that "God has planted beauty in our midst like a flag in the city." They who serve under that banner will win new triumphs.

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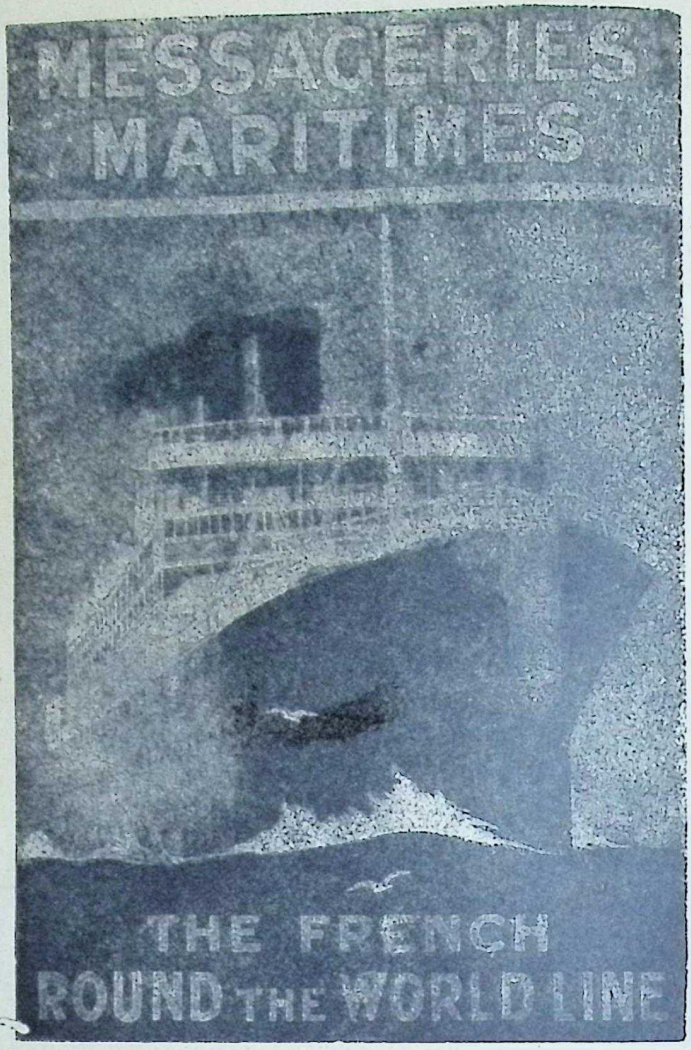

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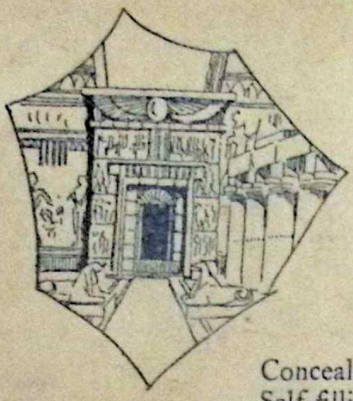

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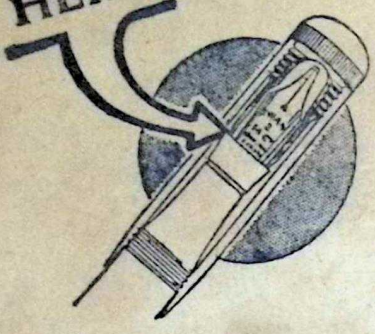

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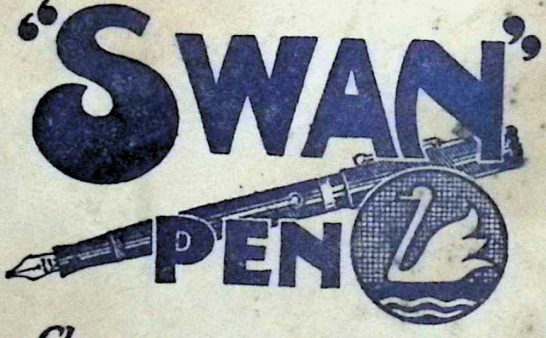

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE SIXTY-FIRST ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE Council submits the following report on the work of the Association for the year 1927-28:

The Council elected fifty-seven new members during the year, but lost nineteen by resignation and twelve by death. There is thus a net increase of twenty-six members. The losses by death include one of our most distinguished members, Lord Sinha, who from time to time took an active part in our discussions.

The year saw a quickening of interest in Indian affairs, which has been reflected in the larger membership and the good attendance at our meetings. The setting up of the Statutory Commission on Indian Reform under the chairmanship of Sir John Simon, and somewhat later the appointment of the Indian States Committee, presided over by Sir Harcourt Butler, were causes of this quickening of interest, which in itself is a matter for congratulation.

The Council came to the conclusion that it would be well to widen somewhat the scope of our discussions and to relate them when opportunity served to current public issues. For some time past the Council had been considering the desirability of allowing the discussions of the Association to deal more closely with current public issues affecting India, not for the purpose of supporting any particular policy or course (which would be contrary to the constitution of the Association), but with a view to providing a forum where all reasonable opinions on current questions could be ventilated within due limits, even though such questions might be concerned with methods and manners of Indian administration. Accordingly, early in the year it was resolved that, while strictly adhering to the principle of avoiding any connection with English party

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politics, it was desirable to accept papers treating in a temperate and dispassionate way questions of a social and political nature affecting India, subject to such papers being submitted for previous consideration of the Literary Committee. There followed the necessary corollary of some amendment of the rules relating to our public meetings, giving the Chairman on each occasion a wide discretion as to the choice of speakers and the general conduct of the proceedings.

In conformity with our widened scope, most of the papers read and discussed during the year had close relation to immediate topics of the hour. The paper by Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha (late Finance Member of the Executive Council, Bihar and Orissa) on the working of dyarchy in Indian provinces evoked so much interest that the animated discussion thereon was renewed at a further meeting a fortnight later. The views of orthodox Hindus on political issues were expounded by Pandit Shyam Shankar. The paper by Mr. W. H. Arden Wood on the problem of the domiciled community in India dealt with one of the many aspects of the Indian situation which are now engaging the attention of the Statutory Commission. It should be added that at the conversazione held in January, three days before the departure of Sir John Simon and his colleagues for their preliminary survey in India, Lord Strathcona, one of the members of the Commission, was present, and the Chairman of Council voiced the good wishes of the Association to the Commission in their great and responsible undertaking.

No less pertinent to problems of the hour than the other addresses mentioned was the lecture given by Lieut.-General Sir George MacMunn on the relations of Afghanistan and India the day before the arrival in this country, as the guests of the nation, of their Majesties the King and Queen of Afghanistan. The position and prospects of Burma was the subject of a paper read by Mr. J. J. Nolan; Mr. P. R. Cadell, lately returned from India, spoke on the Indian Navy; and Sir Francis Younghusband gave a luminous paper on the exploration of the Himalaya.

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To the great regret of the Council, Mr. Stanley P. Rice relinquished in December the Hon. Secretaryship on taking up an appointment offered him by H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, on the understanding that he might at a later date renew his secretarial services to the Association. Mr. Rice was Hon. Secretary for nearly nine years, and brought to the position qualifications of a high order. Mr. F. H. Brown accepted the invitation of the Council to take the vacant place.

The following members of Council retire by rotation, but are eligible for re-election:

The Right Hon. Ameer Ali, C.I.E.
Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I.
Henry Marsh, Esq., C.I.E.
N. C. Sen, Esq., O.B.E.
Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E.
Sir Montagu Webb, C.I.E., C.B.E.

It is open to any member of the Association to propose any candidate for election to the Council on fifteen days' notice being given to the Hon. Secretary.

The Accounts show a balance at the bank of £214 11s. 9d., as compared with £211 0s. 6d. last year.

(*Signed*) L. DANE, *Chairman of Council.*
F. H. BROWN, *Hon. Secretary.*

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Appendix A

The following Papers were read during the year:

May 23, 1927.—"The Exploration of the Himalaya," by Lieut.-Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E. Colonel Charles H. D. Ryder, C.B., C.I.E., D.S.O., in the chair.

July 11, 1927.—"The Indian Navy," by P. R. Cadell, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S. (retd.). Vice-Admiral Sir Herbert W. Richmond, K.C.B., in the chair.

October 3, 1927.—"Dyarchy in Indian Provinces in Theory and Practice," by Sachchidananda Sinha (late Finance Member, Executive Council, Bihar and Orissa). Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., in the chair.

October 17, 1927.—Resumed Discussion on above Paper. Sir Patrick J. Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., in the chair.

November 28, 1927.—"Political Views of Orthodox Hindus," by Pandit Shyam Shankar, M.A. The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., in the chair.

February 13, 1928.—"Burma: An Unofficial View," by J. J. Nolan, F.J.I. Sir Reginald H. Craddock, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., in the chair.

March 12, 1928.—"Afghanistan and India," by Lieut.-General Sir George MacMunn, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.S.O. The Right Hon. the Earl of Ronaldshay, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., in the chair.

April 23, 1928.—"The Problem of the Domiciled Community in India," by W. H. Arden Wood, C.I.E. Sir Campbell W. Rhodes, C.B.E., in the chair.

Appendix B

The following have been elected Members of the Association during the year:

Kunwar M. Ashraf, Esq. (Student Member).
Arthur R. Astbury, Esq., C.I.E., M.I.C.E.
Rai Sahib Ram Agarwala.
Newal Kishore Agarwala, Esq., B.A., LL.B. (Student Member).
Ernest Burdon, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.
Mrs. Grizzel Hamilton Benham.
Lieut.-Colonel Frederick Adolphus Fleming Barnardo, C.I.E., C.B.E., M.D., F.R.C.I.E.
Victor Hope Boalth, Esq., C.B.E.
H.H. Raja Ram Singh, Raja of Chamba.
Maharawal Shri Natwarsinhji, Raja of Chhota-Udepur (Life Member).
Sir Arthur Herbert Cuming, I.C.S.
Mrs. N. B. Dewar.
John de la Valette, Esq.
Kansara Tribhowan Damoder, Esq., B.Sc. (Student Member).
Robert John Sherwood Dodd, Esq., C.S.I.
Robert Barnes Elwin, Esq., I.C.S. (retd.).
Colonel K. N. Haksar, C.I.E.
Matthew Hunter, Esq., C.I.E.
Sir Herbert Holmwood, I.C.S. (retd.).
Hugh Basil Holme, Esq., I.C.S. (retd.).
Mirza M. Ismail, Esq., C.I.E., O.B.E.
Rai Bahadur Sir Onkar Mull Jatia, C.I.E.
Kartar Singh Jandial, Esq. (Student Member).
Raja Md. Ejaz Razul Khan, C.S.I., Raja of Jehangirabad.
Rai Sahib Kishan Nand Joshi.
Faiz Mohamed Khan, Esq.
Major Malcolm Ellis Meade, I.A.
James Alexander Dickson McBain, Esq., C.I.E.
Satyendra Chandra Mallik, Esq., I.C.S.
Lord Middleton, M.C.
Sir Provash Chandra Mitter, K.C.I.E.
Leonard F. Morshead, Esq., C.S.I., I.C.S. (retd.).
Alexander Montgomerie, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.
Meherban Sir Malojirao Vyankatrao Raje Ghorapade, K.C.I.E., Raja of Mudhol (Life Member).
George Morgan, Esq., C.I.E., M.L.C.
Frank Noyce, Esq., C.S.I., C.B.E., I.C.S.
Ernest Alfred Notcutt, Esq.

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Rev. John Newcomb, D.D., K.-I-H.
Lieut.-Colonel Frederick O'Kinealy, C.I.E., C.V.O., I.M.S. (retd.).
Dr. Ragunath Purushottam Paranjpye.
Uma Prasada, Esq. (Student Member).
Mrs. Pollen.
Sir Edwin Hall Pascoe, M.A., D.Sc., F.G.S.
Leonard William Reynolds, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.
L. L. Sundara Ram, Esq., M.A. (Student Member).
Sachchidananda Sinha, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.
Arthur Leslie Saunders, Esq., C.S.I., I.C.S. (retd.).
Yeshwant Narayan Sukthankar, Esq., I.C.S.
Captain H.H. Raja Narendra Shah, C.S.I., Raja of Tehri (Life Member).
Lady Tighe.
Edmund Tydeman, Esq.
Sir Jugmohandas Varjivandas.
T. Viraraghavan, Esq.
Laurence Frederick Rushbrooke Williams, Esq., O.B.E.
Sir Henry Wheeler, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.
Sir Logie Pirie Watson.
Ralph Alexander Wilson, Esq., I.C.S.

Appendix C

The Council regret to announce the death of the following Members:

Colonel Philip J. H. Aplin, D.S.O.
Sir Charles P. Beachcroft.
Colonel Sir Robert N. Campbell, K.C.M.G., C.B., C.I.E.
Barré Cassels Forbes, Esq.
Sir Evan Maconochie, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.
Diwan Bahadur Pundit Nandlal, I.S.O.
Sir Francis Oldfield.
Rai Bahadur Sir Ganga Ram, C.I.E., M.V.O.
The Right Hon. Lord Sinha, K.C.S.I.
George Frederick Sheppard, Esq.
H. A. Sim, Esq., C.I.E.
Miss Mary Vaughan.

Appendix D

The following have resigned membership during the year:

Sir Muthiah Chitambara M. Chettyar.
Meherban Dattijarao Ghatage, Jahagirdar of Kagal.
George Cecil Golding, Esq.
Sir Malcolm N. Hogg.
Lady Jacob.
Alfred James Kay, Esq.
P. C. Lyon, Esq., C.S.I.
Edwin S. Murray, Esq., O.B.E.
Ernest Oughton, Esq.
Rev. Frank Penny.
Sir T. N. Sivagnanam Pillai.
H. S. L. Polak, Esq.
C. W. E. Pittar, Esq.
Cursetjee Rustomjee, Esq.
The Right Hon. Sir Lancelot Sanderson.
Lala Bishamber Sahai.
J. S. Slater, Esq.
Sir J. Henry Stone, C.I.E.
Rao Bahadur S. K. Sundaracharlu.

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ANNUAL MEETING

THE sixty-first Annual General Meeting of the East India Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Monday, June 18, 1928.

The Right Hon. LORD LAMINGTON, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., was in the chair, and the following members were present: Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggree, K.C.I.E., Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir Montagu Webb, C.I.E., C.B.E., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Thomas Strangman, Sir Duncan J. Macpherson, C.I.E., Sir Thomas Smith, Sir James McKenna, C.I.E., Sir William Ovens Clark, Professor L. F. Rushbrook Williams, C.B.E., Mr. H. R. Wilkinson, Mr. Shantidas Askuran Shah, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. F. W. Brownrigg, Mr. W. Coldstream, K.-i-H., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. F. A. T. Phillips, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mr. L. L. Sundara Ram, Mr. Syed A. Rafique, Mr. J. Sladen, Colonel D. Warliker, Mr. P. R. Cadell, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mrs. Dewar, Miss Curteis, Mr. N. K. Agarwala, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: I have no doubt you have all had copies of the Report, and therefore we may take it as read. I would like briefly to go over a few points which are raised in the Report. First of all, I desire to make a reference to the losses of the Association owing to death and resignations. However, on the year's working up to April 30 we have twenty-six more members than there were in the preceding year; since that date there have been other members admitted, and today we have a list of twelve, so that you will see our numbers can be considered very satisfactory.

Amongst others whom we have unfortunately lost I much regret was Lord Sinha, whose wise counsel can be ill spared in these days of anxious discussion. I am glad to say that his son is going to take his father's place by joining our Association. Another feature of the year has been a fuller recognition by deliberate decision of your Council and by the arrangement of our lecture programme to emphasize the principle for which the Association has always stood—in name, at least—of providing a platform for the discussion of current questions, not excluding controversial political questions. We exist to promote the welfare of the inhabitants of India, and we can best do so by the unfettered ventilation of different schools of opinion, provided that these are not merely subversive and that they are expressed in a temperate and reasonable spirit. I fully agree that in these days it is desirable to have a freer discussion, but I should like to point out quite definitely that no vote can be taken, and nothing is going to be put forward from the Association as an Association. It is to be purely open discussion, and we do not want it to be taken that we have any definite views or opinions on these very vital and important questions. It is particularly desirable that we should have an open platform at a time when the future of India within the British Empire is under examination

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by the Statutory Commission under the chairmanship of Sir John Simon. The members of that Commission have been the guests of the Association on more than one occasion, and notably several of them were present when the Maharaja of Burdwan gave us his strong and frank views on the problems the Commission has under consideration. I venture to think that the proceedings of our Association, as published in the ASIATIC REVIEW, side by side with other suggestive material on Indian problems, may be of real assistance to the Commission in the heavy responsibilities placed upon it.

I need not say that our range of interest covers the entire Indian Empire, and not British India alone. The welfare of the Indian States has always been an especial care of the Association, and quite a number of the Princes have shown from time to time their appreciation of this aspect of their work, as can be seen from reference to our list of Vice-Presidents and our list of members. It was inevitable that at a time when the future of British India was under review by the Statutory Commission the relations between the States and the Paramount Power should also be examined.

The inquiry on the Indian States under the chairmanship of our distinguished member, Sir Harcourt Butler, is now being continued in this country, and consequently an unusual number of the more influential Princes are now here to do some Imperial thinking. It is well known that a scheme of constitutional readjustment is being placed before the Committee under the auspices of the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes.

In this connection I have a most gratifying announcement to make. The Chancellor of the Chamber, the Maharaja of Patiala, has most kindly undertaken to read a paper to the Association on the subject. The date has been fixed for Tuesday, July 24. This will be on the eve of the holiday season, but I am quite sure that there will be a sufficient number of our members and others interested in India in London to give His Highness a worthy audience on the first occasion on which, so far as I know, a Ruling Prince of a great State has addressed a public meeting in England on Indian States polity.

By a happy coincidence we have with us today Professor L. F. Rushbrook Williams, who after serving the Government of India as Director o Information for some years, is now Foreign Minister to His Highness. I propose the adoption of the report, and I shall call upon Mr. Rushbrook Williams to second the motion.

You will see in the Report that an allusion is made to our late Honorary Secretary's absence in Baroda. I am glad that he keeps well there, and seems to like the work, and we trust that he will be able to return after his three years and resume his duties, but meanwhile we have an excellen substitute in Mr. Brown. (Hear, hear, and applause.) He is most enterprising in looking after the affairs of the Association; he strikes out into new paths in many directions. For instance, he has proposed informal dinners for members of the Association to meet in social intercourse. We have already had one, and I thought it was a very pleasant evening indeed

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made all the pleasanter by the absence of speeches. It is a charming way of meeting one's friends, and those connected with our Indian Empire.

Further, I should mention that there is to be a change in our proceedings. Instead of having our meetings at 3.30, which is a difficult time for business men and officials of the India Office and other departments, we have decided that from the commencement of the next lecturing season the hour of our meetings shall be 4.30. That will probably suit the convenience of a great number of those people who are busy in the earlier part of the afternoon. I hope that thereby we shall not only secure a larger attendance, but that we shall also have the advantage of enrolling as members many gentlemen as well as ladies interested in India, who may have held back in the past on account of the difficulty they have found in the way of being present at our meetings.

Mr. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS said it gave him very great pleasure to second the adoption of the annual report. He took it as being a very happy omen of the activities of the Association, representing as he did an Indian State, that he should have been given the honour of receiving the invitation to do so. The Association, as the Chairman quite rightly said, always made it plain that it regarded all India as its province. During the last twelve months those in India who had read the ASIATIC REVIEW (and there were a large number, he was happy to say) had read with the greatest interest articles dealing with Indian States. (Hear, hear.) There was scarcely a number of the current issues without some reference to the interlocking problems which, both from the side of British India and from the side of the Indian States, together constituted the great problem of India. He was very glad indeed that it had been found possible to arrange for His Highness the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes to read a paper to the members of the Association. It would be a unique occasion in that it was the first time that a Ruling Prince had publicly addressed a meeting in England; but he ventured to think there was another score upon which it would be remarkable. Considering the amount of attention which had been devoted by the daily press to the coming of the Indian Princes, he believed he could assume that it was generally realized that the whole Standing Committee of the Chamber, with two exceptions, headed by the Chancellor, were coming together to England for the first time since the Chamber came into existence. Without endeavouring in any way to anticipate what His Highness the Chancellor would say in the course of his paper, he would like to take the opportunity of saying that the Princes were coming here with a most definite and a most laudable object—namely, with the idea of making a definite constructive contribution to the solution of the great problem of India. If he were to endeavour to outline, however briefly, the lines of work upon which the Princes were engaged, he would, he feared, be trespassing too much on the time of the members of the Association, and what was perhaps equally important, he would be going beyond the scope of the matter with which he was at present endeavouring to deal. But at the time when Sir John Simon and the Statutory Committee were endeav-

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ouring to form some decision upon the leading problems in British India, it was, he thought, very fortunate that the States themselves should be endeavouring actively to associate themselves with His Majesty's Government and the authorities in England for the formulation of a solution of their side of the case. If there was one thing which was obvious to those who knew India, it was that neither the British Government nor the Indian States could solve their particular problems in isolation one from the other. Two dominant factors, political forces and economic forces, which governed every situation in every country, were in India of particular importance. In the first place, from the standpoint of India as a whole, the States lay so intermingled with the territory of British India that it was impossible to draw anything like a reasoned political boundary. In the second place, the unifying forces of modern communication and modern commerce had gone so far to make the country an economic whole that it was quite impossible now, either in the interests of one side or the other, to ignore the position of the opposite party. (Hear, hear.) In concluding he said he was afraid he had digressed from his original statement that it gave him pleasure to second the adoption of the report, but he had done so deliberately, and for this reason: the Association seemed to him to have done its very best to keep these two aspects of Indian problems—namely, the States problem and the British India problem—before the British public. He thought those of them who were working in India and looking for India to make a constructive contribution, owed a great debt of gratitude to the Association and also to the ASIATIC REVIEW for constant endeavours to form public opinion in England in relation to those problems. As the Chairman had remarked, the Indian Princes had in many cases taken an active interest in the welfare and general prosperity of the Association. He hoped that in the course of this season, with the gathering of an unusual number of Indian Princes, the rulers of several States would find it possible to attend the meetings of the Association and generally show by their presence how much they appreciated the work which the East India Association was doing.

(The Resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.)

Sir MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGREE said that if the value and importance of a proposal were not modified by its being moved for yet another year by himself, his own pleasure was not diminished by being asked to move that the Right Hon. Lord Lamington be re-elected President of this Association for the ensuing year. (Cheers.) Indeed, he considered it a great privilege to be the spokesman of the Association's desire that his Lordship should continue to safeguard and promote its interests as he had done in previous years. Before putting the proposal to the vote, he would crave leave to refer to one or two topics in the report which had just been adopted. The first was with regard to the Council's view to broaden the scope of subjects treated from the Association's platform. It was a wise step, and its results might be regarded with satisfaction if means could be devised for an equal opportunity as regards time and speakers being assured to the pros and cons of the subject under discussion. (Hear, hear.)

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The other matter which he wished to allude to was one on which the Association had reason to congratulate itself for securing an efficient substitute in place of Mr. Stanley Rice, who had done such good work for so many years as their Hon. Secretary. In Mr. F. H. Brown they had not only a coadjutor who had intimate knowledge of the purposes and activities of the Association, but who could import into the discharge of his duties a zeal and an influence of which they had proofs already in the quality of the papers and discussions and of the distinguished persons he had secured for their meetings. (Cheers.) Not only over them, but even in minute details of their affairs, Lord Lamington had presided and taken a deep interest in the past, and it required no special emphasis on his part to commend to their acceptance the proposal that his Lordship be appointed their President for the ensuing year, and he trusted for many years to come he would occupy that position. (Applause.)

Sir CHARLES ARMSTRONG said he had much pleasure in seconding the Resolution which had been proposed by Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree. They could not possibly have a better President, and he hoped very much that he would be re-elected.

(The Resolution was put by Sir M. Bhownaggree and carried with acclamation.)

The CHAIRMAN: I assure you that it is with heartfelt pride that I accept again the honorary position to which you have elected me. I am honestly pleased to think that you should think me worthy of the position. Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree, in his happily chosen and very kind words, said that he hoped I should occupy the position for many years to come. Well, years roll on, and if at any time you think it quite right to hint to me in a delicate way that you would like to put somebody else in my place, do so. I should more than understand if you thought that somebody else should hold the position after the considerable number of years that I have been connected with the Association, either as Chairman or as your President. I thank Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree and Sir Charles Armstrong for the really generous terms in which they have proposed and seconded my re-election, and I say once again that I accept it with feelings of pride and true pleasure. (Applause.)

Sir LOUIS DANE proposed the re-election of the retiring members of the Council, and also the election of new members of the Council, and said that before putting the resolution he would like to say how much he personally appreciated the references which had been made with regard to Mr. Stanley Rice and Mr. Brown. As Chairman of the Council he had a good deal to do with the Secretary, and knew how much the Association owed to those two gentlemen. He was rather surprised to find that there appeared to be one serious omission in their recent revision of the Rules, although perhaps it was his fault. There seemed to be no provision in the Rules by which they could get rid of their Chairman of the Council. (Laughter.) There certainly ought to be something, and perhaps somebody would be able to bring in a rule which would enable the Association to depose the Chairman of the Council when he had sat too long.

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The following retiring Members of the Council signified their willingness to be re-elected:

The Right Hon. Ameer Ali, C.I.E.
Mr. Henry Marsh, C.I.E.
Mr. N. C. Sen, O.B.E.
Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E.
Sir Montagu Webb, C.I.E., C.B.E.

Then the following were nominated as new Members of the Council:

Sir Herbert Holmwood.
Mr. Surendra Nath Mallik, C.I.E.
Dr. R. P. Paranjpye.
Mr. J. A. Richey, C.I.E.
Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E.

The Resolution was seconded by Mr. Wilkinson.

The Resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

Sir ALFRED CHATTERTON proposed the election of the following new Members of the Association:

Lord Sinha.
Sir William Sinclair Marris, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.
Sir John Kerr, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.
Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E.
Sir Edward M. Cook, C.S.I., C.I.E.
Sir Rustom Jehangir Vakil.
The Hon. Mr. Justice C. P. Blackwell.
Shantidas Askuran Shah (Life Member).
Abraham (Aubrey) Jacob David.
Mrs. (Evelyn Dorothea) Chaplin.
Miss E. L. Curteis.
Hari Lall Varma (Student).

Mr. L. L. SUNDARA RAM, in seconding the Resolution, said it gave him great pleasure to do so, especially as it was so gratifying to note the increasing membership of the Association. He further thought that the increase in the field and scope of discussions in the Association would benefit them, more especially Indian visitors, who would be enriched by the experience and ripeness of judgment of most of the members of the Association. (Applause.)

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen, in concluding the business this afternoon, I ought to make some allusion to the sad event—namely, the death of Sir Alexander Muddiman, Governor of the United Provinces. It is extremely sad, having regard to his having taken up his new duties so recently. I am sure you will wish me to express our great sympathy with his mother.

The proceedings then terminated.

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THE INDIAN LINGUISTIC SURVEY AND THE VERNACULARS

By Sir Edward Gait, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

If there is one statement that has been made about India more frequently than any other, it is that it must be regarded as a continent rather than a single country. Almost isolated from the rest of Asia by the mighty barrier of the Himalayas, its area is equal to that of Europe excluding Russia. It contains alike the oldest and the most recent geological formations. It has a remarkable diversity of climate, physical features, fauna and flora. Its population, which is one-fifth of that of the whole world, includes representatives of many different types of humanity.

But in no field is its diversity so remarkable as in that of language. There is no other part of the world of equal size where so many languages are spoken, or where they belong to such widely separated linguistic families or to such varying stages of development. Tibeto-Chinese dialects are spoken in the east and along the Himalayan fringe. Representatives of the Austro-Asiatic family are found in the same areas and also in Chota Nagpur and in a few small tracts elsewhere. In the southern part of the peninsula Dravidian languages predominate, while throughout the rest of India the great bulk of the people speak Aryan languages. Though these languages are now the speech of three-fourths of the population, they are not indigenous, but were brought to India by tribes who came in from the north-west, possibly about $3\frac{1}{2}$ millennia ago, and gradually replaced the earlier forms of speech. The Aryan and several of the Dravidian languages have their own distinctive scripts and an extensive literature, but this is not the case with certain other Dravidian

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languages nor with the Austric and the great majority of the Tibeto-Chinese languages. These are mere tribal dialects; they are unwritten, and live only in the fugitive memory of the primitive people who speak them.

REFERENCE BOOK

Genesis of the Survey

From the commencement of British rule many students, chiefly officials and missionaries, have devoted themselves to the study of Indian languages. Thanks to their efforts, the Brahmi character, in which so many ancient inscriptions were recorded, has been deciphered. The knowledge of Sanskrit has been revived, and its voluminous literature has been explored and critically examined. The modern vernaculars have been studied and developed with the aid of the printing-press; and many of the rude tribal dialects have been reduced to writing, and grammars of them have been worked out and published.

From time to time enthusiastic philologists—including Carey, Leech, Hodgson, Logan, Caldwell, Beames, Campbell, and Cust—had attempted a comparative study of more or less extended groups with a view to ascertaining their affinities and mutual relationships. But the material available for such studies was inadequate, and the efforts made met with scant success. They, nevertheless, served a useful purpose, as they brought to notice the urgent necessity for a thorough and systematic survey of the whole field. At the Congress of Orientalists held at Vienna in 1886, a resolution was unanimously passed urging the Government of India to cause such a survey to be made. No action was taken until 1894, when, owing, it may be surmised, to the initiative of that accomplished scholar the late Sir Charles Lyall, who was then the Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department, it was decided to institute a linguistic survey of the whole of India except Madras, Mysore, Hyderabad, and Burma.

Sir George (then Mr.) Grierson, at that time Magistrate

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REFERENCE BOOK

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of Gaya, was selected as the Superintendent of the proposed survey. The choice of Sir George Grierson was inevitable. He was far better equipped for such a task than any of his contemporaries, either in the ranks of the Government services or outside them. He was a Sanskrit scholar of repute, and throughout his service of over twenty-five years he had made a very close study of the dialects current in Bihar and of vernacular literature generally. He was recognized as the greatest authority on these subjects, and he had for years been the mainstay of the philological section of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Collection of the Material

But, well equipped though he was, the task was one of such magnitude—the biggest thing of the kind that had ever been attempted in any part of the world—that even he might have been unable to cope with it but for the excellent Indian administrative system. British India is divided into nearly 300 districts, each in charge of a district officer. Whenever any special work has to be done, whether it be famine relief, or a census, or precautions against plague, or the preparation of crop statistics or of an electoral roll, it is the district officer who is called upon to do the needful, and he never fails to respond efficiently and promptly. So it was with the linguistic survey. The first step was to obtain from each district officer a list of all the languages and dialects spoken in his district. Similar lists were also obtained from all the Indian States. When these lists had been examined and compared and roughly classified, the same agency was utilized to obtain specimens of every language and dialect current in each district. These specimens included:

(*a*) A translation into each such dialect of the Parable of the Prodigal Son. This passage was selected because it presents, for its length, an unusual number of grammatical points; it contains, *inter alia*, the three personal pronouns, most of the cases found in the declension of nouns, and the

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present, past, and future tenses of the verb. As many of the actual translators were ignorant of English, a volume containing sixty-five known versions of the Parable in Indian languages was prepared and circulated, so that, if the translator did not know English, he would probably find in this collection some language familiar to him which he could take as the basis for his translation.

(*b*) A piece of folklore, selected locally and taken down from the mouth of the speaker. This, like the translation of the Parable, was written in the Roman and also in the local character, if there was one; and a word-for-word translation was added.

(*c*) A translation into the language or dialect of a standard list of words and test sentences which had already been widely used in India.

It was difficult to find anyone with an adequate knowledge of a few of the more remote dialects. For instance, no one could at first be found who spoke one of the Kafir languages of the Hindu Kush. At length, says Sir George, after a long search, a shepherd of the desired nationality was enticed from his native fastnesses to Chitral. He knew only his own language, but a Bashgali Sheikh was found who knew a little of it and also knew Chitrali. With his aid the translation of the Parable was made through Bashgali and Chitrali. With care and the assistance of the local officers a version was ultimately obtained that satisfactorily complied with the stringent philological tests to which all these translations were subjected.

But the great majority of the specimens were prepared either by native speakers of the languages concerned or by missionaries or officials who were intimately acquainted with them. The main difficulty experienced was the reluctance of educated Indians to record words and idioms which they regarded as uncouth or ungrammatical, and their tendency to substitute their own more elegant phraseology. Such mistakes were usually put right by the local officer,

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but a further source of safety lay in the meticulous scrutiny of all the specimens by Sir George Grierson himself. Usually he had a considerable number to choose from, and his great knowledge and experience enabled him to select the best for each dialect. The specimens chosen for inclusion in the Survey Records were again very closely examined by him, and any expressions which seemed in the least doubtful were referred back to the local officers for further enquiry. Nothing was passed until he was completely satisfied; and we need, therefore, have not the slightest hesitation in accepting his view that the specimens printed in the Report present a true picture of the forms of speech to which they relate.

AND ITS ELUCIDATION

The collection, examination, and selection of specimens, and (where necessary) their revision, was practically completed in the course of four or five years. The processes of digesting and collating the raw material thus obtained necessarily took much longer. Each specimen was subjected to close analytical study; full notes were made of its grammatical and other peculiarities, and its relationship to other languages was investigated. When this had been done the next step was to come to a decision as to the place to be assigned to each form of speech—whether it was to rank as an independent language or as a dialect, and to what linguistic family or sub-family it was to be assigned.

The final stage was the preparation of a classified scheme of linguistic families, sub-families, languages, and dialects, and the arrangement, editing, and publication of the specimens under their appropriate headings, with the necessary explanatory memoranda. For example, the Tibeto-Burman languages of India are dealt with in Vol. iii. of the Report. This "Volume" (as it is called) is divided into three "Parts," each part being itself a bulky volume. Part II. deals with the Bodo, Naga, and

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Kachin groups of the linguistic family in question. The section of this part relating to the Bodo group begins with a general account of that group, the habitat of its speakers, the languages and dialects it includes, and the number of persons by whom each is spoken, together with a review of the general characteristics of the languages and a sketch of their mutual affinities. Then follows, for each language in the group:

(i.) A descriptive account of it and its development, together with a bibliography.

(ii.) A skeleton grammar.

(iii.) The specimens of the language, critically edited.

The enormous amount of labour involved will be understood when it is noted that in all 179 languages and 544 dialects have been thus dealt with; that the Report of the Survey extends over twenty thick quarto volumes, and that its preparation has engaged Sir George Grierson's almost undivided attention for over thirty years. The Report is a monument of careful, thorough, and scholarly work of the kind associated more frequently with German scholars than with those of our own country.

Sir George tells us that his Report is to be regarded as containing facts, not theories, but I do not think that anyone else is likely to take such a limited view of his achievement. The facts certainly are there, but there is a great deal besides. Sir George himself admits that the arrangement and grouping of the languages necessitated the adoption of theories as to relationship; and his volumes are packed with most informing discussions as to the nature and peculiarities of individual forms of speech and the relations which exist between them and other languages. I venture to think that he has settled finally such vexed questions as whether the individual speech-forms which he has dealt with are to be regarded as languages or dialects, and that the scheme of classification of Indian languages which he has drawn up will command universal acceptance. So far as these important aspects of Indian philology are

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concerned, Sir George Grierson has said practically the last word. His exhaustive study of the various speech-forms, his skilful analysis of their structure and grammar, and his searching comparison of one with another, give to his conclusions regarding their status and mutual relationship an authority which is most unlikely to be called in question by any future investigator.

It may be that by "theories" Sir George means suppositions that are not fully proved. In that case, no doubt he is right, for he has been most careful to avoid putting forward any views regarding the many languages he has dealt with which he is unable fully to substantiate.

Indo-Aryan Languages

Time does not permit of a detailed consideration of the results of the Survey, which in any case I should be quite incompetent to undertake. But I will endeavour to draw attention to a few matters of special interest. In recognizing the claim of Assamese to rank as a separate language, Sir George has endorsed a popular verdict. He says that if only its vocabulary and grammatical form are considered it might be regarded as a dialect of Bengali, but that its claim to be considered as an independent language is incontestable, because it is the speech of an independent nation, with a history of its own, and has a fine literature, differing altogether from that of Bengal.

But sometimes his conclusions are wholly opposed to preconceived ideas. Lahnda, for instance, which is the main form of speech in the Indus Valley, was previously regarded as a form of Panjabi, and officials who aimed at complete accuracy designated it "Western Panjabi." Sir George Grierson, however, has shown that it is neither Panjabi nor a dialect of Panjabi, but an entirely distinct language. Still more noteworthy is his conclusion regarding Hindi. This term was formerly regarded as connoting a single language, which (with numerous local dialects) is spoken throughout the Gangetic Valley between Bengal

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and the Panjab. Sir George shows that the term includes three distinct languages — Bihari, Eastern Hindi, and Western Hindi. Their vocabularies are very similar, but they disclose remarkable differences in their grammatical structure. The Eastern Hindi, spoken in Gorakhpur, for instance, "is highly synthetic, with a verb the conjugation of which is more complicated than that of Latin"; whereas, in the Western Hindi of Jhansi "there is hardly any synthetic grammar at all, and the verb has but one real tense and two participles." Bihari, the easternmost of these three languages, is more nearly allied to Bengali, Assamese, and Oriya than it is to other so-called Hindi dialects. The recognition of facts like these is of the highest importance from an administrative, and still more from an educational, point of view.

The late Dr. Hoernle pointed out, half a century ago, that the Indo-Aryan vernaculars are divided into two main branches:

(*a*) An inner, spoken in a tract corresponding fairly closely to the ancient Madhyadesa or middle country; this is referred to in mediæval Sanskrit geography as the true, pure home of the Indo-Aryan people, and extends from the Himalayas on the north to the Vindhya Hills on the south, and from Sirhind on the west to the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamna on the east.

(*b*) An outer branch, almost surrounding the inner, which runs through the Western Panjab, Sindh, the Maratha country, Central India, Orissa, Bihar, Bengal, and Assam.

Hoernle explained this state of things by suggesting that the two branches are the outcome of two separate invasions, the second being by the ancestors of the speakers of the inner group of languages, who entered the Panjab like a wedge, forcing the earlier immigrants outwards in three directions—to the east, the south, and backwards to the west. Sir George Grierson accepts the view that the two branches are derived from an earlier and a later immigration, but he does not consider it proved that it was necessarily the later

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immigrants who occupied the central area; he thinks it possible that the later immigrants were those who brought to India the languages of the outer branch, and who, finding the middle tract already occupied by the earlier immigrants, made their way down the Indus Valley, and then across India to the south of the earlier settlers, and, ultimately, behind them to the east. However that may be, the two branches are sharply opposed in many respects, such as pronunciation (especially as regards the treatment of sibilants), the declension of nouns, and the conjugation of the verb. The inner languages have abandoned inflexions, whereas the outer ones, so far from abandoning them, have created new inflexions where the old ones have worn away. There is, we are told, as great a difference in grammatical structure between the inner and outer branches as there is between English and Latin.

Besides the tribes that brought to India the Aryan languages already referred to, a small allied, but independent, community entered the Western Panjab over the Hindu Kush, and settled, for the most part, in the country round Gilgit, Kashmir and Chitral, and in Kafiristan. Owing to their savage nature and the inhospitable country they inhabit, they have had but little intercourse with the outside world. Their language has thus retained a very archaic character, and words which have disappeared elsewhere are still current in the identical form in which they were used in the Vedas three thousand years ago. Very little was known about this small but interesting group of languages until they were investigated by Sir George Grierson in the course of the Linguistic Survey.

Dravidian and Austro-Asiatic Languages

It is impossible, in the time available, to give further details regarding the Aryan languages, or to follow Sir George in his interesting dissertation on the development of the modern vernaculars, through the primary, secondary, and tertiary Prakrits. We must pass on to mention a few

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points of special interest in regard to the other linguistic families.

The first point I will refer to is Sir George Grierson's refutation of the old theory, revived by Hahn, that the Dravidian languages belong to the same linguistic family as the Munda—that is to say, the group of languages of which Mundari, Santali, and Ho are the principal members. It may be noted in passing that one is glad to see Max Müller's name for these languages restored, in place of the misleading "Kolarian," which was applied to them by Sir George Campbell, who imagined that there was some connection between the word "Kol," by which they designate themselves, and the Kolar district of Mysore, in Southern India. Sir George shows that the words common to certain languages of the two stocks to which Hahn attached great importance are due to mutual borrowing, or, in some cases, to the common use of Aryan loan words, and that there are essential differences between them both in structure and grammar. Though both families are agglutinative, the Dravidian lacks the great luxuriance of suffixes which distinguishes the Munda family. In gender the Dravidian distinguishes between rational and irrational; the Munda between animate and inanimate. The formation of cases differs greatly. The Dravidian languages have two numbers, the Munda three. The former count in tens, the latter in twenties.

The Dravidian linguistic family, which is spoken by 64 million people, has no known affinities with any other, in India or elsewhere, but the Munda has been shown by Pater Schmidt, the well-known Austrian philologist, to belong to the Austro-Asiatic branch of the great Austric linguistic family whose speakers are scattered over a wider area than those of any other family. They are found from Madagascar, on the one side, to Easter Island, off the coast of South America, on the other. They form the native population of Indonesia, Melanesia, Polynesia, and New Zealand.

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The most remarkable feature of the Munda languages is their extraordinary complexity. "Suffix," says Sir George, "is piled on suffix, till we obtain words which, to European eyes, seem monstrous in their length, yet which are complete in themselves, and every syllable of which contributes its quota to the general signification of the whole." The enormous number of complex ideas which can thus be formed according to the simplest rules is shown by the fact that the conjugation of the verb "to strike," in the third person singular alone, occupies nearly one hundred pages of a Santali grammar.

Nouns have three numbers—a singular, a dual, and a plural—and the dual and plural have each two forms, one including the person addressed and the other excluding him. "If you say to your cook, 'We shall dine at eight o'clock,' you must be careful not to use the wrong word for 'we,' as, if you do, you will be inviting him to come and dine with you."

Apart from the Munda languages, the only living representatives of the Austro-Asiatic linguistic family in India are Khasi in Assam, the Mon-Khmer group of languages in Burma, and Nicobarese. These differ in many respects from the Munda group, and no one but an expert would suspect their relationship. Khasi, for instance, is monosyllabic; there is no neuter gender, the help words are invariably prefixes, and the order of words in a sentence is much the same as in English.

Although dialects of the Austro-Asiatic family are now spoken in India by only some 4½ million persons, Sir George Grierson produces evidence to show that they were formerly current over the greater part of Northern India, and also that there is a Munda substratum in the Telugu of North Madras and in certain Tibeto-Burman languages of the Central sub-Himalayan region. In Burma, Mon-Khmer languages were spoken widely only a few centuries ago, and one of them (Talaing) was the main language of Pegu when it was conquered by the Burmese in 1757. Its use

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there was forbidden in 1826, with the result that a quarter of a century later it had become extinct.

The influence of the Dravidian languages on those of the Indo-Aryan family is far greater than that of the Munda, and Sir George Grierson infers that the latter must, to a great extent, have given way to the Dravidian before the intrusion of the Indo-Aryan languages. This conclusion raises the question of the relative antiquity in India of the Dravidian and the Munda families, and which of the two was originally associated with the so-called Dravidian physical type. A discussion of this question would take us beyond the scope of this lecture, and I will merely observe that divergent views have been expressed regarding it, and that the information available seems insufficient to justify a definite conclusion.

Tibeto-Chinese Languages

The Tibeto-Chinese family is widespread in Asia, and claims more speakers than any other linguistic family in the world. It is believed to have had its origin in North-West China. Successive waves of immigrants brought it into the extreme north and east of India—that is to say, the Himalayan area, Assam and Burma. In these tracts it has dislodged the earlier tongues, including amongst others those of the Austro-Asiatic family, though, as already noted, a few isolated colonies of that family still survive.

According to the last census there are about 13 million speakers of Tibeto-Chinese dialects in India, though, owing to the exclusion of Burma from its operations, the linguistic survey deals only with about 2 millions. An independent linguistic survey of Burma is now in progress, and it may be hoped that this will throw light on the few remaining dark places in Indian philology, including the affinities of the Man and Karen languages of Burma, whose affiliation is still uncertain ; they were thought by the late Terrien de Lacouperie to be pre-Chinese.

The Tibeto-Chinese family is divided into two sub-

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families, Tibeto-Burman and Siamese-Chinese. The former is found mainly in the Himalayan area and Assam, and the latter, which was the speech of later immigrants, mainly in Burma. It is in regard to these languages that the survey has broken most new ground. Of 132 languages examined, including some spoken only in Nepal, grammars and vocabularies had been compiled only for about twenty; most of the others had never previously been put in writing.

All these languages were once agglutinating, but some of them (Chinese, for example) are now isolating—that is to say, the old prefixes and suffixes have worn away; each word is now a monosyllable, and if it is desired to modify it in respect to time, place, or other relation, this is done by adding some other word which has a meaning of its own and is not incorporated with the main word. In some cases these secondary words are losing their significance as separate vocables and are becoming mere prefixes or suffixes—in other words, the agglutinating principle is again superseding the isolating. This process is now going on in the Siamese-Chinese languages, while in the Tibeto-Burman it has practically been completed.

A prominent characteristic of most of these languages, as contrasted with those of the Mon-Khmer family, is the use of tones. Thus in Siamese the same word "ma" means "come," "soak," "horse," "beautiful," or "dog," according to the acoustic pitch given to it. It is thought that the tones may be the survival of prefixes which have disappeared. They are most numerous in languages like Chinese and Siamese, which have now no prefixes, and least so in those like Burmese, which use prefixes freely.

Thanks to ancient Buddhist missionaries, Tibetan and Burmese have long since been reduced to writing. The other languages of the Tibeto-Burman sub-family are unwritten, and are peculiarly liable to change. Where communications are difficult they quickly split up into dialects which, in their turn, develop into independent languages. This is the main reason why the Tibeto-Burman languages

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dealt with by the survey are spoken on the average by only 17,000 persons as compared with an average of 13 million in the case of Indo-Aryan languages.

Race and Language

The tribes that brought the Indo-Aryan languages to India were probably very small in numbers compared with the earlier inhabitants, yet, at the present day, three-quarters of the people of India speak such languages. It is clear, therefore, that they are spoken by many who have little or no "Aryan" blood in their veins. The original invaders were a virile race who imposed their language on the people they conquered. As their culture and social system and religion spread over the country so also did their speech, until it became current over almost the whole of Northern India. It is only in comparatively inaccessible tracts, such as the Sub-Himalayas and the jungles of Chota Nagpur and Assam, and in a large part of the peninsula area, where the Aryan infiltration was weak and the main Dravidian languages have a written character and literature of their own, that the earlier forms of speech have been able to survive.

A striking instance of the dominant nature of the Aryan languages in India, *vis-à-vis* those of other linguistic families, is to be found in the Brahmaputra Valley. This tract was conquered in the thirteenth century by the Ahoms, a Shan race. They had a powerful priesthood and a written character and literature of their own; and they successfully maintained their independence when the greater part of India was subjugated by the Muhammadans. Yet, in less than five centuries, their kings had embraced Hinduism, and had abandoned their tribal tongue in favour of an Aryan language. When this happened in the case of a relatively advanced and organized race like the Ahoms it will readily be understood how much more easily it may happen to small primitive tribes whose dialects are unwritten.

Sir George Grierson points out that in India proper at

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the present day the process of linguistic change is invariably in the same direction. It is always a case of Aryan languages superseding the non-Aryan. Never do we find the reverse process. In other words, the Aryan languages are dominant and the non-Aryan decadent. The dying languages of today may, however, have been dominant at an earlier epoch. We have already seen how, in Burma, Burmese has supplanted Mon-Khmer dialects in very recent times, and even at the present day hillmen who descend into the plains adopt Burmese or Shan as their language within a single generation. It would, therefore, be almost as unsafe to assume that the speaker of (say) a Dravidian language is a descendant of the people with whom that language originated, as that a speaker of an Aryan language is a descendant of the tribes that brought those languages to India. It is, in fact, impossible to draw any conclusion regarding a man's race from the language which he speaks.

Conclusion

I have given only a few brief notes of some of the main features of the colossal work which Sir George Grierson has now brought to a highly successful conclusion. But I hope I have said enough to show the extraordinarily complete and comprehensive character of his Report on the Linguistic Survey of India. Every language and every dialect in the great area dealt with has been described and analyzed; its peculiarities of grammar and structure have been laid bare, and its relationship to other languages clearly defined. The great value of the achievement to philologists has already received widespread recognition. Learned societies in France, Germany, America, India, Denmark, and other countries have shown their high appreciation by making Sir George Grierson an Honorary Member or Fellow of their societies, and various Universities have conferred on him honorary degrees. We all rejoice in the bestowal upon him last month of the

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Order of Merit, an honour which has never before been conferred for service in the Indian sphere.

Sir George Grierson's work is of far more than merely scientific value. It is of value to all who are interested in India, and especially to officials, teachers, and missionaries, and should serve to bring home to them the great pleasure and profit to be derived from a study of the local dialects. It may be possible to exchange ideas to a more or less limited extent, by means of some *lingua franca*, such as Hindustani, but if real confidence is to be established with the masses of the people, and if they are to be persuaded to open their minds freely, it is essential to be able to converse with them in their own mother tongue. Now that all the local dialects have been explored and elementary grammars and vocabularies provided, it is to be expected that they will be studied as they have never been before, and that closer relations with the people will be established which cannot fail to redound to the mutual benefit of all concerned.

I cannot refrain from taking this opportunity to acknowledge the indebtedness of Indian Census Officers to the great and unselfish assistance which Sir George Grierson gave them in 1901 and again in 1911. It was arranged at the census of 1901 that Sir George should write the language chapter of the All-India Report, in which he would embody the results ascertained by his linguistic survey up to that time. Most people in that position would have been tempted to reserve the information they had collected for their own contribution. Not so Sir George: he placed all his information at the disposal of the Provincial Census Officers, so that they might make use of it in their provincial reports, which were published a considerable time before the report for the whole of India. Though, unfortunately for me, Sir George did not write the language chapter of the All-India Report on the Census of 1911, he came to our assistance in the same generous way as before, and freely gave us all the further information which he had obtained up to that time.

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DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING was held on Monday, July 16, 1928, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., when a paper was read by Sir Edward A. Gait, K.C.S.I. C.I.E., on "The Indian Linguistic Survey and the Vernaculars," Sir E. Denison Ross, C.I.E., presiding.

The following ladies and gentlemen, among others, were present:

The Rani of Jasdan, The Tikka Rani of Kapurthala, Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir Michael F. O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir George Grierson, O.M., C.I.E., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Duncan J. Macpherson, C.I.E., Lady Gait, Sir Herbert Holmwood, Mr. Surendra Nath Mallik, C.I.E., Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, C.S.I., Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. J. A. Richey, C.I.E., Colonel M. J. Meade, C.I.E., Mr. C. H. Bompas, C.S.I., Mr. C. M. Baker, C.I.E., Dr. Zia-ud-din Ahmed, C.I.E., Mr. H. Harcourt, C.B.E., Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mr. V. H. Boalth, C.B.E., Mr. and Mrs. Kirk, Mr. and Mrs. A. C. Brown, Mr. and Mrs. W. F. Westbrook, Dr. Weitbrecht Stanton, Mr. F. W. Brownrigg, Mrs. Martley, Colonel D. Warliker, Major G. W. Gilbertson, Mr. T. Williams, Mr. Greenshields, Mr. E. F. Harris, Mrs. M. E. Twyman, Mr. L. L. Sundara Ram, Mr. D. Rose Pringle, Miss Stephen, Mr. S. A. Rafique, Mr. G. Pywell, Mr. Paul King, Mrs. Herron, Mr. H. M. Willmott, Mrs. Taylor, Mr. Scott Bremner, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: I feel it a very great honour to be asked to preside on this occasion, which is no doubt due to the position I happen to hold in connection with the School of Oriental Studies, and I welcome the opportunity of paying a tribute to my old and valued friends, Sir George Grierson and Sir Edward Gait.

Sir Edward Gait then read his paper.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen, I am sure we are all most grateful to Sir Edward Gait for giving us what is a very lucid account of a very remarkable book, quite inaccessible to most of us. I feel that there are a good many people present who would like to speak, and it is quite natural that they should wish to speak, not only of, but actually to, Sir George Grierson, as he is present. Before calling upon Sir George Grierson to open the ball for us, I would like to say one word about the lecturer, in case he is lost sight of. Sir Edward Gait represents that marvellous group, headed in old days by Sir William Jones, of men who have managed to combine with the onerous duties of office (and who in such office have attained the highest heights) scientific studies such as are usually undertaken only by professional scholars and students. Their number is not great, but we are familiar with all of them, such as Colebrooke, H. H. Wilson, Bryan Hodgson, and in later times, Sir Denzil Ibbetson and Sir Herbert Risley. In this list must be included Sir Edward Gait, who, as we all know, was Governor of one Province and wrote the history of another. His admirable "History of Assam" will bear comparison with

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most regional histories that I know of; but the work with which his name will be for ever associated is the Census Report of 1901, in which he took a large share, and the Census Report of 1911, of which he bore practically the whole burden.

Having paid a tribute to our lecturer, to which you have responded by your applause, I will now call upon Sir George Grierson to honour us with a few words.

Sir GEORGE GRIERSON, who was received with loud applause, said: If I venture to make a few remarks on Sir Edward Gait's lecture, I must begin by offering my thanks for the very kind words in which he has referred to me throughout. The satisfaction experienced on the completion of a long task is doubled by recognition from a friend so competent to judge its value. My gratitude, too, is tinged with a feeling of envy at the ability with which he has explained to non-experts a state of affairs so complicated as that exhibited by Indian languages. That is an ability to which I can in no way pretend, for I have lived for so many years in the heart of a linguistic jungle that I too often fail to see the wood for the trees; and it is a pleasure to me to hear the main outlines traced out so clearly by a master hand.

The complexity of the position of India in regard to language has been so well described by Sir Edward that it is unnecessary for me to dwell upon it, save to urge that it illustrates the difficulties that must be encountered by everyone who desires to look upon that country as a single unit, whether from the point of view of languages, races, customs, or religions. A land in which tongues so diverse as the Dravidian Tamil, the Aryan Hindostani, the Austro-Asiatic Santali, and the Tibeto-Burman Angami, are all spoken, cannot be compared with any single country of the West. We should have to think of a tract two-thirds the size of Europe with, say, Turkish spoken in one quarter, Italian in another, and Norwegian in yet a third.

Let me give you, as an example, one rather pathetic instance of this diversity of Indian speech that has been communicated to me by an officer in the Indian Medical Service who is stationed in Bombay. The Naga Hills are in the extreme east of the Province of Assam. During the war a number of Nagas were enlisted to form a Labour Corps, and in course of transfer found themselves in Bombay, some fifteen hundred miles as the crow flies—or about as far as London is from North Cape—from their home. One of these Nagas was there admitted to hospital under the name of Mpta'i. Poor Mpta'i was very ill. He lay in a crowded Indian hospital utterly alone, for there was no one who could speak to him nor anyone who could understand a word of what he said; and—so—he died. The official forms were filled up and the headquarters of his corps were notified, but they, in their lists, could not trace anyone named Mpta'i. On further enquiry, that word proved to be the Naga for "I do not understand," which, on his admission to the hospital, was the poor fellow's reply to the Hindostani for "What is your name?" When you come to think of it, here, as my correspondent wrote, was one of the tragic heroes of the

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war—an Unknown Warrior who found no resting place of honour. What can be more pathetic than the picture of this poor Naga, lying in the Valley of the Shadow, able to speak, and yet unable to communicate a single wish or message to those he loved in the far-away hills that were his home. Nevertheless, he was an Indian, in India, and surrounded by kindly fellow-Indians who were most anxious to help him.

As regards the Survey, I myself have gained much from it, and what I value most of all is the long list of friends that it has given me. Time will not permit it, nor may I weary you with a recital of the names that have been added to it one by one during more than fifty years—for the Survey really began long before its formal institution. India, America, the Continent of Europe, and the British Isles have all contributed to it. What friends they have been! How great a debt do I owe to each and all of them! Ever ready with help, ever ready with kindly criticism, and never, in all these years, even when I blundered, uttering or writing a word of harsh detraction. Here, indeed, the Survey has taught me that we students of things Indian are a real band of brothers, and long may this brotherhood continue!

Sir Edward has made some very kind remarks about the magnitude of my task. In all modesty, may I explain that, if I have succeeded in completing it, that is due to the training that every Indian civilian gets in pegging away at his job, and, in my case, that was easy, for the job was a pleasant one.

But enough of personal observations. I am sure that I am giving voice to the thoughts of all who have heard him, when I express my appreciation of the lucidity with which he has explained a complicated but most interesting phase of Indian life.

Mr. Zia-ud-din Ahmed said they had heard a very interesting and a very lucid lecture. Sir George Grierson had done a monumental work. They had a good deal of material now, and would have to investigate how the different languages and different dialects developed. It might be possible to throw some light on some very important historical problems. He thought that in the future, when they had one mother language, the different dialects would either disappear or gather together round a few main centres. Sir George Grierson's research would help in deciding which of the languages should be developed as main centres. Sir George Grierson had pointed out that when one spoke of India one should not think of countries, but should always think of a continent. He thought that if the analogy of the continent was always applied to Indian conditions, the question of languages, along with other problems, would probably be solved. He hoped that in time all the different dialects would be replaced by a few languages which would be used not only for teaching, for administration, and for university purposes, but which would also develop a large amount of literature.

Rev. C. H. K. Boughton (General Secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society) said he was very grateful for the opportunity of joining in the tributes of praise which were being paid to Sir George Grierson.

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There was a special reason, he thought, why the Bible Society should join in them. He noticed on the last page of Sir Edward Gait's paper the remark that Sir George Grierson's work would be of value to officials, teachers, and missionaries. The Bible Society worked in closest co-operation with missionaries. Moreover, the Bible had been extremely valuable as providing in the parable of the Prodigal Son one of the texts by the aid of which Sir George was able to do his work. Sir George's work would be of enormous value to the Bible Society, which had up to the present issued some parts of the Bible in about one hundred of the languages of India. The whole of the Bible was available in twenty-one of them, and at least the New Testament in twenty-six more. The Bible Society was indebted to Sir George not only for his book, but for the immense amount of help personally given. Sir George had joined the Bible Society's Committee in London in the year 1901, and had been a regular member of the Editorial Sub-Committee for twelve or thirteen years. Although he had not been to the meetings of the Committee since 1914, he had always been available for counsel and advice; and his advice had never been wanting when it had been applied for. Giving an illustration of the help received from Sir George, he said that the Society was now engaged in a version of the Tamil Bible, which was the oldest in any of the languages of India; it went back for just over 200 years. There were two versions current at the present moment: the Fabricius (Lutheran), which went back to 1772-96, and the Union version which was published in 1871. There could be no more important question in Biblical translation than settling what word was to be used for God, and there was a different word in each version. It had been proposed that a third word should be used, and both the earlier words rejected. When the London Committee of the Society were asked for their opinion, he went to Sir George and asked him about the whole question. It was an example of the enormous debt which the Society owed to Sir George Grierson in connection with many versions.

Dr. WEITBRECHT STANTON also paid a cordial tribute to Sir George Grierson for what he had done to help missionaries in India in their linguistic tasks. As a missionary who had tried to work in the cause of vernacular literature, he had had to do particularly with the Urdu version of the New Testament, which was translated about 120 years ago and revised at the end of the last century. In the case of a growing language like Urdu, when an endeavour was made to bring a new version up-to-date, a most important point was the standard to be adopted for style and idiom. The revisers took, of course, the advice of Indian experts of various sorts, but they were also most materially helped by Sir George Grierson in settling that standard for the Urdu version of the New Testament. While they honoured the Linguistic Survey by Sir George as a unique monument of research and learning, they also wanted to build upon it for the future of India. In the development of national life the problem of education was coming to the forefront, and sundry proposals were being discussed for the extended use of the great Indian vernaculars as vehicles of higher

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education. As a help in judging which languages were specially worth using for this purpose Sir George Grierson's survey was of inestimable value. It might also well afford guidance in possible amalgamation of dialects, such as was being brought about in the language of the Ibo tribes, numbering several millions, in West Africa. They owed special thanks to Sir George Grierson for giving them a basis from which important conclusions could be drawn that would affect the intellectual and moral welfare of untold millions in time to come.

Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham: As the time is so limited, my remarks will be chiefly personal. It has been a pleasure to hear the tributes paid by some previous speakers to what is perhaps one of the most noticeable traits in Sir George's character, his selflessness and readiness at any time to help others, even the humblest inquirer.

It is indeed a privilege to join in the discussion this afternoon for one who, though unqualified otherwise, has always felt unqualified admiration for the work done by Sir George Grierson, not only in connection with the Linguistic Survey of India, but also in other fields of research. It is more than thirty years ago that I assumed charge of the Gaya district in Bihar, of which he had held charge some four years previously, and where his name was respected, nay, revered, by the people. It was there that I first studied his "Seven Grammars of the Dialects and Sub-dialects of the Bihari Languages," published by him when he had been but ten years in India; it was there that I first realized the valuable nature of his "Bihar Peasant Life" —that encyclopædia of information about the people of Bihar, their customs and work-a-day life and its surroundings; it was there that I studied his fascinating "Notes on the District of Gaya," written to supplement the information contained in the dry Statistical Account (the District Gazetteers had not yet been published), a little book that proved a delightful companion for five years, and may well be compared with that best of district memoirs, "Mathura," by F. S. Growse. These works afforded an insight into the remarkable powers of the man, the breadth and depth of his knowledge; his wide linguistic attainments, his scholarship, combined with a deep human interest in the lives of the people, their history, languages, religions, social and agricultural customs; his striking capacity for organization and for getting through work promptly. It is these qualities, combined with others—an enthusiasm that infected all who worked with or under him, a mind always fair and impartial, a sense of humour that never failed him in the most trying circumstances, and, above all, perhaps, that genuine affection for the country and its peoples that has inspired him throughout his long labour—that rendered him pre-eminently fitted for the great task that fell so naturally upon his shoulders, which he has so finely performed.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer said he was incapable of discussing the subject from a linguistic standpoint, but he would say a word from the administrative point of view. All in that gathering, British and Indian, looked up to Sir George Grierson as their revered *guru*, while they were his *chelus* or disciples. Those of the older generation had cause for regret that Sir

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George Grierson and his work did not exist in their time; it would have made their task in assimilating the various dialects they came into contact with so much easier and pleasanter. At various times he had had to struggle with some half-a-dozen of these languages with more or less success. Sir Michael mentioned that he went on duty to Jerusalem in 1920 and he wanted to see the mosque of Omar, on the site of Solomon's temple. The Governor explained that it was impossible to issue a permit as the Muhammadans were holding a very sacred festival on the day in question. He went down to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on Easter Saturday and then passed on to the mosque, which adjoins it. A sentry of an Indian regiment was on duty. Recognizing him to be a Pathan, he spoke to him in his own language, Pushtu; his face lit up with joy, and he asked, "Sahib, what are you doing here?" Sir Michael replied: "I came to see this famous mosque of Omar, but I am told it is only open to Muslims today." Whereupon the soldier, a transborder Mahsud, said: "That is all right; what am I here for, except to show you round?" Sir Michael declined the man's offer as he did not wish to infringe the rules, but the incident showed what a knowledge of language might do in a faraway part of the world. That was why he regretted the tendency nowadays to consider a knowledge of the vernaculars as almost superfluous. You cannot get into the minds of the people, he said, unless you know their language; not only the main language, but the dialects.

The CHAIRMAN: I do not know that I need in any way sum up what has been said, because it has been one continuous tribute to which I feel I can add nothing; but I should like to tell those here that for the first few years of the existence of the School of Oriental Studies Sir George Grierson used to come to London month after month to attend the meetings of its management committee. You can all imagine what it meant to us to have the advice of a man like him, during the young days of an institution of that kind. With regard to the conferment of the O.M. by His Majesty, Sir Edward has said it was the first time it had been given to India; more than this, it is the first time such public recognition has been given to Oriental studies. There is in connection with Sir George Grierson's great book one point, a somewhat delicate one, perhaps, to which I wish to refer. The example set by Sir William Jones and others was, indeed, followed from time to time by men in civil or judicial employ, but curiously enough not by men outside such employ. We all know that under the old English system it was to your advantage if you knew a language when you were in the country, but the mere knowledge of an Indian language was no guarantee that you would find employment in India. It has always been a matter of surprise to me that more Englishmen did not take up these studies in order to find a way to India and to be useful there. Things are, I think, better now, but they are not as good as they should be. I am not sure even now that I should recommend a young man, unless he kept a Rolls Royce, to take up Oriental studies for a career. When the first results of this magnificent discovery of Sanskrit were brought to the West, the French and the Germans, who were equipped for such matters in their universities,

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turned them to good account. They were, however, almost neglected in England; and thus it came about that when somebody with knowledge of Indian languages was required for educational posts, we had to go to the Continent to find them; it was a strange thing that you could never call upon England to fill these posts. My point is this, that it really is a matter of great satisfaction that the Linguistic Survey should have been entrusted to an Irishman, when we remember that such work was usually entrusted to foreigners. Of course, I do not say that their work was not admirably done, for we owe a very great debt to many of the Continental scholars who have filled posts in India.

We live in an age of peace pacts when every possible effort is being made in the direction of goodwill and co-operation. Sir George himself said that his work had brought him into contact with every continent, and that he has always been on the most friendly relations with all his collaborators. I think it is the scientific experts who can do more to contribute to the peace of the world than any other class, because they realize more than anyone else the value of co-operation. I remember the time during the War when we had the most extraordinary difficulty of knowing what Germany was doing, what they were working on and what they had done in Oriental subjects. Those days have now passed. I only am glad to think that in spite of, or because of, the work done by so many nationalities in India, this great Linguistic Survey should have fallen to, may I say, an Englishman to carry out. No one can deny his great scholarship. I wish to mention one thing which is very important in connection with Sir George Grierson's work—namely, his early recognition of the value of the gramophone. We owe it to him that we have in the school a whole series of gramophone records from various districts in India, sometimes covering a dozen different dialects. That work has to be completed in the same way that he has completed the Linguistic Survey. Finally, I would like to see the parable of the Prodigal Son printed in all the languages of India and published in a handy form; I think it would have a warm welcome and make an ideal gift book. I wish in conclusion to thank Sir George for all he did for the School of Oriental Studies. I may be permitted to mention that this year we have reached the height of 601 students, which is 100 more than we have had in previous years.

Sir L. DANE in proposing a vote of thanks said he hoped that all present realized that they had been very privileged to come to that meeting and hear some most distinguished Oriental scholars of world-wide reputation, whom we had the honour to claim as British subjects. Sir Denison Ross was a very distinguished and successful chief of the School of Oriental Studies in London, which was practically an Empire school. Sir Edward Gait was well known throughout India and practically throughout Europe and the world as one of the greatest authorities on ethnology and Oriental languages. His lecture was really a wonderful synopsis of a wonderful work, and he was sure everyone was wiser for having heard it. They also had heard Dr. Stanton, who was one of the greatest Indian linguists we possessed, and finally he came to Dr. Grierson, as he would

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prefer to call him. He had to say that he could not adequately praise him. Sir George Grierson entered the Service the year before he (the speaker) did, and came from the same country, Ireland. They had been proud of Irishmen as soldiers, as administrators, and as judges. They had, perhaps, never been able to do very much to compete with their cousins from the Tweed in the matter of commerce, but to a certain extent they felt that in other lines they could vie with any race in the British Empire. He thought in the matter of scholarship they might have been challenged, but thanks to Dr. Grierson the position of Ireland now had been thoroughly established upon an impregnable foundation. There was not the remotest possibility of any scholar within the present or succeeding generation being able to achieve a work such as Dr. Grierson had achieved in the Linguistic Survey of India, and he thought that those present were very fortunate to have seen him and to have heard him, as also to have heard the very distinguished Chairman and Lecturer. On behalf of everybody he proposed a very hearty vote of thanks to all of them, and especially to Dr. Grierson, to whom they were very much obliged for coming.

The proceedings then terminated.

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THE INDIAN STATES AND THE CROWN

By His Highness the Maharaja Dhiraj of Patiala
(Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes)

Your Highnesses, My Lords, Ladies, and Gentlemen,

When I received the kind invitation of my old friend, Mr. Brown, your Honorary Secretary, to address you this afternoon, I was very pleased at the compliment paid to me; but I hesitated as to whether the compliment was one which I ought to accept. In the first place, I had some natural diffidence, because I believe this to be the first occasion on which a Ruling Prince has personally addressed a learned gathering of this description. In the second place, I realized that certain aspects of the subject which it was proposed I should discuss are being examined by the Committee presided over by Sir Harcourt Butler. But on reflection I decided that both these grounds for hesitation were more apparent than real. I knew that I should find in you a kindly audience, very tolerant of any shortcomings on my part; and I soon found, on thinking the matter over, that there were many aspects of the relationship between the Indian States and the Crown or, at any rate, many topics necessary for a right understanding of that relationship, falling entirely outside the scope of the Committee's enquiry. So I made up my mind that I would come and address you.

May I begin by taking my stand upon the hard facts of geography? It seems to me that it is difficult to understand the relations between the States and Crown unless one realizes the great importance of the position which the States occupy in the actual geography of India. I wonder how many of my audience realize that it would be possible to fly in an aeroplane from the most northern border of the

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territory ruled over by my friend and brother, His Highness of Kashmir, to Cape Comorin at the extreme south of India, without traversing more than a very few hundred miles of British territory. Yet this is a fact. If one were to go from the extreme northern border of the great State of Jammu and Kashmir, which is almost the size of France, due southward, one would only cross that very narrow neck of the Punjab which intervenes between Kashmir and the Simla Hill States. The Simla Hill States, in their turn, are joined by the territory ruled by myself and the descendants of our common Phalkean ancestor to the enormous block of territory known as Rajputana, the original home of my own and the great majority of the ruling dynasties of India.

Continuing our line due south through Eastern Rajputana, we should come without a break to Central India and the great Mahratta territories. On leaving these we should traverse a narrow neck of land between Bombay and the Central Provinces before entering the great State of Hyderabad. Hyderabad is directly linked with Mysore, and by the time we had attained the boundary of the latter State we should already be south of Madras. There is then a small piece of British territory before the Southern Indian States of Cochin and Travancore are reached. Beyond them is the sea.

Almost equally striking would be the result of observations made in the course of a direct east to west flight from Calcutta to the boundaries of Baluchistan. From Calcutta, it is true, one would first traverse a considerable strip of British territory, but one would quickly find oneself—as speed is measured in the air—passing through an outlying portion of the Orissa Feudatory States. Another small stretch of British territory, and we should come to the large Baghelkhand group of States, whence we should make our way almost uninterrupted into Rajputana. The very small British province of Ajmer in the heart of Rajputana would be the last British territory we should see until we touched

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the Indus. From the Indus westwards we should traverse another narrow neck of British territory until we came to Baluchistan, and with Baluchistan and its tribal chiefs to the borders of India.

Lines of Communication

These two bird's-eye views, north to south and east to west, serve to show in what a remarkable manner the territory of the States lies across, and from one point of view dominates, the whole of India. There are only two stretches of British territory which continue without interruption for many hundreds of miles; one is the Gangetic Plain and its continuance, the basin of the Five Rivers. From the Punjab there is, it is true, uninterrupted access to the sea at Karachi; but this long neck of British territory is flanked by States on either side. Secondly, along the east coast of India, British territory runs in an uninterrupted band from Bengal to the extreme south; but between this band and the centre of India there lies a solid block of States territory. It is impossible to travel from Bombay to Calcutta, from Bombay to Delhi, or from Bombay to Madras, without traversing in one's journey hundreds of miles of territory which are not under British rule.

From these facts there is one deduction which I should like to make immediately. The Indian States are so situated that the main arteries of communication, which are vital both for the safety and the well-being of the Indian Continent, run principally through State territory. Does not this seem to argue that the prosperity of India as a whole is very largely dependent upon effective co-operation between the governing authorities in British India and the governing authorities in the Indian States?

Before I develop this point, I should like to answer very briefly a question which I am sure must have formed itself in the minds of many of my hearers. How is it that the map of India—India which is popularly supposed to be

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a British dependency—has assumed these extraordinary characteristics? For I believe extraordinary is the right word. Great Britain controls the destinies of India, and yet inside India there are a number of autonomous political units over whose actions the Government of British India has relatively little control. In order to answer this question I shall have to look to the past, and I hope you will forgive me for introducing some history into my talk.

The Days of "John Company"

If I were to endeavour to trace, no matter in how summary a fashion, the history of the relations between the Indian States and British India, I should really be tracing the whole rise and progress of British rule in India. I will not attempt so impossible a task, and will content myself with saying that the East India Company found it necessary for its own existence to enter into treaty relations with some of the Indian rulers in order that it might subdue, or protect itself from, other powers. Between 1757 and 1803 the Company dealt with the Indian States on more or less equal terms. It made treaties with them on a reciprocal basis; it entered into alliances with them of a kind which varied from time to time. When it was strong it would dictate terms to the greatest States; when it was weak it would welcome the smallest as an ally. In short, its principal object was to maintain its own position against possible rivals; and to do this it surrounded its own territory with a ring of friendly States, whose main contribution to the common defence was an exclusive alliance with the Company, and a subvention for the maintenance of its troops. The Company was not concerned with the internal affairs even of those States which were its border defences, and time after time deliberately refused to interpose its shield between more distant States and those who attacked them.

Before long, however, this policy was found to be dangerous; and in the time of the Marquis of Hastings, the British

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pursued a policy which remained almost unchanged until the eve of the Mutiny. The Company rigorously refrained from intervening in the internal affairs of the States, took the entire obligation of their military protection upon itself, and controlled the whole of their external relations with an iron hand. Each State was kept in isolation, the only link between them being the common control of external affairs. All pretence of equality between the British Raj and the States had been abandoned; and by 1832, Sindia, the last of the independent powers, was entirely surrounded by territory belonging either to the Company or to its allies. But no sooner was the process completed than its own peculiar dangers became apparent. The system was really impracticable, because it condemned the States to unhealthy stagnation generally, while it insisted upon the rigorous discharge of heavy external obligations towards the Company. Each little Government in its watertight compartment tended to grow less competent, and each ruler tended to fall more and more into the hands of the Company's local representative. Despite all the rebukes which were delivered to these representatives by successive Governors-General, there was an increasing tendency on their part to interfere more and more in the purely domestic affairs of the States, to set the treaties at naught, and to interpose their own authority over the head of the ruler.

Absence of Clear Policy

The real truth is, of course, as is plain from contemporary records, that no one, either in India or in England, had any very clear ideas upon the future of the Indian States. So far as British India was concerned, people like Monroe and Macaulay could at least speculate upon a time when, enlightened by centuries of Liberalism, the Indian subjects of Britain could "frame a regular Government and preserve it," but the Indian States did not fit into the picture. It was recognized that their treaties must be honoured, at least in name; and this recognition formed an awkward obstacle

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for those who enthusiastically advocated the extension of British rule. What was to become of the States? The answers to the question varied from time to time. Some men were for annexation, regardless of the treaties; others were staunch upholders of obligations involving the honour of the British race. Actually nothing much happened till the time of Lord Dalhousie, except that the earlier tendency of the residents to interfere unduly was more or less successfully checked. The States Governments regained a measure of their prestige, even if they were not very efficient according to Western ideas. But it is plain from a study of the literature of the time, that in the eyes of the average British administrator who had spent his service in British India, all the States alike were of little account.

Looking backwards, we can see why the position was so unsatisfactory. The very proper reluctance of the Company to interfere in the internal affairs of the States involved the assumption that the States Governments were adequate to their task. This in turn involved harmonious co-operation between the States and British India—and this was something for which the system made no provision. In rare cases, such as Oudh, the Company's abstention from interference led to an accumulation of evils which eventually reduced the administration to chaos. We can now see that there was no necessity to have annexed Oudh—an enforced abdication, a few British administrators, the management of the country as Mysore was managed—and the State would have been saved. But the difficulty was that the British did not at that time really want to save it, since the value of the Indian States as a factor in the politics of the country was not realized.

Staple Political Units

All this changed with the Mutiny. For nearly half a century the territories under the control of the Company had been free from serious internal disturbance, while successful campaigns had extended the British Raj from Afghanistan

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to Indo-China. In contrast with the brilliant achievements of the Company with its wealth, and with the splendour of its dominions, the Indian States collectively as well as individually appeared poverty-stricken and negligible. If it had been hinted to the civil or the military servants of the Company in the last year of Lord Dalhousie's rule that the Indian States, weakened by isolation and perturbed by the doctrine of lapse, would nevertheless be hailed as the only stable political units in India, and would intervene, with decisive effect, in the hour of Britain's greatest need, the comment would assuredly have been neither courteous nor credulous.

Yet precisely this thing happened. In May, 1857, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces was officially informed from Calcutta that if he were hard pressed he must apply for aid to the rulers of Patiala or of Jind. But for our States Lawrence and Nicholson would have found themselves unable to strike at Delhi. "If it had not been for the Rajah of Patiala," wrote Forsyth, the Deputy Commissioner of Ambala and the adjacent districts, "none of us here would now be alive." The services of the Indian States in the Mutiny were not forgotten, and when the Crown assumed the direct government of India, Queen Victoria, in her gracious Proclamation, assured the States of her desire scrupulously to maintain the treaties, and to safeguard the honour and dignity of the Indian rulers as her own. The British in India seemed definitely to have cast off the old tradition of regarding the Indian States as possible rivals, only to be prevented from attaining dangerous eminence by a policy of rigorous and unremitting suspicion.

From the time of Lord Canning onwards, there may be noticed an increasing desire to regard the Indian States as allies. But the effective operation of this desire soon proved somewhat limited. Indeed, a quarter of a century after the Mutiny, the position from the standpoint of the States seemed almost the same as it had been before that

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upheaval. It is true that the Indian Princes were no longer treated with the same suspicion; but they felt neglected, and they also felt that the position guaranteed to them by their treaties and engagements was not entirely secure. These conclusions resulted first from the increasing economic progress of India, which tended to overleap political frontiers; and secondly, from a very remarkable process of centralization which made of British India practically a single great unit, controlled by the Governor-General in Council. Under the influence of these two factors, British India advanced very rapidly, while the States dropped behind. Despite their services in the Mutiny, the British Government could not conquer its traditional habit of dealing with each State separately, and forbidding each Prince to concern himself with anything but the affairs of his own particular State. The States remained poor, partly because their territories were as a whole less fertile than those which the Company had acquired for itself, partly because they were forbidden access to the capital expenditure which would have enabled their immense mineral wealth and other natural resources to be effectively developed.

Isolation

At the same time, it is a mistake to regard them as constituting, even at this epoch, mere backwaters or stagnant pools. Within the scope of the resources available to them, they were modernizing their administrations, developing their communications, and undertaking beneficent activities of every kind. Further, the foundation of the Chiefs' colleges was rapidly producing a change in the ideas of the aristocracy and of the Princes themselves, who became at once more progressive and more ambitious to do well for their people. With changing times there came also to the Princes an increasing consciousness that their position was unsatisfactory; and that those rights and privileges which according to their treaties and engagements they believed themselves entitled to enjoy, were in practice

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infringed very often in deference to the imperious political and economic requirements of British India. And while from the beginning of the present century the personal relations between the Princes and the Imperial throne, and the Princes and the Viceroy, became ever more intimate and ever more valued by either side, the fact remained that it was not possible for each Prince, as an individual ruler, effectively to protest against what seemed to him to be infringements of his treaty rights.

Indeed, it was just because the Princes were treated as isolated powers that no exit from their difficulties proved possible. Even the largest State is so small, as compared with India as a whole, that ordinary administrative tendencies decreed the subordination of the individual rights of each State to what was conceived to be the general good. In other words, the infringements of treaty rights, of which the Princes complained, were so far from being deliberate that they existed side by side with the most solemn and authoritative declarations of the British Sovereign, Viceroys, and Secretaries of State to the effect that the Treaties would be observed both in spirit and in letter. The fact is that from the standpoint of the practical administrator, acutely alive to the requirements of British India and indeed of India as a whole, it was quite impossible to deal with several hundred separate entities, who did not speak with a common voice, and who could only be brought to the acceptance of a common policy by overruling their protests with a strong hand. Unless Indian India, the India of the States, could be in some measure organized for common purposes, the individual rights of its isolated units must necessarily be overridden in pursuit of a policy to which it was impossible, from the standpoint of practical politics, to invite their individual adherence.

Proposals of 1917

In the first twenty years of the present century matters advanced considerably. The new generation of Princes

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became alive to the necessity of some organization for common interests; the new generation of British administrators realized that the time had come when such a combination was essential. The experience gained by the specially summoned conferences of Princes was encouraging; and no objection was taken by Government to meetings of the Princes themselves. Once more, as destiny would have it, a great Imperial crisis tested the loyalty of the Princes, and that loyalty emerged, as before, unscathed from the fiery trial. The time seemed ripe for a consideration by Great Britain of the whole position of the Princes in their relation both to the Crown and to British India; but the more pressing political exigencies of the moment secured for British India dominant attention. However, the Princes themselves had devoted much time and thought to their own problem, with the result that when my very dear and deeply lamented friend, Mr. Montagu, came to India on his Imperial mission in 1917, a number of Princes, with whom H.H. of Bikaner and myself had the honour to be associated, were ready to present to him our scheme for the safeguarding not merely of our own interests but of the interests of India as a whole, and, as we believed, those of the Empire.

The scheme was intended to afford a basis for co-operation between the Indian States and the Government of British India, as well as to provide the means of rectifying the particular difficulties which the Princes had begun to experience in the working of the existing system. We contemplated the creation of three separate pieces of machinery: a Council of Princes; a permanent Advisory Board; and a system of arbitration. The Chamber of Princes was intended to enable the States to speak with a common voice, and thus to provide the foundations upon which negotiations between the States as a whole and British India as a whole could be based. The Permanent Advisory Board was to be associated with the Political Department in the management of the everyday relations between the

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States and the Crown, in order to ensure that the Princes' point of view was adequately represented when policies were framed. The system of arbitration was devised to secure the impartial decision of justiciable matters in dispute between States *inter se* and States and the Government of India.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report

I am speaking with the fullest sense of responsibility when I say that we were able to convince Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford of the strength of our case. In support of my assertion I need only refer you to Chapter X. of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms which contains some very remarkable admissions as to the danger of the existing position, from the standpoint of the Princes. Now the recommendations which we made were perhaps too radical and far-reaching; they perhaps involved too wide a breach with past traditions. I express no opinion upon this point. But the fact remains that while the Joint Report endorsed what I may call the externals of our recommendations, it deprived our proposals of the scope and functions which we had postulated. And when the proposals of the Report in their turn came to be translated into practice, those of us who had been responsible for framing the original scheme might well have rubbed our eyes in astonishment when we observed the shape which our suggestions had finally assumed.

The Chamber of Princes was indeed set up, but it was set up under conditions which made it almost useless for our purpose. The Advisory Council of our original proposals is represented today by the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes, with none of the functions which we had originally desired for it. The system of arbitration is represented by a Government of India resolution which enables that Government, when it so desires, to employ the form of an impartial arbitration to settle differences between itself and a State; but allows the Government of India to accept or to refuse the result of the arbitration, as seems to

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it more desirable. I do not think I am overstating the case when I say that the result of all our thought and all our work was profoundly disappointing to us.

The Chamber of Princes

We had, however, gained this much: the majority of the more important States were now brought into political relations with the Government of India—a change for which we had been pressing for some time. But unfortunately the principle was not applied with the completeness we desired. For the rest, the majority of us realized very clearly that our position in India as well as in the Empire was such that we should undoubtedly gain a rectification of our grievances, if only we could secure a patient hearing. Accordingly, we pursued the policy of doing our best with what had been given to us. In the Chamber of Princes, it is true, we had, until a couple of months ago, no control over our own agenda or our rules of business. In passing, let me say that through the statesmanship of Lord Irwin we have achieved the first of these two points.

But even while the Chamber of Princes was thus hampered, it performed one very useful purpose. It brought together to Delhi every year a very large number—usually some fifty or sixty—Rulers of Indian States. In the Chamber itself we could only discuss a rather stereotyped agenda; so we devised a plan of holding informal meetings in a building which we rented as our headquarters, where we discussed the things which seemed to us to require attention. By this means we were enabled to build up a very strong body of public opinion among the Princes in support of a definite line of policy. This line of policy may briefly be defined, first, as a fixed endeavour to bring home to every Ruler a sense of common responsibility to the order of Princes as a whole; secondly, a deliberate encouragement by every means of efficiency and good government in the States; thirdly, a fixed determination to press for what we regarded as our undoubted rights under the treaties. This policy

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was steadily pursued with the object of inducing those Princes who took an interest in the Chamber—and their numbers increased year by year—to press once more, with added authority, for the adoption of the scheme which we had put forward to Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford.

Arbitral Machinery

So much for the Chamber of Princes. But in regard to the Standing Committee and the arbitral machinery, I must frankly confess that we could not make much of the position. The Standing Committee has been supposed to be engaged, along with the Political Department, in the standardization of political practice. But the process adopted has been such that we have not been able to make much progress. We found in practice that as soon as we had come to some tentative outlines of agreement with the Government of India, the opinions which that Government elicited, either from provincial Governments or from local political officers, were such as to throw the whole thing into the melting-pot once more. The upshot was, of course, equally unsatisfactory both to ourselves and to Government. We often felt that we had gone to the very verge of compromising what we regarded as our undoubted rights, in order to meet the wishes of the Political Department. But the system of reference to which I have alluded effectually destroyed all real chances of satisfactory compromise. I am afraid the same thing is largely true in regard to the arbitration machinery. Since the time when the resolution was issued, there have been several cases which, to an outsider like myself, might have seemed very proper to be referred to an impartial body, identified with the interests neither of Government nor of the States. But in no case has a tribunal been appointed, and Government has preferred to give the final word itself.

Guiding Principles

I think I can fairly claim that we have persisted in co-operation despite our discouragement. We felt sure that

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this was a right policy, because we were conscious of being animated first by our profound and deep loyalty to the Person and Throne of the King Emperor; secondly, by a belief in the character of British justice; thirdly, by a sincere conviction that we were asking no more than, on any reasonable view of the facts, we were entitled to obtain. We always had in our minds the three main requirements which we put forward to Mr. Montagu: an effective Chamber of Princes, a real Advisory Council, and a system of impartial arbitration. As time went on, however, and as we found that our position was becoming increasingly difficult, we decided to approach the Viceroy in person in order to ask for an impartial and authoritative enquiry into the whole of our position. For, during the years which had elapsed since the introduction of the Reformed Constitution into British India, we had become increasingly conscious of the fact that while there was never any intention on the part of the framers of that constitution to trespass upon the rights of the States, yet in actual practice the working of the reforms had been such as to affect our interests very deeply.

I need not go into details, which, indeed, are being authoritatively investigated in another place, but I will simply say that one glance at the map of India, from the standpoint which I took at the beginning of my address, might have convinced those who were legislating for British India in 1919 that anything which they did for those portions of India not under the rule of the Princes must necessarily affect, both directly and indirectly, the portions over which the Princes held sway. In a great variety of directions, for example, the fixing of the Rupee ratio, the introduction of protective duties, experiments with prohibition, and the like, we have found ourselves most deeply and vitally affected by policies in the framing of which we had no hand. Even before 1919, as I have already hinted, we had imagined that something of the kind might happen; and it was for this reason that we laid such stress upon the Chamber of Princes, as providing an

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institution upon which might be based some machinery for joint consultation between the Indian States and British India, in matters of common concern to both. But I must confess that the actual working of the Reformed Constitution in British India, and the degree to which our interests were affected without our knowledge or control, came as a surprise to all of us. Hence it was that our previous desire to obtain the machinery of which I have already spoken became strengthened into a request for an authoritative examination of the whole of our position.

The States Committee

Lord Birkenhead and Lord Irwin were kind enough to accede to part of our request, and to appoint the Committee which is now sitting under the able Chairmanship of Sir Harcourt Butler. The terms of reference of this Committee are not as comprehensive as we originally desired, a limitation which I personally regret, because the revision of the position in British India after the report of the Statutory Commission—which itself has a much wider reference than the Indian States Committee—will both permit and necessitate a revision of the machinery for co-operation with the States. But we believe, nevertheless, that the investigations of the Indian States Committee can do us nothing but good, since they will enable us to put forward at least some portion of our case in all its strength.

In regard to the force of our case, and the desirability from our point of view, at least, that the present system should be altered, every Prince in India is agreed. Regarding the precise form of the constitutional machinery which is to inaugurate, as we hope, a new era, there are still some differences between us. I think it is fair to say that we are all agreed that there must be something like a federation for India; and by federation I mean nothing more than a machinery which will enable British India and Indian India to meet together at the top, and to discuss jointly, in a manner consonant with the interests

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and importance of each, all policies and proposals which affect India as a whole. Concerning details, as will be obvious, there is plenty of room for difference of opinion; but on these three broad lines—viz., the strength of the Princes' case, the importance of finding a remedy, and the necessity of some federal scheme—I think I may say there is entire unanimity among us.

British Indian Nationalism

Before I close, there are some few remarks which I should like to make. I want to emphasize most strongly, in the first place, that there is not, and cannot be, any ill-will on the part of the Indian Princes towards the Nationalist movement in India. We Princes, like all the greatest of the Nationalist leaders in British India, are firm believers in the value of the British connection. We do believe, however, that it is perfectly compatible with that connection that Indians should have greater power over the management of their own affairs than they possess today. We have not the slightest desire to thwart the progress of British India; indeed, we hope we shall run a friendly race with them along the lines of national development. For reasons which I have already indicated, the States have some leeway to make up; but I should like to emphasize most strongly my belief that this leeway is not so great as is sometimes represented.

May I remark in this connection that I have often been struck with the curious ignorance concerning Indian States which is to be found not merely in England—where it is quite natural—but even in India itself? I do not quite know why this should be the case, for, as far as my knowledge runs, every State welcomes visitors, is perfectly prepared to supply them with every information, and has no desire whatever to pursue a policy of secrecy. And yet, somehow or other, very little is known about us. When visitors come they are, as a rule, far more interested in our ancient forts than in our modern hospitals; and

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when they have to choose—for the cold weather is a busy time in India—between a duck shoot and a visit to the Secretariat or to the village school, there are very few people indeed whose choice is not made with little sign of hesitation.

Probably, too, there is something in the idea which I personally have often held, that the States are a little shy of entering into intimate relations with British India, particularly since the emergence of the Nationalist movement, for fear lest their attitude might be misunderstood by the Government of India. I hope and trust that everyone, in England as well as in India, is now so firmly convinced of the loyalty of the States to His Majesty, and of their attachment to the Empire, that they would believe it no conclusive evidence of seditious tendencies if a Prince were to invite even an advanced politician from British India to visit him. But in the past, I am afraid, such an action would have been taken as proof conclusive of the most undesirable tendencies on the part of the Prince in question. However this may be, I do plead in all earnestness for a real effort by people in England and people in India alike to understand the Indian States.

Progress in the States

I only wish that those persons who take advantage of an occasional folly or extravagance in one individual among what is, after all, a very considerable number of Rulers, to pillory the whole order of Princes, could spare time to come and visit, I do not say the model States, but the States whose Rulers constitute the rank and file of the princely order. I think these critics would be surprised. Only the other day, in my capacity as Chancellor of the Chamber, I had occasion to glance over some statistics, admittedly incomplete, but nevertheless, I think, illuminative. I happened to see the replies sent by thirty-four States up and down India to an interrogatory which was sent out. Not one of these thirty-four States was a large or

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particularly well-known State; they varied in geographical location from the North to the South, and from the West to the East. In other words, to all appearances, they were a thoroughly typical sample of the whole mass. Yet out of these thirty-four States, twenty-three had regular legislatures and definite machinery for enlisting public opinion on any State act, and five had the establishment of such machinery under consideration. Twenty-five of them had regular pension systems for their administrative services under their own civil service regulations; twelve had a complete separation between judicial and executive machinery, a stage which has not yet been attained in British India; while ten had the incomplete system of separation which obtains in British India itself.

Fixed Privy Purse

Very interesting, I am sure, to my hearers will be the next point upon which I should like to touch. It may not be news to you that in the last session of the Chamber of Princes, my dearest elder brother and friend, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, introduced a resolution bringing to the notice of every State the desirability of a fixed personal Privy Purse separate from the State revenues, and the desirability of ensuring a systematic and properly organized judicial machinery. Now, out of these thirty-four States, whose replies have come in quite at random in accordance with the promptitude with which the enquiry happened to be answered, twenty-six already possess the fixed Privy Purse system and three are introducing it; while, so far as the judiciary is concerned, twenty-two possess High Courts of a regular type modelled on those of British India, while eight have courts in which the Ruler associates with himself one or more Ministers in the discharge of appellate functions. I do not say that there is not ample room with us, as with everyone else, for all the effort which enlightened Rulers, with the assistance and co-operation of their people, can bring to bear in the im-

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provement of the internal condition of the States; but I do assert with some confidence not only that the will to improve is there, but that very real improvements have in the course of a very few years been actually carried out.

Obligations of Kingship

It is the characteristic tendency of the States, at the present moment, to lay down the lines of a stabilized administrative system, which shall be independent of changes in the personality of the Ruler, and which shall operate with something like the same consistency and steadiness as characterize the work of Governments in advanced countries. But here again let me speak very plainly. It has sometimes been said that Rulers of Indian States are autocrats. I do not quite know the full implications of that term to Western ears; but this I do know: that no Indian Ruler can resist, or would dream of resisting, the public opinion of his people. That is not our conception of kingship at all; nor is it the idea which our people hold. To us, kingship is an office which has rights and which has obligations. The two are indissolubly linked. The same is true of the subject. He has his rights just as he has his obligations; and the King can no more transgress the former than he can permit the subject to transgress the latter. There is thus a really Indian conception of responsible government which needs to be appreciated; the conception of a government in which every subject knows what his rights are, since those rights are secured to him by custom and by religion; in which public opinion is the final sanction for every act of Government, and is able at any time to bring irresistible, because direct, pressure upon the administration. In those States where the subjects have desired to substitute for this system the machinery of the West, they have done so. But if in most States this substitution has not yet taken place, it is because the people of the State have shown no desire to change the system under which they live.

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One last word, and I have done. It may seem to my hearers that I have said very little upon the subject of the relations between the Indian States and the Crown. In reality, as I hope reflection will show you, I have really said a great deal; for I have done my best to explain to you as effectively as I can in the time at my disposal the manner in which the Indian States themselves conceive of this relation; and the manner in which they believe it can best be implemented, for the benefit of Great Britain and the Empire, of India herself, of British India, and of the States.

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DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

AT a meeting of the Association at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1., on Tuesday, July 24, 1928, a paper was read by Major-General H.H. the Maharaja of Patiala, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., G.B.E. (Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes), on "The Indian States and the Crown." Sir Walter Lawrence, Bart., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., C.B., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen were present:

Lord Sinha, the Raja and Rani of Jasdan, the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan and daughter, Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggree, K.C.I.E., Sir Abbas Ali Baig, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Michael F. O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Maneckji B. Dadabhoy, K.C.I.E., Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., and Lady Chatterton, Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Daniel Keymer, O.B.E., Sir Duncan J. Macpherson, C.I.E., Sir Montagu Webb, C.I.E., C.B.E., Sir Herbert Holmwood, Sir Evan Cotton, Sir Lennox Russell, Sir Robert Holland, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.V.O., and Lady Holland, Sir Thomas and Lady Strangman, Sir Lionel Jacob, K.C.S.I., Sir William Ovens and Lady Clark, Sir Denison E. Ross, C.I.E., Sir Hugh S. Barnes, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., and Lady Barnes, Sir Henry Sharp, C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir George S. Barnes, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., Mr. W. R. Gourlay, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mr. A. L. Saunders, C.S.I., and Mrs. Saunders, Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. N. C. Sen, O.B.E., Mr. P. R. Cadell, C.S.I., C.I.E., the Hon. Edward Cadogan, M.P., the Right Hon. G. R. Lane-Fox, M.P., Mr. George Pilcher, M.P., Mr. V. H. Boalth, C.B.E., Professor L. F. Rushbrook Williams, C.B.E., and Mrs. Williams, Mr. Chance, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Lieut.-Colonel and Mrs. G. V. Holmes, Mr. M. C. Keymer, Mrs. J. J. Nolan, Mrs. J. A. Richey, Mr. J. Nissim, Mr. and Mrs. F. J. Richards, Miss Moffat, Miss Margaret Brown, Miss Corfield, Mr. and Mrs. W. F. Westbrook, Mrs. Bickerton, Lieut.-Colonel M. O'Dwyer, Diwan Bahadur Dr. P. N. Lakshmanan, M.B., etc., Mr. Rustom P. Jehangir, Mr. R. K. Sorabjee, Sardar Gokal Chand, Miss M. Sorabjee, Mrs. John Nicholson, Mr. P. Cox, Commissioner and Mrs. F. Booth Tucker, Rev. Father T. Van der Schueren, Mr. F. P. Marchant, Mr. J. Brants, Mr. C. W. Kirkpatrick, Mr. and Mrs. H. C. Brown, Mr. and Mrs. H. Willmott, Mr. T. B. W. Ramsay, Miss Gray Hill, Miss A. A. Morton, Dr. Rose Pringle, Mr. S. B. V. Karandikar, Mr. Lal Singh, Mr. B. Dubé, Mr. San Po Lwin, Mr. and Mrs. Ghulam Quadir Khan, Mr. B. C. Singh, Mr. M. K. Maitra, Mr. G. R. Bhatt, Mr. R. K. Roy, Mr. Uma Prasada, Mr. T. M. Ramaswami, Mr. K. N. Sen Gupta, Mr. A. Latif, Mr. G. Chatha, Mr. Bachan Singh, Mr. Rana Jagpat Chand, Mr. S. T. B. Parl, Mr. K. V. Apti, Mr. A. N. Patel, Dr. S. Kapadia, Mr. K. M. Ashraf, Mr. Nowrosji Hormusjee Contractor, Dr. A. Shah, Mr. R. N. Tandon, Dr. H. K. Dikshit, Mr. L. D. Kochhar, Mr. G. Sinanan, Mr. S. C. Magotra, Dr. H. S. Sharma, Mr. H. N. Dewan, Mr. R. S. Marya, Dr. W. C. Narula, Mr. Jamsedjee S.

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Bhumgara, Miss Collis, Mr. A. D. Bonarjee, Mr. H. E. Prescott, Mrs. A. J. Kennedy, Mrs. Gerard Barnes, Miss Nina Eldridge, Mr. Cumming, Mr. R. A. Wilson, Mr. James Buncle, Mr. W. M. Beckett, M.B.E., Mr. J. Faletti, Mr. W. H. Swales, Mr. and Mrs. W. G. Bason, Mr. H. A. Gibbon, Mr. G. Scott Bremner, Mr. G. B. Coleman, Lieut.-Colonel G. E. Venning Thomas, Mrs. C. H. Thomas, Mrs. Given Wilson, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

Sir LOUIS DANE apologized to the meeting for the absence of the President, Lord Lamington. He also had to regret that Lord Ronaldshay was prevented from occupying the chair owing to a family bereavement. Fortunately, however, they had been able to secure the services of Sir Walter Lawrence, who was so well known to all of them. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN read the following letter from the President, Lord Lamington, to Lord Ronaldshay:

HARROGATE, *July* 23, 1928.

MY DEAR RONALDSHAY,

Having been ordered here for treatment, I had hoped to come to London for the day to be present on the notable occasion of the East India Association being addressed by one of India's great Princes. But I regret that the doctor forbids my going. It would be of special value to hear what H.H. the Maharaja of Patiala, as Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, says on the momentous subject of his address.

Whatever reactions the changes in administration in British India may have on the Indian States, I expect if these changes are to be successful they will have to be modelled on the forms and in the spirit of administration in the Indian States rather than on the lines of our Western bureaucratic and representative systems.

Please express to His Highness and to the meeting my true concern at not being present.

Yours sincerely,
(*Signed*) LAMINGTON.

The CHAIRMAN: I am conscious of the fact that a good chairman should say very little and merely introduce the speaker. But I would like on this occasion to say a few words. I have known His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala since he was a boy. I have watched his career with admiration and sympathy, and I feel sure that when he addresses you on this very difficult subject of the relations between the Indian States and the Crown he will, from his full knowledge, his experience, and his sense of fairness, give us some guidance.

I have known the House of Patiala for nearly fifty years. When I went out to the Punjab in 1879 I heard from my elders of the great services which the Patiala State had rendered to us in the perilous days of the Mutiny. (Applause.) In 1879 when I reached India we were at war with Afghanistan, and in the very valley where I was sent there was a fine contingent of Patiala troops. I am sure I am right in saying that in every major operation conducted by the Indian Army since 1879 the troops of Patiala have been there, shoulder to shoulder with the Army of the King.

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(Applause.) The Maharaja, as you know, is senior of the Phulkian States. I had the pleasure of knowing a very great chief of the Phulkian States, Raja Hira Singh of Nabha. He told me, when I was staying with him once in his capital: "I and all the other chiefs of India have two ideals—two ambitions: one is to fight for the King-Emperor, and the other is to do him personal service."

If I know the Maharaja aright I feel sure that he, like all his brother chiefs, whether from reticence or some other cause, will say very little about the services that he and others have rendered to the British. I fancy he will also be silent on another subject which is very dear to all their hearts—sacred, almost sacrosanct: it is their devotion to the King-Emperor, their suzerain. But whatever the picture the Maharaja may present to you today, whatever the scheme he may frame, behind that picture, illuminating it, and underlying that scheme there will be the wonderful love and the underlying loyalty for the King-Emperor. (Applause.)

(The lecturer then read his paper.)

Sir LENNOX RUSSELL said:

His Highness has mentioned that this is the first occasion on which a Ruling Prince of India has addressed a gathering of this description. This in itself is a notable fact. But what is perhaps still more notable is the fact that his address deals with a subject of peculiar difficulty, a subject which in the past it has been the practice to some extent to shroud in mystery, and in connection with which private criticism is sometimes easier than public constructive effort.

I have been asked to speak this afternoon on the ground that it is a comparatively short time since I left India. It has long been inappropriate to speak of the unchanging East. If His Highness is correct in saying that at the present time there is entire unanimity among the Princes on the basic point of the need for some federal scheme, then the change wrought in the three years since I left India has been far greater than one could have ventured to predict. I do not allude merely to the fact that up till quite recently the leading Prince in India had not only never attended a meeting of the Chamber of Princes, but had studiously declined to associate himself either with the Chamber or with those who took a leading part in its councils. If His Exalted Highness the Nizam has more recently abandoned his earlier attitude of deliberate aloofness, the change would represent a real move forward towards the solution of the difficult problems involved.

But even if the initial aloofness on the part of certain Princes has been overcome, there must still remain more fundamental difficulties. I well remember how one of the leading States objected to the proposal to institute an advisory Council of Princes on the ground that the scheme did not go far enough, and urged that there should be "a properly constituted deliberative assembly with well-defined powers to deal with matters applicable to all the States generally as well as questions of common interest between British India and the Indian States."

Despite this pronouncement, the latter went on to make reservations

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which appeared to nullify the proposal that there should be definite powers. The grant of powers presupposes their exercise, and the exercise of powers presupposes the issue of decisions binding on some party. The idea of decisions binding on any or all of the Princes was apparently negatived. Can it have been intended that the contemplated powers should be used to bind the British Government alone? In fact, it is difficult to see how such an assembly can be vested with definite powers until those who are members of it are prepared in some measure to entrust to the keeping of a corporate body rights which at present they enjoy as individuals.

The prospect of eventual unanimity in preparedness for any such surrender would seem to depend on the success of the Chamber acting as a consultative body in the first instance. In other lands and in other strata of society problems not altogether dissimilar have presented themselves. Nominal organization has not always at once secured either full responsibility or complete cohesion. But in spite of obvious drawbacks and difficulties, organization has generally been found to make on the whole for progress and sound development. It is evident from what His Highness has told us this afternoon that it may not be long before the Indian States arrive at some system of joint organization as the only means of securing a position which will enable them to meet the problems with which they must necessarily be faced in the years to come.

By taking the bold step of ventilating the subject on a public platform, His Highness has, if I may say so, added to the notable services of his illustrious House. (Cheers.) It is a memorable advance that the leading Prince of the Punjab and the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes should himself stand up and put forward suggestions which cannot fail to stimulate the constructive thought without which no progress is possible. (Cheers.)

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER said that they must all be glad to know that His Highness had overcome the natural reluctance to address them that afternoon, because there was no one who was more competent to expound the existing relations between the Indian States and the Crown than the Chancellor of the Council of Princes, and the ruler of a State which was famous in all India for its practical loyalty to the British Crown. During the troublous years of the War there was no Prince in India who achieved more for the British cause than the Maharaja of Patiala. (Cheers.) Not only did his troops serve on many fronts, but the Maharaja placed the man-power of his State at the disposal of the British Government. Patiala supplied between 20,000 and 30,000 combatants to the Indian Army; His Highness was, therefore, eminently in a position to speak on the subject, and his résumé of the history of the relations between the Princes of the States and the British Government was lucid and instructive. Sir Michael said that historically he was prepared to accept most, if not all, of what the Maharaja had said. But there was one significant fact which ought to be brought out clearly—namely, that the reason for the change in the status and attitude of the British Government towards the Indian States was that

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from the middle of the eighteenth century for 100 years the British Government was faced with a prolonged struggle against the aggression of the "country" powers that had arisen in the decline of the Moghul Empire: Tippu and Haidar in the south, the Mahrattas in the centre, the Sikhs and Gurkhas in the north, the aim of which was to wipe out and annex the Indian States then existing. The triumph of British arms, aided by many of the States, had saved them from extinction. The result was that the Indian States as known today were either the direct creation of the British Government, as in the case of Mysore and Kashmir, or, as in the case of the Punjab, Central Indian and Rajputana States, were rescued from the aggression of other Indian States and established on their present footing by the British Government.

The States therefore differed markedly in Treaty rights, status, and relative importance. So much so that it was very difficult to find any common denominator. But there were certain points on which the Chamber of Princes could function for their common good. In one instance mentioned by the Maharaja, that of the imposition by the Legislative Assembly of high protective duties on iron, steel, and other imports, he felt that the interests both of the masses of the people and of the Indian States had been disregarded. Neither the Princes nor the peasants had been heard. If, as the Maharaja had suggested, the Princes were disappointed with the outcome of the examination of their position in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, it was because that document, in Chapter X., which dealt with the States, as in the chapters on British India, did not take sufficiently into account either local conditions or expert opinion. Hence many of our present difficulties. The Princes had a very strong claim upon us when they asked for a readjustment of relations, and their reasonable wishes should be met, subject to the proviso that British paramountcy remained unimpaired, and that in the last resort the British Government should have the right to interfere on behalf of the people of a State suffering from gross maladministration. (Cheers.)

Mr. B. DUBÉ said that the origin of British rule in India was as benevolent as possible, and it was a corollary from that position that the British Government should recognize in some form or another the existence of Indian States for that purpose. It was a fact in British India that reforms had been introduced, and at the present moment what was troubling the Princes, and some of the relics of the despots who seemed to be present there, was how were they going to regulate the relations of the Princes on the one hand and the people of India on the other? (Hear, hear.) Everybody who knew anything about the political situation in India knew perfectly well that the demand from Great Britain was that the Government of India should be so constituted in the future as to represent the constitutional sovereignty of the people. He desired to join in the statement that they had feelings of loyalty to the King of England, but speaking as a cold-blooded constitutional lawyer, he held that the King of England did no more than represent the constitutional sovereignty of the British people. It was therefore useless to go back to times in the past and say they had

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that loyalty to the person and the House of the King of England. The truth had to be recognized that in the British Government of today the King of England represented nothing more than the constitutional sovereignty of the people of these lands. The Colonial Empire policy was very much the same. Dominion policy today was very much approximating to what it was in England. That was the demand in India—namely, that the Government of India should be so constituted that it should be representative of the constitutional sovereignty of the people. With regard to the Princes, if he read it rightly, it seemed to him that the basic policy of the Indian States was the divine right of kings. He desired to state very seriously that in his opinion those two proposals were impossible to work not only in India but in any country today.

Mr. R. S. NEHRA said that if he had heard the Maharaja aright, there appeared to be some fear in the minds of the Princes in India that if India became democratic the position of the Princes would be jeopardized.

The MAHARAJA OF PATIALA: If you had read my address you would not say so.

Mr. R. S. NEHRA said that he had heard the address, and his impression was that the Maharaja was against any democratic reforms in India for British Indians. He associated himself with the remarks of Mr. Dubé.

Mr. SORABJI said he most profoundly disagreed with his friend Mr. Dubé as to the attitude of India to the Crown of England. Mr. Dubé had been away from India for many years, and did not realize that throughout the length and breadth of India there was a personal devotion to the Crown comparable to nothing which was known in any other part of the Empire. With regard to His Highness's address, Mr. Sorabji said he thought that it was a very sad thing that the States were not better known in England. If romance, beauty, hospitality, and delight were wanted, they had only to visit the Indian States. The States ought to have an agent in England to make known these wonderful parts of the Indian Empire.

He felt sure His Highness would agree that there had been a good deal of advantage to the Indian States in the treaties with England, and that it was impossible to differentiate between the Indians in British India and Indians in the Indian States. They were all one, and they must have one bond, and there was no bond so strong as that of personal devotion to the King-Emperor, which already existed. If Mr. Dubé had seen the people rushing forward in their thousands to worship the thrones on which their Majesties had sat in Calcutta, he would not have dared to make the statement he had made.

The present was a memorable occasion. They had had Sir Walter Lawrence in the chair, and all of them who had read his book knew how devoted he was to India. They had a Ruling Prince for the first time coming to address them, and showing what the Ruling Princes of India were. If a few young men got up in assemblies in England to tell them that the devotion of the vast masses in India to the Crown had in any way cooled, or was merely constitutional, he could only say that

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those young men were trying to fool them, but they would not be fooled. (Cheers.)

Mr. DUBÉ: May I be allowed to say that I never for one moment cast any doubt upon the devotion of India to the Crown?

Sir LOUIS DANE, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Lecturer and the Chairman, said that he could not refrain from making a few remarks with regard to the lecture. They were probably all aware that the Indian States covered one-third of the area of India, and included one-fifth of the population. It was the case not so very long ago, and it was not at all inconceivable to contemplate the possibility of the Indian States again including more than half of the area and more than half of the population of British India. They were an example of the greatest stability in Indian polity, and he would venture to say that they represented the oldest form, and in existing conditions perhaps the only possible form, of true self-government in India or Swaraj. Therefore, it was impossible to ignore the Indian States when they were dealing with constitution-mongering in India. He would venture to remind those who spoke so glibly of the views of the people of India of the very sad time in British history when once it became necessary to try and eventually to execute one of our Kings. When the indictment was framed and read in the name of the people of England, there was a very courageous lady present who voiced what were the actual facts of the case; she said: "Not one-tenth part of them." When he heard protests and pleas and arguments being urged in the name of the people of India, he was inclined to re-echo the remarks of that lady. In the first place, he did not know, and he did not believe anybody else knew, who the people of India were. (Hear, hear.) There was no people of India as such, so nobody could claim to speak in the name of the people of India. There were many peoples in India, as in Europe, and just as he could not pretend to speak on behalf of the Czechoslovakian, in the same way it was impossible for a Madrasi to pretend to know what the Punjabi felt. They were not in the same village, so to speak, and could not even understand each other's language, and in political discussions had usually to fall back upon the language of the Government which they professed to detest.

For the last thirty years, in season and possibly out of season, he had urged the claims of the Indian States to the fullest consideration of the British Government. He believed that the Indian States were our greatest asset and sheet-anchor in India, and everything should be done to strengthen their position, and even to extend their area where this is possible. (Hear, hear.)

He desired to propose a vote of thanks to the Lecturer and the Chairman. He had some claim to do it. He was on duty in Patiala in January, 1877, when His Highness's father was installed by Lord Lytton He had practically grown up with the Maharaja, and the Maharaja honoured him with his personal friendship, and very often, as young men would do, when he got into some little trouble he used to come and talk to him about it. In 1895 at Lord Elgin's Durbar at Lahore the late

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Maharaja, in spite of the counsels of his Ministers, had created a precedent by leading his troops in person past the Viceroy. It was a loyal and courageous act. And now his son, following his father's example, had set another precedent by coming forward to read a paper on the rights of Princes before such an audience as the present. They had heard a most excellent lecture given by a gallant gentleman and a great Prince, and he was proud to think that first as Chief Secretary in the Punjab, and then as Lieutenant-Governor, he had been able to watch over his early career. (Applause.)

Then they had Sir Walter Lawrence in the chair. What Sir Walter Lawrence did not know about India was not knowledge. He was sure they would all agree that their thanks were due to the Chairman, Sir Walter Lawrence, and to the most gallant, princely and learned Lecturer, His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala. (Applause.)

Sir Louis Dane announced that His Highness the Maharaja had very kindly consented to accept a Vice-Presidentship of the Association. (Loud applause.)

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THE ORIENTAL CONGRESS

THE East India Association was represented at the Seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists in Oxford by the Chairman of the Council, Sir Louis Dane, and by Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Member of Council. The following address was presented to the Congress :

> "We, the Delegates chosen to represent the East India Association, offer our greeting to the scholars assembled at the Seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists in Oxford.
>
> "The East India Association is deeply interested in many of the matters with which the International Congress of Orientalists is called upon to deal, and they therefore feel that upon this occasion of the eminently successful meeting of the Congress, after sixteen years, in one of the most ancient homes of Oriental study, they must offer their humble but sincere congratulations upon the very useful work which is in progress, and trust that this may prove to be a fresh start for many such future successes."

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MARCO POLO*

By N. M. Penzer
(Author of "The Ocean of Story")

I.

Introductory

Although the accuracy of Marco Polo's statements has been confirmed again and again, it seems that a halo of romance has permanently settled itself round his name. He is still put in a class with Mandeville rather than with Columbus. The trouble apparently lies not so much in the fact that he describes strange and curious things, but rather in that he has come down to us as the first European to draw aside the curtain which for untold centuries had completely veiled the mysterious East from Western eyes.

If America, the Cape, or even Australia, had been Polo's objective, the story might have been very different. But as it is, the name of Polo, instead of conveying to us the memory of the greatest of land pioneers, summons up, as if one had rubbed a magic ring, a picture of fabulous splendour and lavish display, of pearls and rubies, of rich silks and rare velvets, of red wine and heavy perfumes, of dark-eyed houris and sumptuous palaces. In such a setting Polo plays the Sindbad to Kublai's Harūn-al-Rashīd.

Thus, at the very outset, the breath of romance enters into the story. And it has proved too strong and too fascinating to be allowed to escape. So it is preserved, and whatever scholars may discover and publish, whatever is proved or disproved, Marco Polo remains in too gorgeous and semi-mythical a setting ever to rank as an ordinary pioneer of geographical discovery.

* "Marco Polo: Il Milione." Prima edizione integrale a cura di Luigi Foscolo Benedetto sotto il patronato della città di Venezia. Comitato Geografico Nazionale Italiano. Pubblicazione N. 3. Limited to 600 numbered copies. Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1928. 14″ by 10″. Pp. ccxxi + 283. With eleven plates of manuscript reproductions, of which three are in colour, two are double page, and one has two on the single page. Loosely stitched for binding, in thin parchment cover. Price Lire 600.

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At the same time, we must not allow the spell of far Cathay to blind us to the fact that in Marco Polo we have one of the greatest explorers of all time.

Thus the appearance of a new and magnificent work, recording fresh discoveries and embodying the latest research work on Polo, is not only one of the most important geographical publications for over a quarter of a century, but is one that we all must hail with unreserved congratulations and gratitude.

Before we entangle ourselves in the intricacies of textual discussion, let us remind our readers, in the briefest possible manner, of the main events of Polo's life.

Andrea Polo, our hero's grandfather, had three sons—Marco, Nicolo, and Maffeo. All three were traders. In about 1260, Nicolo and Maffeo were carrying on their business in the Crimea, when a series of events resulted in their reaching the Oriental court of the great Khan Kublai. For the first time, the Khan set eyes upon Europeans, and listened with the utmost interest to tales of the wonders of the West. He asked for missionaries to convert his people to Christianity. Accordingly the brothers returned home, *via* Acre, which they reached in 1269. Nicolo found that his wife was dead, but had left a son, now fifteen years old, whom she had named Marco after his uncle.

They chanced to arrive during a Papal interregnum, and after waiting two years for a new Pope to be elected, the two brothers and young Marco started back to Cathay, and arrived safely at Shangtu, the winter residence of Kublai, early in 1275.

The young Polo at once found favour in Kublai's eyes, and was employed in public service, as well as being sent on important missions to distant parts. In fact, the Khan became so devoted to the trio that it was only by a lucky chance they were allowed to leave his dominions at all. This occurred in 1292 when they were chosen to escort the young princess Cocacin, bride-elect of Arghun, Khan of Persia.

The three travellers arrived home at the end of 1295, having accomplished one of the most amazing journeys ever made. The tale of their difficulty in proving their identity is too well known to warrant repetition.

Marco Polo's claims to glory are absolutely unique. Apart from being the first man who personally visited and described every Asiatic kingdom right across the whole continent, he was the first traveller to tell us of Tibet, Burma, Siam, Cochin China, Japan, the Indian Archipelago,

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Java, Sumatra, the Nicobars and Andamans, Ceylon, India, Madagascar, and Abyssinia!

The sequel is well known. In 1298 Polo was aboard one of the Venetian galleys dispatched against the Genoese, in the capacity of *sopracomito*, or gentleman-commander. The engagement resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Genoese, and seven thousand prisoners were taken to Genoa, of whom our author was one.

His imprisonment resulted in the writing of his travels.

The Polian Manuscripts

And here, after having briefly refreshed our readers' memories, we can turn our attention to the literary history of the work, and the book which lies before us.

When Sir Henry Yule had completed his great work on Marco Polo, he was fully aware that the tangle of the early MSS. had not been finally unravelled. This is clearly shown by the fact that he produced a text that cannot be described as other than eclectic.

Apart from the lesser queries which remained unanswered, no evidence was forthcoming to show from what MSS. Ramusio had obtained those portions of his printed text which find no parallel elsewhere.

To quote Yule's own words on the subject: "And the most important remaining problem in regard to the text of Polo's work is the discovery of the supplemental manuscript from which Ramusio derived those passages which are found only in his edition. It is possible that it may still exist, but no trace of it in anything like completeness has yet been found. . . ."

Professor L. F. Benedetto has now brought to light a copy of a MS. which, without doubt, must have been at any rate derived from *one* of those used by Ramusio containing the unique passages. Before we say more of this very important discovery and explain exactly what use Benedetto has made of it, we must explain, for the sake of those who are not fully acquainted with the difficulties of Polian research, exactly how Ramusio fits into the story.

Marco Polo died in 1324, or thereabouts, and although copies of his work had appeared as soon as it became known, "till all Italy became filled with it," yet they continued to be made in various languages after his death.

It was not, however, for two hundred years that any attempt was made to free Polo from the aureole of romance which threatened to enshrine him permanently among the

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legendary immortals, or even to swell the ranks of famous impostors!

In 1550 the first volume of a collection of travels appeared under the editorship of one Gian Battista Ramusio, an illustrious member of a noble Italian family of Rimini. In 1556, another volume (vol. iii.) was issued, while vol. ii., containing Ramusio's account of Polo's travels, did not appear until 1559—two years after the editor's death.

Other editions of the *Navigationi et Viaggi*, as the collection was called, soon followed, and the "Ramusian Recension" of Marco Polo took a unique place of honour in Polian tradition.

Ramusio was a good scholar, and enjoyed a great reputation for learning and critical research. His chief pursuit was geography, and he is believed to have opened a school for its study in his own house at Venice. In fact, everything we know about him compels us to treat his work with the utmost consideration and credence, as he fully justifies his title of "the Italian Hakluyt." Bearing this in mind, we can more readily appreciate the disappointment with which Yule had to record the absence of those MSS. from which Ramusio had obtained certain parts of his information. The discovery of Benedetto, then, is of the greatest interest, but he has not contented himself with merely giving a transcription of the MS. which he found in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana at Milan. He has devoted three years to the classification of all the texts at present known to exist, in order to present the best of all, the so-called Geographic Text (fr. 1116)—of which more anon—in a form worthy of its importance. This he has accomplished with great skill and careful editing.

The unique passages of Ramusio and of the newly found Milan MS. (Y. 160 P.S.) are arranged as a kind of commentary to the Geographic Text.

Thus we must congratulate Benedetto not only on what he has done, but on what he has *not* done. We mean that less erudite scholars might well have been tempted to have placed their new discovery before the Geographic Text, and to have made it the *sine qua non* of a "restored original text."

He has divided his work into two distinct parts. Firstly he gives us an "Introduction" on the entire manuscript tradition, running to over two hundred pages, while secondly we have the newly transcribed and properly edited text of fr. 1116, together with critical notes, as well as additional passages from the other texts.

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The Introduction is divided into seven chapters, the first five of which deal respectively with the Geographic Text, Grégoire's version, the Tuscan recension, the Venetian recension, and the version of Fra Pipino. Chapter VI. deals with the phase antedating fr. 1116, while Chapter VII. is devoted to the various fragments. We shall discuss each chapter separately.

As is only natural, Benedetto starts with the MS. which is the oldest and best that has come down to us—the "Old French Text" in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, fr. 1116 (formerly 7367.) In 1824 it was published by the French Geographical Society, since when it has been known as the Geographic Text. Benedetto refers to it as *F*. Although that letter also includes all French MSS. (twenty in number) in this group, fr. 1116 is its only complete representative. We know little of its history, except that it is supposed to have come from the old library of the French kings at Blois. It is round this MS. that scholastic controversy has chiefly centred, and since the appearance of Yule's *magnum opus* we have been perfectly content to accept the view that in fr. 1116 we have a direct representation of what Marco Polo dictated to his fellow-prisoner in Genoa.

In the light of Benedetto's new evidence we find that we have to reconsider the whole question. In the end we shall see all our pet theories destroyed, with little hope of settling points concerning the early history of the book until various new lines of research have been exhausted to their utmost.

At first sight this may seem a hopeless position, but one thing is certain, and that is that we can never hope to clear up the history of any important work until we know what data we have to work on, and are satisfied that such data are arranged in its correct order, each separate item in its proper place. This, then, is the achievement of Benedetto. He has brought order into chaos. We are now in a position to ascertain what the MS. tradition can teach us, and once we are on the right path there is no telling what headway may be made in the future.

Our discussion opens in the prison at Genoa, where Polo's fellow-prisoner, a Pisan, is called in to help in the writing of the narrative. The name of this man is shown definitively to be Rustichello, instead of such forms as Rustician or Rusticiano* (p. xiii). It was natural to suppose that he had

* It should be noted that Yule fully realized that the form *Rustichello* was the correct one (see his Introduction, p. 63). He only used *Rusticiano* as being the nearest to the form given in his text. Certain reviewers have credited Benedetto with the sole discovery of this.

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been chosen by the Genoese authorities because of his reputation as a writer of French Arthurian legends. Scholars have, therefore, been at pains to compare the style of fr. 1116 with that of his other works. They have considered (Yule especially) that the language of fr. 1116 is much more crude, inaccurate, and Italianized than that of Rustichello's other romances. This supported the theory of Polo's dictation, which, it was said, clearly betrayed itself in the halting style of the narrative.

Benedetto, however, after comparing numerous passages of fr. 1116 with portions of Rustichello's other works, has found practically identical phrases and idioms, some of which clearly betray the same hand. From this he argues that the same care and diligence that produced the romances also produced fr. 1116—in other words, that Rustichello did not copy down at Polo's dictation, but produced fr. 1116 (or rather a version of which that manuscript is a descendant) after a prolonged and detailed study of all the notes with which Polo supplied him. Polo was no trained writer, and, moreover, would not trust himself to present his story in a style acceptable to Western ears after his prolonged absence in the East. Here was a professional story-teller ready to hand! What more natural than to allow him to "write up" the work, after supplying him with all the necessary information! As Benedetto puts it:

"Compito espresso di Rustichello dev' essere stato quello di stendere in una lingua letteraria accettabile quelle note che Marco, vissuto così a lungo in oriente, non si sentiva di formulare con esattezza in nessuna parlata occidentale. Abbiamo intravisto abbastanza com' egli, assolvendo un tal compito, sia rimasto fedele allo stile ed alla visuale dei romanzi d'avventura. Ma non possiamo dire nulla di più."

Thus the style of fr. 1116, with all its "story-teller" mannerisms, does not necessarily betray dictation, but rather the usual style of a professional romance writer, who saw in Marco Polo a King Arthur come to life! Moreover, as regards the Italian words, we find quite a large percentage of them in fr. 1463, a MS. which we *know* was not dictated. We may note in passing that Ramusio, in the Introduction to his version, neither states that Polo *dictated* his work, nor that *a Pisan* had anything to do with it. He says that Polo was "assisted by a Genoese gentleman" who "used to spend many hours daily in prison with him," and helped him to write the book. It has always been taken for granted that facts had become muddled, and it was Rustichello the Pisan to whom reference was made. Now

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Benedetto argues (p. xxxi *et seq.*) with considerable skill that fr. 1116 must represent only a later copy of the original Polo-Rustichello compilation. Might it not be possible that Ramusio, so correct and reliable in other points, is also correct here—and that one of the numerous Genoese, who without the slightest doubt *did* visit Polo, became very friendly with him, and helped in the editing of the work, *in addition to Rustichello?**

However this may be, the fact remains that we must no longer regard *F* as the one and only direct and immediate descendant of the original Genoese text. Nor must we imagine that all subsequent recensions can be traced back to *F*. As will be seen later, they originate in lost prototypes dependent on lost MSS. which we must regard as brothers of *F*. The Cottonian Codex Otho D. 5 at the British Museum, fragmentary though it be, is of importance in proving that the Franco-Italian recension was diffused, as well as all those MSS. dependent on purer French texts.

In Chap. 2 Benedetto discusses what he calls the Grégoire version, a detailed study of which has led him to believe in the existence of a lost version, F^1, very akin to *F*, but containing just those differences necessary to the production of an elaborated version (the lost *FG*) from which the Grégoire group is descended. In order to prove that *FG* is *not* a revision of *F*, as hitherto believed, it is necessary to determine the exact status of F^1 and to reconstruct it as far as possible.

This can be done chiefly by comparing the existing types of *FG* with *F*. This will show that *F* does not possess all the points necessary to produce *FG*—some of the *lacunæ* should be different, and certain passages should be much more detailed. Thus the *FG* group must come from a MS. similar to *F*, but certainly not *F* itself. This lost MS. is Benedetto's F^1. *F* and F^1 can, therefore, be regarded as brother MSS.

We now examine *FG* as a separate group. Yule only knew of five MSS., while Benedetto has been able to add another ten. He divides *FG* into four sub-groups, A, B, C, and D. These again are subdivided into single MSS. which are closely connected. Thus B has seven subgroups, of which B^1 and B^2 are closely related. So also B^4 and B^5. B^3 differs slightly from these two latter, while B^6 and B^7 form a more collateral branch. By arranging the MSS. in this way a genealogical table can gradually be built up.

* This suggestion was first made by Rev. A. C. Moule.

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We might note in passing that Pauthier's "A" type, which formed the basis of his, and Yule's, translation, consisted of A^1; his "B" type of A^2; and his "C" of B^4. B^3 and B^4 (to which now must be added B^5) are especially interesting, as they bear the curious certificate of one Thibault de Cepoy, on which Pauthier placed such great importance. It appears that Thibault was a captain in the service of Philip the Fair. After beginning as valet and squire, he rose to the rank of Grand-Master of the Cross-bow men. He then entered the service of Charles de Valois, Philip's brother, who sent him to Constantinople to substantiate his claim to the throne on the grounds that his wife, Catherine de Courtenay, was the daughter of Philip de Courtenay, titular Emperor of Constantinople. Thibault left Paris on September 9, 1306, and proceeded to Venice, where he concluded a treaty of alliance in December, 1306. During his stay there he met Marco Polo, who in August, 1307, presented him with a copy of his book, inscribed as "the first copy of his said Book after he had made the same." After Thibault's death, his son Jean made a copy of the book, which he gave to Charles de Valois. He also made other copies for those of his friends who asked for them.

The three MSS. mentioned above thus describe in the Note attached to them Polo's gift to Thibault, and how copies of it came to be distributed in France.

The great importance that Pauthier attached to these MSS. on account of the note has long since been proved quite unjustifiable. Although Yule realised this, he still made Pauthier's MSS the basis of his own translation.

Benedetto has entirely discredited the Note and will not even allow Thibault to give his name to the group at all. He points out that it is impossible to believe that no copy of Polo's work should have been made until 1307. Certainly it is, but where is the evidence to prove it *was* made in 1307? Perhaps it had been written in 1299, and Polo had kept a copy by him for any important presentation such as this. Or, on the other hand, there may be something in Langlois' suggestion* when he says: "Mais, avant 1307, Ser Marco avait dû faire à bien des gens semblable politesse, peut-être avec des protestations analogues qu'il la faisait pour la première fois. . . ."

Benedetto credits Grégoire with being the founder of this group because his name appears on two of the MSS. (A^1 and A^3), while the date of the work is given as 1308

* "Histoire Littéraire de la France," Tome XXXV., Paris, 1921, p. 255.

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on the grounds that "this present year 1308" appears on another of the MSS. (D). We cannot feel convinced, however, that our author has proved his point in preference to accepting the original Thibault copy as the earliest extant MS. of the group.

As we have already mentioned, *FG* is subdivided into four main groups. Among these, A^2 is the beautiful MS. fr. 2810 at the Bib. Nat. containing 266 miniatures, of which 84 belong to the travels of Polo, occupying the first 96 folios of the MS. A convenient table, showing Benedetto's arrangement of the groups and sub-groups of *FG*, will be found on p. lxxv.

Chap. 3 deals with the Tuscan recension. At the commencement of the fourteenth century a Franco-Italian copy of the original Genoese prototype was translated into Tuscan. This copy must have been very similar both to *F* and F^1. We can therefore call it F^2.

The group known as *TA* is divided into four sub-groups, of which TA^1 is the famous MS. II. iv. 88 of the Bib. Naz. at Florence, better known as the *Codex della Crusca*.

Apart from $TA^{1\text{-}5}$, two other versions must be mentioned. The first is a Latin one (Bib. Nat. Lat. 3195) in which the Tuscan translation is corrupted by Pipino's version (to be mentioned later). It was this text which formed the basis of H. Murray's English translation in 1844. It was published in 1824 by the French Geographical Society in the same volume as fr. 1116.

The second is a free *résumé* of *TA* found in the *Zibaldone* attributed to Antonio Pucci (d. 1388), the Florentine poet.

Owing to the differences found in the sub-groups * of *TA*, it is necessary to utilize them all in attempting to restore the prototype of *TA*. Although TA^1 is the oldest codex, it is incomplete (as also TA^2) and less close to *F* than the others.

When we have restored *TA* as best we can with the help of all the sub-groups, we find that we have a complete text save for the omission of certain historic-military chapters and some minor details. It is of assistance in

* Here (p. lxxxix) we begin to feel the great want of a "list of symbols" used throughout the work. In the latter part of this chapter Benedetto talks about A^1 and A^2, but he should still call them TA^1 and TA^2, as in Chap. 2. A^1 and A^2 referred to important subdivisions of *FG*. We also find inconsistencies in the modes of reference to lines and pages of the printed text, as well as to MSS.

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revising certain corruptions in *F*, as some of the *lacunæ* in fr. 1116 could not have existed in F^2 from which *TA* is descended.

When we turn to Chap. 4 in which the Venetian version is discussed, we find that its extensive ramifications immediately call for a genealogical table to guide us through the labyrinth of sub- and sub-sub-groups. This we are happy to find on p. cxxxii. We at once see that the primitive Venetian codex is represented by five MSS. ($VA^{1\text{-}5}$). Although VA^3 and VA^4 are the only complete MSS., VA^1 is by far the most important, as it consists of the Casanatense fragment (Bib. Cas. 3999) which is a direct descendant from the prototype which served as the source of Fra Pipino's famous version. The great fame that this version achieved from its first appearance, and the eulogistic manner in which Pipino referred to his sources, led to the popular opinion that the Venetian version was nothing less than Polo's original!

Apart from Pipino's version (*P*) and also that of an anonymous Latin writer (*LB*), we must add a group of six Tuscan translations of the Venetian ($TB^{1\text{-}6}$). This Tuscan group in its turn gave rise to a German translation (*Ted.*) and another Latin one (*LA*).

Finally, from a MS. similar to that on which the Tuscan group was based, we have two other variations of *VA*. The first consists of a fifteenth-century Venetian MS. at Lucca (Bib. Governativa, No. 1296*), and a Spanish version from a Venetian codex. It was from this latter that John Frampton made his English translation in 1579. The second is a little group having a common origin in the Venetian text printed by Sessa in 1496. This completes the complicated ramifications of *VA*. In view of the genealogical table already referred to, it is unnecessary to give further details of the various MSS. in the different sub-groups. It will suffice to say that *VA*, *P*, *LB*, and *TB* are all simple variations of a single text. *VA* proceeds direct from a Franco-Italian text—a third brother of *F*, which we are calling F^3. *P* is such an important version of *VA* that a separate chapter is devoted to it. *LB* is in all probability based on *VA*, while *TB* is merely *VA* in Tuscan dress.

It will thus be seen from these first four chapters that:

1. *F* includes the best Franco-Italian codex extant.

* In the Yule-Cordier list it forms No. 49 (p. 544), but the MS. is given as 296 instead of 1296.

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2. Three other MSS. must have existed at one time which were very similar to *F*.

3. These three MSS. can be conveniently called F^1, F^2, and F^3.

4. F^1 gave rise to the prototype of *FG*.

5. F^2 produced the prototype of *TA*; and

6. F^3 had the largest family, *VA*, which we have just been discussing.

(*To be continued.*)

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CORRESPONDENCE

THE FUTURE OF INDIA AND THE STATUTORY COMMISSION

SIR,

In an interesting letter which appeared in the July number of the ASIATIC REVIEW Mr. Webster has dealt with certain points raised in the article on the Future of India and the Statutory Commission which was contributed to the previous number. He asks, it is understood, for further development of the suggestion there made that for the purposes of the Commission a fundamental question is whether "Indian conditions do not indicate with considerable certainty that the future government of India by Indians for Indians must take some form other than democratic, and if so what form?" More particularly he wishes to know what form of government other than democratic is contemplated, and what is the unitary government which is envisaged as an alternative to complete provincial autonomy.

The question thus raised is clearly a large one, which was left for treatment by the Commission, assuming that it had previously reached the necessarily prior conclusion that India as a whole is not, and will not be a suitable field for democracy of the Western type. It is this view which Mr. Webster appears to challenge in his letter. It was put forward, it may be noted, in the article under reference, not as final and conclusive, but as one in support of which so many important considerations unite that a thorough examination of it is essential before further substantial development is given to a scheme of constitutional reform which either has democracy of a Western type for its goal, or, if not, is itself inconsistent and unintelligible.

Mr. Webster dwells at some length on the elements of so-called rural self-government, which in a more or less decayed condition are to be found in India; laying stress on them as showing "that democracy is not foreign to the spirit of India." Such a generalization, contradicted as it is by many other aspects of Indian social life, scarcely seems to rest firmly on its somewhat slender basis. Primitive organs for the crude satisfaction of the merely rudimentary local needs of social existence have made their appearance among most, if not all, peoples, however little advanced in civilization and culture. They were evolved of necessity in order to supple-

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ment, as far as might be, the strictly limited and deficient administrative activities of such central government as existed; that being, as regards effectiveness, which was mainly directed to financial exploitation, extensive in area rather than intensive in operation. Such organs can be a prelude to real democracy where, and only where, they are from an early stage in some living and felt connection with a wider communal consciousness embracing successively a group of tribes, a nation, a modern State, and so forth. Otherwise the primitive organs will continue to function as discrete local units, to which the application of the term "democratic" is a misnomer. Such, it is suggested, has been the origin and history of the localized Indian institutions to which Mr. Webster has referred. At the same time it is undoubtedly true that any attempt to build up, however slowly and painfully, true democratic feeling in India must take the most serious practical account of the primitive local institutions, whose relics still exist; but to hold that their existence shows, *ipso facto*, that democracy is not foreign to the spirit of India is surely an unsafe conclusion. Mr. Webster asserts that Islam is essentially democratic. Space forbids treatment of that large topic; but if democracy is to bear its modern meaning of a body of more or less definite communal ideals embodied in a particular type of polity, then there is much to be said against his view. On the other hand, a democracy riven by such an institution as Hindu caste is clearly a self-contradictory and inconsistent conception. Again, from the modern point of view, with which only are we now concerned, the existence of democracy in Greece must certainly be denied.

The indigenous and traditional Indian ideal of polity is an aristocracy using a bureaucracy as its instrument, modified and relieved in the case of a benevolent and well-intentioned autocrat by some measure of intimate intercourse with his subjects in more or less formal and frequent audience —a simple system, and under favourable conditions not entirely ineffective in securing communal well-being in its broader aspects. Doubtless Mr. Webster is right in thinking, as he appears to do, that we cannot at this time of day relegate British India to that school of political discipline; but the fact remains that if within any definitely measurable length of time she is to be left to guide her own destinies in accordance with her own political instincts, it must be under a group or groups of autocracies of some such type as the above, functioning under the searchlight of cosmopolitan criticism. The prospect is certainly not a promising one. What is the alternative? Evidently a constitutional system, which, while securing efficiency, honesty, and solidity of administration of a progressive type, will at the same time provide the widest possible facilities for the expression of public opinion and criticism as these develop in increasingly sane and articulate form. Pseudo-democratic control of the Government by legislative assemblies which, at the present stage of India's political development, or want of development, cannot in any true sense be democratic, is not a vitally essential element. Any attempt to deal from a historical point of view with the origin and growth of representative institutions is impossible here; but it seems by no means irrelevant to

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observe that such growth, when healthy, has almost invariably been a process of gradual development from a primary stage in which the function of assemblies, in whatever degree representative, was one of discussion of the proposals of an autocratic ruler and of the ventilation of popular grievances; while real power of control over the form and personnel of government and its legislative and administrative action has been secured at a much later period as a result of the growth of popular enlightenment, and of an articulate national and public opinion. In our own country the process, so far as it has been completed, occupied some hundreds of years. In India, on the other hand, under the reformed constitution, an attempt has been made, with various safeguards, to introduce *ab initio* the stage which in a normal, healthy political development comes later, by decades, generations, and it may be centuries. And not only so; a further abnormal and striking feature in the present constitutional feature in India confronts us in the fact that the governments, central and provincial, cannot with confidence count on support, either adequate or definite or permanent, in the assemblies which have been endowed with a large measure of definite control over their action. Veto and certification are not instruments which can be constantly used. On the other hand, in the absence of aught which can claim to be even the semblance of a democratic electorate, direct *de facto* responsibility for the well-being of India must for long continue to rest with Government as the embodiment of British authority. The attribution of such responsibility to pseudo-democratic representative assemblies can be no more than a make-believe.

What is necessary is that the Government should be in direct and permanent contact in a consultative aspect with such comparatively small volume of educated, if not always enlightened, public opinion as does exist. Considerations of space preclude a full treatment of the subject. Very briefly the broad lines suggested are as follows:

1. Unitary provincial governments with unified responsibility, consisting of a Governor with a body of counsellors, or ministers, or whatever other term may be considered suitable, of whom an adequate proportion—say, one-half—would be British and one-half Indian, all selected by the Governor; a majority of the Indians being taken from the local representative assembly, and a majority of the British being officials. Dyarchy would thus disappear.

2. The primary recognized function of the local representative assemblies would be consultative and advisory rather than one of control over the provincial government. At the same time it is not suggested that the existing powers of such assemblies should be generally curtailed, except in so far as the disappearance of dyarchy would entail modification. No doubt this is to some extent anomalous *vis-à-vis* of the postulated primary function of the assemblies; but unfortunately some degree of anomaly is inevitable in any conceivable scheme of Indian constitutional development; while the continuance of legislative powers, more or less in their existing form, is necessary in order to secure that the primary function may be discharged with a due sense of responsibility.

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A scheme such as that very baldly sketched above would, it is believed, provide, so far as the provinces of India are concerned, a constitution more suitable to actually existing Indian conditions than that which is in force at present. Moreover it contains elements of elasticity and possibilities of modification which would render it not unsuitable, if at any time in the distant future India as a whole should become capable of real self-government on national and democratic lines. Such a contingency seems at present to be a very remote one; but let us assume that a hundred, or perhaps even fifty, years hence its premonitory signs should be unmistakably manifest; such as the growth of a real national feeling and a nationalistic sense of community among the masses of the population, accompanied by the spread of education and by the exhibition of intelligent interest in public and national questions on the part of the electorates; then it would not be difficult to Indianize to a greater degree, or even fully, the provincial governments; to render them responsible, in a parliamentary sense, to the representative assemblies; and to enlarge the powers of control to be exercised by the latter under the scrutiny of the electorates, which would, in the conditions assumed, be able to stand comparison with similar bodies in Europe.

Yours, etc.,

THE WRITER OF THE ARTICLE.

"WITHIN THE WALLS OF NANKING."

SIR,

In the last number of your important JOURNAL there appears a review of Mrs. Hobart's book "Within the Walls of Nanking" to which I have contributed a Proem dealing with the culture indigenous to China. Your critic so completely misunderstands my exposition that I would beg the favour of a little space to correct his impression. He says: "Whatever exactly may be the function of this otherwise interesting prologue, it is not easy to understand its presence here. . . . On page 9 Mrs. Ayscough admits that 'the summit on the Mountain of Perfected Civilization is still as remote . . . as the peak of Mount Everest.' When the terrible pages so vividly depicted . . . have been pondered, there will be time enough to discuss 'Perfected Civilization' in the flowery period of Chinese scholars."

My reference to the Mountain of Civilization is general, not particular. I consider that every race has accomplished certain progress on its own path, and that the Chinese had gone no inconsiderable distance on the path they had chosen. I use the past tense because in 1905 that path was deliberately abandoned, and so far the Chinese as a race have found no other. The system which I outlined was no figment of a scholar's brain, but a very concrete actuality which had stood the test of practice for at least two millenniums. The natural result of its swift reversal is the present chaos.

I do not suggest that the system, which was unsuited to international

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intercourse, could have been retained, but I deprecate the assumption that new methods can be assumed "in the turning of one's palm."

Regretting that I did not sufficiently dot my i's and cross my t's, I am, with apologies for this intrusion on your space,

Yours, etc.,

FLORENCE AYSCOUGH.

Saumarez Park, Guernsey.

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RECENT BOOKS ON ARCHÆOLOGY

III

By Warren R. Dawson

"The Epic of Gilgamish" is perhaps the oldest poem in the world. It has come down to us in a series of fragments written in cuneiform characters on Assyrian and Babylonian clay tablets in a number of different languages or dialects, including Sumerian, Akkadian, Hittite, and Assyrian. Centuries before the time of Homer, this venerable epic had its origin, but the most complete surviving copy of it is that which was made for the royal library of King Ashurbanipal at Nineveh in the seventh century B.C. In the British Museum, amongst the vast collection of records from Nineveh, are preserved twelve clay tablets, closely written with cuneiform characters and containing about three hundred lines each. These tablets have recently been newly collated by Dr. R. Campbell Thompson, and as the result of this exacting labour, together with a further study of the older and later fragments, he has published a new translation of the epic.* The original cuneiform text is written in metre, and Dr. Campbell Thompson has appropriately given us a metrical English translation in hexameters. The result is altogether felicitous, for the author, without departing a hair's-breadth from the most literal translation of the original texts, has imparted a grandeur and cadence to the narration of the stirring events related in the poem that no prose translation could convey.

There is good reason for believing that "The Epic of Gilgamish," in the form that has come down to us, is an agglutination of many legends that had gathered about the hero's name in very remote times. Just as the Egyptians immortalized many of their early kings in popular legends and stories, so Gilgamish, one of the earliest kings of Erech in Southern Babylonia, became the hero of the legend that found final expression in the epic. Gilgamish, according to the legend, was a tyrannical ruler (just as, according to Herodotus, was Cheops, the builder of the Great Pyramid), and his subjects appealed to the gods

* "The Epic of Gilgamish," a new translation from a collation of the cuneiform tablets in the British Museum rendered literally into English hexameters by R. Campbell Thompson, M.A., D.Lit. London: Luzac and Co. 1928. Price 10s. 6d. net.

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for deliverance from his oppression. In answer to their appeal, the gods created Enkidu the wild man, and after a series of exploits, Gilgamish and his adversary come to grips. They engage in a tremendous duel, and this has a curious termination, for each is so much impressed by the bravery of the other that a firm friendship springs up between the two heroes, who resolve to go on a journey together to the Forest of Cedars which is guarded by a terrible ogre. The ogre is killed, and at the bidding of Ishtar a divine bull that can kill legions of men with its fiery breath is sent against Gilgamish, who had rejected the goddess's advances. Enkidu interposes and kills the bull, and is himself punished with death. Gilgamish is spared, and, to avert a similar fate, he goes in search of the Elixir of Life. We cannot now follow the hero through all his adventures, in the course of which he meets with Uta-Napishtim (Noah), who relates to him the story of the Deluge, and tells him that at the bottom of the sea there grows a certain plant that can confer eternal youth. Gilgamish, by tying heavy stones to his feet, reaches the bottom of the sea and successfully gathers the plant, but he is cheated of his prize by a serpent. He then decides to recall his companion Enkidu from the underworld, and in this endeavour he eventually succeeds. Enkidu emerges and relates to Gilgamish the sad fate of the dead in the netherworld, and at this point the story comes to an end.

The slight sketch of this remarkable poem that we have just traced is necessarily the barest outline. The story is packed with interesting features from beginning to end. There is a wealth of detail concerning the mythology, folk-lore, and eschatology of the ancient inhabitants of Western Asia, and many points that invite interesting comparisons with the customs and beliefs of other countries. Dr. Campbell Thompson's work deserves the highest praise, and it will amply reward its readers.

* * * * *

It is a far cry from India to Britain, but that the one influenced the other in ancient times there can be little doubt.* The well-known traditions that Buddhist missionary activities extended into Western Europe have been regarded with open scepticism by many scholars, but the evidence afforded by the study of Celtic civilization reveals striking confirmation. The discovery of a remarkable silver bowl in a dried peat-bog at Raevmose in Jutland

* "Buddhism in Pre-Christian Britain," by Donald A. Mackenzie. London: Blackie and Son, Ltd. 1928. Price 10s. 6d. net.

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(now in the national Museum of Copenhagen) has afforded very definite evidence of the reality of the contact of Buddhism and Celtic influence about the beginning of the Christian era. This silver bowl is adorned with a series of repoussé figures, the most striking of which is the remarkable representation of the well-known Celtic god Cernunnos, who is depicted in the typical squatting attitude of Buddha, and is surrounded by animals and other emblems connected with Buddha on the one hand and with Celtic mythology on the other. The Gundestrup Bowl (as this silver vessel is called) is the most illuminating feature in the whole problem. Mr. Donald Mackenzie, with his accustomed literary charm, has presented in this well-illustrated and pleasantly-written volume a great array of most valuable and interesting information concerning the mythology of early Britain (and especially of Scotland), which becomes more intelligible and assumes a new importance in the light of the Buddhist origin, or influence, that he proposes. Buddha became the Celtic Cernunnos, who reached our shores as Bran in Wales and Ireland, as Herne the Hunter in England, and as St. Kentigern in Scotland. The animals and other emblems associated with Buddha and with Cernunnos give valuable hints as to the interpretation of many enigmatic figures engraved on ancient stones of France and Britain, and of many myths and stories in the folk-lore of England, Ireland, and Scotland. As Mr. Mackenzie aptly says: "The loose confederacy of Celtic states and of states tributary to the Celts, extending from Asia Minor to Ireland, may not have constituted an Empire in the Roman sense of the term, but they appear to have constituted an avenue along which for centuries 'flowed' or 'drifted' those alien cultural influences which can be traced in Celtic religious complexes and Celtic sociology."

* * * * *

The diffusion of culture, especially from the Old World to the New, has for some years been a subject of keen controversy between ethnologists. In the series of little handbooks called "The Psyche Miniatures" the question is presented once more.* The work is called a symposium, but instead of the evenly-balanced debate which such a designation leads us to expect, we have a brief statement of the case for diffusion by Professor Elliot Smith, followed

* "Culture: a Symposium," by G. Elliot Smith, B. Malinowski, Herbert J. Spinden, and A. Goldenweiser. "Pysche Miniatures." London: Kegan Paul and Co. Price 2s. 6d. net.

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by attacks upon it by three contributors who do not subscribe to the doctrine—Professor Malinowski, Dr. H. J. Spinden, and Dr. A. Goldenweiser. On the merits of the case thus presented we will express no opinion, since by this three-to-one contest it is evident that the issue is prejudged.

Referring to Professor Elliot Smith's contention that Egypt was the principal inspiration of the world's culture, one of his opponents is driven to such "arguments" as quoting the names of three well-known archæologists (two of them not Egyptologists) who "have laughed to scorn the suggestion that Egypt has been, even to a limited degree, the source of civilized life." But it is well to recall that the doctrines of Galileo, of Newton, and of Darwin were each in turn "laughed to scorn"; but has this scornful laughter in the least influenced the judgment of serious thinkers who are endeavouring to estimate the real merits of the cases advocated by these pioneers?

* * * * *

Leaving these controversial topics, we have now to examine some recent historical works. One of the most important contributions to ancient history that has appeared for some time is Professor A. Moret's interesting volume on the history and civilization of Egypt.* In an earlier volume, "From Tribe to Empire," the same author gave us a masterly outline of the development of settled kingdoms and vast empires from the early totemic clans of primitive times, and showed how the peculiar characters of the Eastern Mediterranean basin, and especially the Nile Delta, favoured—and indeed compelled—such development. In the present volume the development of Egyptian civilization from these early beginnings is briefly traced once more, and the country's history, after the establishment of a unified monarchy, is followed in detail. The former book, "Tribe to Empire," is so frequently cited that the present volume is often scarcely intelligible without it, and we think that it would have added considerably to the cogency of the case, as well as to the reader's convenience, if the two works had been amalgamated and presented as one. In this form, their combined bulk would not have exceeded the limits of a single manageable volume, as a good deal of repetition could thus have been avoided. We seriously commend this suggestion to the publishers

* "The Nile and Egyptian Civilization," by Alexandre Moret. London: Kegan Paul and Co. 1927. Price 25s. net.

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when they are considering a second edition, the early necessity for which may be confidently predicted.

Hitherto, the recorded history of Egypt has been severed by two great gaps of uncertain length: the first intermediate period fell between the close of the Old Kingdom with the fall of the sixth dynasty and the revival of national prosperity with the rise of the eleventh dynasty. The second break occurs after the close of the Middle Kingdom, a period that corresponds, at least in part, with the foreign domination of Egypt by the Hyksos. Professor Moret, by a new and careful study of the social and political organization under the Old Kingdom, has for the first time explained and interpreted how this inevitable period—the "first intermediate period"—came about. A well-known literary papyrus, often called "The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage," affords interesting corroboration of the historical data, but we think that the author is inclined to place too much reliance on this papyrus, which is purely a literary composition and not an historical document. The only known copy of it was written long after the events it records, and whilst we fully agree with Professor Moret that it undoubtedly has an historical, or at least traditional, foundation, we must beware of interpreting its statements too literally. This work is an able and interesting summary of practically the whole field of Egyptian archæology. Art, architecture, religion, mythology, literature, science, and social organization are all dealt with; and although the detailed information on some of these topics might have been brought more up to date, the reader will find a most valuable and readable account of the ancient and fascinating culture of the Nile Valley from the earliest times. One fact emerges very clearly, and that is: the cause and the mainspring of Egyptian civilization was the River Nile. The great river that rolls between two narrow strips of fertile land between the limestone cliffs of Egypt not only called into being and nursed the greatest empire of the ancient world, but has had the profoundest influence in shaping the destinies of the human race.

The great value of Professor Moret's splendid work to students would have been greatly enhanced had he entrusted the revision of the English edition to an Egyptologist. The bibliographical references are often unsatisfactory and sometimes incorrect: in the first reading of the book, the present reviewer noted many inaccuracies, and a second reading has added to their number. Moreover, the material execution of the illustrations is unworthy

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of so important a work. The text-figures are sketchy, and many of the photographic illustrations are far from clear, and are often reproduced on so small a scale that their subjects are barely recognizable. Apart from such blemishes, however, we earnestly recommend a careful reading of Professor Moret's book, not only to those whose studies are confined to Egypt, but to all who are interested in the development of human history in a wider sense.

* * * * *

Professor Moret's book, to which the preceding paragraphs have been devoted, is a general survey of Egyptian history. We now have before us the detailed study of a particular phase of the social history of Egypt—one of those devoted and detailed studies of original documents that go to make up history as a whole.*

The Turin Museum contains the richest collection in the world of Egyptian hieratic papyri of the Ramesside period. Amongst these treasures may be mentioned the great Canon of Kings, the world's earliest map (that of the gold-mines near Wadi Hammamat), the architect's plan of the tomb of Rameses IV., the judicial papyrus dealing with the trial and conviction of the *harim* conspirators in the reign of Rameses III., the love-songs and poems, a number of official letters of the twenty-first dynasty, and a large series of magical texts. In addition to the documents enumerated above the Turin collection includes a large series of fragments of a diary or journal recording the daily events in the Theban Necropolis during the latter part of the twentieth dynasty. It is with this journal that the publication now before us is concerned.

Dr. Botti of Turin has expended endless patience and skill in bringing together the many scattered fragments of what he perceived to be parts of one great whole—the Necropolis Journal. He has been most fortunate in his collaborator, Professor T. E. Peet, whose work on the similar papyri of London and Liverpool is so well known and so justly appreciated. The outcome of many hours of patient toil by these two scholars is the splendid folio containing photographs, transcriptions and translations of these mutilated and difficult texts which throw a flood of light upon the social and industrial history of Egypt under the Ramesside kings. We have already called attention

* "I Papyri Ieratici del Museo di Torino—Il Giornale della Necropoli di Tebe," by Guiseppe Botti and T. Eric Peet. Turin: Fratelli Bocca; Paris: Paul Geuthner; London: Hodder and Stoughton, Ltd. Three volumes, folio, with 63 plates. 1928.

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from time to time in this journal to the interesting data afforded by various papyri upon the conditions of work, the wages, social life, organization, and other factors connected with the great population of workmen and their families, who toiled in the construction, decoration, and upkeep of the vast tombs that constitute the Valley of the Kings in Western Thebes, a spot whose world-wide fame has recently been redoubled by the discovery of Tutankhamen and his treasures.*

The Necropolis Journal is, as we have already indicated, a diary kept by the official scribes of Western Thebes. It is the main stem to which we can attach numerous other documents (papyri and ostraca) that deal with the same events and name the same persons. The diary is concerned mainly with the doings of "the men of the gang" or the great corps of workmen of various grades employed about the tombs of kings and nobles. The daily entries vary in length: often they contain no more than a note that on such and such a day the men were working, or not working, as the case may be. We do not yet know why on so many consecutive days we read the entry, "The gang did not work." Some of the entries, however, specify some religious festival which provided a reason, or an excuse, for stopping work. Such is the case, for instance, during the five epagomenal days of the year, which were regarded as unpropitious days fraught with ill-luck. On some days work was stopped through sickness, and often through lack of rations. Thus we read: "Day 7. The workmen were idle because they were hungry, not having received their rations [for the previous month]." These overdue rations were slow to arrive, for two days later we find the following entry: "Day 9. The workmen were idle because they were hungry and exhausted through insufficient food." Such records of the non-delivery or late delivery of rations (the men were paid in kind) compel us to believe that the workmen's lot was often a pitiable one, and it can be scarcely wondered at that they went on strike from time to time, and that many of them were thieves. The journal makes frequent reference to prisoners who had been arrested for theft and were confined pending their trial. These trials are recorded at length in a number of juristic papyri which are preserved in various museums.

It is tempting to find further extracts from the interesting entries in the journal, but space forbids. From these

* Asiatic Review: vol. xvi., pp. 127-128; vol. xvii., pp. 181-184, 339-342; vol. xix., pp. 319-329, etc.

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entries can be gleaned an immense harvest of information as to the personnel, employment, and remuneration of the workmen as well as to the nature and value of the food and clothing allotted to them and the various objects which they manufactured or handled. Moreover, the frequent references to priests, officials, and workmen whose names are known to us from other documents afford many a valuable clue to the reconstruction of Egyptian social life during a period of great historic interest. In concluding this brief notice, it is the reviewer's pleasant duty to pay a warm tribute to the industry, patience, and sagacity of Dr. Botti and Professor Peet in their admirable handling of a laborious and difficult task.

* * * * *

Ethiopia is the name that was given by the Greeks to a vast and ill-defined area which in course of time was limited to the district of North-Eastern Africa bounded by Egypt on the north, and by the Red Sea on the east. Originally, however, it is probable that the term was applied almost indiscriminately not only to this region, but to all lands between it and India. In the early centuries of the Christian era, and probably for some time before, Ethiopia was understood to mean that great tract of land which today we call Abyssinia and Nubia. Confining himself within these geographical limits, Sir Ernest Budge has recently published a history of Ethiopia in realization of a proposal that was first made to him in 1905, but which it has not been possible to put into execution until now.* The history of Nubia dealt with by Sir Ernest dates from the middle of the fourth millennium B.C. till the conquest of the country by the Kingdom of Axum, about A.D. 350,† whilst that of Abyssinia dates from the time of the Patriarchs almost to the present day—1916, to be exact.

The materials for the history of these two regions differ much in character. Nubia was in cultural contact with Egypt from very early times, and the inscriptions of Egypt afford a considerable amount of authentic contemporary historical information. Apart, however, from the chronicles of Egypt, Nubia has been the scene of a great amount of archæological exploration during recent years, and a vast amount of local evidence has been unearthed. With the decision of the Egyptian Government to raise the

* "A History of Ethiopia: Nubia and Abyssinia," by Sir E. A. Wallis Budge. 2 vols. London: Methuen and Co., Ltd. 1928. Price £3 13s. 6d. net.

† *Cf.* ASIATIC REVIEW, vol. xxiii., 1927, p. 167.

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Aswândam, a step finally decided upon in 1907, the necessity arose for a systematic exploration and record of all the monuments and sites that the alteration in water-level would affect. This was carried into effect by the establishment of the Archæological Survey of Nubia, and by independent excavations undertaken by numerous universities and scientific bodies. The publication of the results of all this active field-work during the last twenty years, taken in conjunction with the ancient Egyptian records, has given us the materials for as complete a picture as it is possible to hope for of an obscure and interesting region. Sir Ernest Budge has availed himself of this mass of detail that from its very nature was "getting out of hand" and has distilled from it a very full and interesting account of the ancient history of Nubia. Abyssinia, on the other hand, presented far greater difficulties. Much of the early history of that country is purely legendary, and legend passes almost imperceptibly into recorded fact. Sir Ernest Budge's profound knowledge of Ethiopic literature has stood him in good stead. His editions of Ethiopic manuscripts must far outnumber those of any other scholar, and his wide experience of the language, diction, and literary style of the Ethiopic or Ge'ez books has enabled him to form a just estimate as to their value or otherwise as historic documents.

The long historical narrative revealed in these two handsome volumes is enriched with much information as to the language, literature, religious beliefs, and customs of the inhabitants of Abyssinia from age to age. As the bibliography printed at the end of the second volume shows, the material for the study of Abyssinian history and culture is scattered in a vast number of works, many, if not most, of them rare and difficult to obtain. Sir Ernest Budge's work is also a valuable contribution to the history of an important, but little known, phase in the annals of the Christian Church, and it will accordingly be of great advantage to students of ecclesiastical history. The whole work will be read with interest as an illuminating instance of the struggles between barbarism and culture, between human credulity and incredulity, of the influence upon one country of its neighbours, and of the clash of conflicting faiths.

The illustrations displayed in the text and in forty-nine plates are interesting and well chosen, but we think it would have been an advantage had these, and the chapters of the text, been numbered. Such a course would greatly have facilitated reference.

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LITERARY SECTION

LEADING ARTICLE

THE CULT OF THE COW

By Stanley Rice

It is our English fashion—perhaps it is universal—for all intelligent and thinking men to adopt without question the latest theory of the pandits, provided that it is sufficiently often repeated and has a respectable following among the members of that eclectic caste. Poor Galileo suffered from a splendid isolation, but when, too late for him, his theory was established by the professors everyone followed. I have no doubt that public opinion lagged even further behind Lister than did the sceptics of his own profession, and all the world accepted the etymological causes of malaria until Manson and Ross taught them that they were looking in the wrong place.

The problems of ancient India, like those of other hoary civilizations, are left severely to the pandits, who are, naturally enough, inclined to speak *ex cathedra*. And since these ancient Indian questions are so left to the Sanskrit scholars, they are, of course, interpreted in terms of Sanskrit. He who would convince anyone that these scholars are wrong is under a great disadvantage : he is tilting with a very ordinary spear of common make against those who wield the spear of Britomart, and equally, of course, it is more than likely that the fall will be his and not theirs. In this matter of the cow the Sanskrit gentlemen have frequently announced that the custom of cow worship is derived from the extreme utility of the cow to the Aryans. And so often has this theory been reiterated that it is now taken for granted by almost all who pretend to any knowledge of India and her customs. Its weakness lies in our comparative ignorance of the kind of civilization which the Aryans found in India and with which, of course, they must have come into contact. Over-emphasis upon the Aryan aspect may well lead to false conclusions.

Now the Vedas, to which everything of this kind must be referred back, are four in number. The first and by far the most important is the Rig-Veda ; the Yajur, and Sâma-Vedas have in fact little interest for the student of ancient

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cults, since they contain hardly anything that cannot be found in the Rig. The Atharva-Veda, which is much later, and which deals mainly with incantations and magic, lies under strong suspicion of being the product of the blend of Aryan civilization with its predecessor, namely the Dravidian.

Sacrifice is, of course, known to almost all ancient peoples, and the Rig-Veda mentions it frequently; but it is significant that the offerings of milk, ghee, and grain, and of the intoxicating liquor which was deified under the name of Soma, take equal rank with the sacrifice of animal life. Greater stress, it would seem, is laid upon the latter by the Yajur-Veda, which prescribes formulæ for the priest and is conceived in the spirit of Leviticus. What was it that brought about the change? How came it that as time went on the sacrifice became more important than the gods for whom it was performed and changed the hymns of praise into the formulæ of ritual? It is, of course, possible to argue that such a transition was simply the result of evolution. The change of climate and of habits, the influence of a more settled life, and the tendency of religion to develop into a system combined to give the priests a more dominant status and their sacrificial functions a certain factitious importance, just as in modern times the severity of certain forms of Christian worship is based upon the fear lest the accompaniments of ritual should obscure the deeper meaning of religion. It is equally possible to argue that the earlier Aryan religion became modified by contact with the cults already established in the country. The observation of Bishop Whitehead has shown us what an important part animal sacrifice plays in the village cults of the Telugu country, and the bloody sacrifices of Kali, who is usually considered to be an incarnation absorbed into the Hinduism of Bengal from an earlier cult after the accommodating fashion of the religion, are further evidence that points to the same conclusion.

But although blood flows freely in the sacrifices, the cow is a notable exception. How came it that this extraordinary reverence for bull or cow arose and became so deeply rooted that, as everyone knows, it is now not only a Hindu tenet, but is the cause of endless strife between Hindu and Muslim? It is usually suggested that when the invaders reached the fertile plains of India they settled down to a pastoral life, and that the oxen became the staff of existence —the cow for milk and butter, the ox for draught and field work—so that, dependent as they were upon the cow, the

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Aryans in time came to worship her. Thus Professor Berriedale Keith, after recording that the Aryans slaughtered oxen, as "in some degree a sacrificial act" and in any case as an act of hospitality, is driven to point out that "there is no inconsistency between the eating of flesh and the growing sanctity of the cow, which bears already in the Rig-Veda the epithet 'aghnya,' not to be killed." But he adds significantly, "if this interpretation of the term is correct," implying that there is some doubt about it. And he draws the conclusion that it is "merely a proof of the high value attached to that useful animal, the source of the milk which meant so much both for secular and sacred use to the Vedic Indian." But the practice of eating flesh, and even the flesh of cows and oxen, continued, for the same author tells us that though "the eating of meat is indeed here and there censured, as, for instance, in a hymn of the Atharva-Veda, where meat-eating is censured . . . it was still the custom to slay a great ox or goat for the entertainment of a guest." The mention of the Atharva-Veda should be noted, as it has a bearing on the argument. Later on, in the period of the Sutras and Epics, it is, according to Professor Washburn Hopkins, "an old rite of hospitality to kill a cow for a guest." But the practice of "ahimsa" had been growing, and it was common to offer the animal to the guest, who refused it. It was nevertheless killed if the owner wished to kill it; the offer to the guest seems to have been a piece of formality, to be refused formally, much as swords are offered and returned as a knightly and graceful ceremony today. Clearly, then, the Aryans both ate and sacrificed the cow, and the custom very gradually grew into disfavour, until it disappeared altogether.

The utilitarian argument must always be regarded with some suspicion, especially when dealing with Eastern customs. It is true that the rite of circumcision and the denial of pork to Moslems are attributed with great force to hygienic causes which have been elevated into religious sanctions in order to make them obligatory. In those cases the connection is obvious; it is not at all obvious in the case of the Aryans. We have seen that the argument from the Rig-Veda depends on a single word of doubtful interpretation, though there are certainly other references to cattle in the hymns. On the other hand, the Aryans would naturally have prized the horse more as the animal of battle and conquest; and so we find that the gods "drive through the air in cars drawn chiefly by horses,

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but sometimes by other animals." And later on it is the horse sacrifice which is the emblem of Imperial claim, and therefore to be performed very rarely, and only by kings. The comparison of gods to bulls, which occurs in the Rig-Veda, proves nothing; Eastern literature is full of imagery, and even we describe men as "bold as a lion" and "sly as a fox." On the other hand, "actual direct worship of animals is hardly found in the Rig-Veda." It is a far cry from prizing an animal to worshipping it, and yet worship is hardly too strong a term for the feeling of Indians towards the cow today. Now the Rig-Veda nearly always mentions cattle simply as valuable property. A typical hymn to Indra says:

> "Who slew the serpent, freed the seven rivers,
> Who drove the cattle out of Vala's cavern.
> * * * * *
> A conqueror in fights; he, men, is Indra."

Indra, too, slew the demons Arbuda and Visvarupa, whose cows in each case he seized. Cows in such cases simply mean wealth, and it would seem therefore that the theory of Aryan origin for the reverence paid to the cow rests on very inadequate grounds.

There are more solid foundations for the suggestion that the sanctity of cattle is in origin Dravidian. The cow is every bit as holy in the south as in the north, and perhaps the more so because the south is pre-eminently the home of the Saiva cult, and, as everyone knows, the bull is sacred to Siva. If, as Professor Rapson says, the Dravidians retain their own customs, it is difficult to see why they should have adopted the reverence for the cow, unless in obedience to the laws of Manu, which no doubt became universal. Just as caste is said to be more strictly observed in the south than in the north, so one might have expected that an Aryan custom would have been observed in the north with enthusiasm, in the south with indifference. But, as I have just said, this is not so.

It is admitted that the Dravidian civilization preceded the Aryan in North India, and it is in accordance with all theories and known facts of primitive races that, after the nomadic and hunting stages were passed, the pastoral stage supervened. It requires no great straining of argument to assume that the Dravidians followed the usual law, and had settled down in the fertile plains of India when the Aryan invasion burst upon them. Now pastoral people are inclined to worship deities of fertility, for it is a tendency of all

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early races to suppose some supernatural power in charge of the various departments of human welfare. In Egypt the bull Apis has been identified with Osiris, though whether as an incarnation of the god or as the fusion with him of other separate deities does not exactly appear. That, however, does not matter. This incarnation of the fertility spirit is found also in various parts of Europe, and incarnations of other animals in other parts of the world. As the Aryans came from outside India, it might be that they had adopted the custom from their previous contact with other races, but this can hardly be the case since, as we have seen, the Rig-Veda is silent on the worship of animals, and the mention of cattle never suggests that they were held in any particular reverence. But we do know that the aboriginal tribes, displaced by the Dravidians, conceived the idea of a fertility spirit, the best-known example being that of the Khonds with their human "Meriah" sacrifice. A more civilized people would naturally object to human sacrifice, though even that is not wholly unknown in parts of India. What, then, is more probable than that the cow was looked upon as the fertility spirit, for which, of course, she would be admirably suited as the beneficent giver of natural gifts to man?

It will be admitted that this hypothesis is more satisfactory than the Aryan theory, because it does away with the utilitarian explanation which is not, and substitutes the religious basis, which is, in accordance with primitive custom. It also explains why the Aryans did not reverence the cow at first, and yet subsequently came to regard it with almost superstitious veneration, exalting it practically to the position of a minor deity. As they advanced into India they found the cult of the fertility deity already established, and grafted it on to their own creed as conquering nations are so prone to do when they settle down in a land already occupied by a cultured people. Gradually the idea of fertility would disappear, the sacrifices would be discontinued, and the cow, retaining its sanctity, would be regarded as a being which to kill would be sacrilege. The Dravidians who had settled or been driven farther south would, of course, have retained their own customs, which, as in many other cases scattered over the pages of Sir J. G. Frazer's historic work, would have undergone a like process of modification. We have thus a perfectly rational and probable explanation of the universal respect for the cow, even in the inconvenient south. The opposite hypothesis assumes that the conquered peoples of the north took on a

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custom which was itself foreign to their conquerors, and that it was then imposed upon the south, which was perfectly free to reject it, either because it approved the idea, or in obedience to laws promulgated for the whole country. This involves a great many difficulties, which, if not insuperable, can only be solved in an awkward and unsatisfactory way.

The argument would be greatly strengthened if it could be shown that Siva was originally conceived as a fertility god, for the attribution of the bull to him would then be parallel to the case of Apis and Osiris up to the point of the complete absorption of the one into the other. The proposition does not seem capable of exact proof, but there are certain indications which suggest that it may be correct. It is usual to label the Trimurti with the three general names of Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer; but it is evident that all three require explanation, if we are not to be deceived by catchwords. In what sense are we to interpret these names? If Siva were simply the Destroyer, we should expect that his worship would be dictated by fear, as was the case in Greece with the Eumenides; but in the south, where Saiva-worship has its stronghold, there is no indication of this. It seems rather that Siva should be regarded as the Destroyer and Regenerator, or, in more mystical language, the Purifier. This view is supported by two legends—the one in which Siva, as Nilakanta, swallows the poison intended for the injury of the human race, and the other, in which, as Rudra, he quenches the personification of lust with his fiery eye. In both cases he is working for the good of humanity—in the first as Protector, and in the second as Destroyer of evil things. It is significant that the worship of Kali, the Shakti of Siva, and the Destroyer *par excellence*, is either not known in the south, or has at least no importance. If Kali be a survival of an older cult, we should expect to find her worship predominant in the Dravidian country rather than in Bengal, which has been so much more subject to Aryan and other influences. It would seem that Bengal adopted her from some primitive cult as the female counterpart of the Vedic Rudra, rather than of the less terrible Siva of the south. No great stretch of imagination is needed to see how the attributes of Siva were gradually transferred from the physical to the moral sphere, from the destruction and regeneration of nature to the purification of the soul.

A further justification for this view is to be found in the association of the lingam with the bull as the special attri-

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butes of Siva. Whatever may be thought of the bull, no one has ever doubted that the lingam represents the principle of reproduction, as indeed is sufficiently obvious. What, then, is the bull? Is it simply the vehicle of Siva, like the horses of the South Indian Aiyanar, which are put ready for him to ride upon in making his rounds of the village? If so, why is it so constant, and why is it so generally in the same position, facing the shrine, as though it were the custodian? Siva is not conceived as requiring a steed always ready for use, and the vahanams of other deities are not placed in this conspicuous and invariable position. At Conjivaram, during the Garuda festival, the gods ride round the town on various steeds, but these are taken from the store rooms of the temple, where, during the rest of the year, they are kept. In its immobility, in its position, in the artistic care of its fashioning, the Saiva Bull or Nandi seems to be in a class by itself. If this be granted, there must be some special motive for the peculiarity, and that motive, taken together with the lingam and with the character of Siva as the Destroyer and Reproducer, can hardly be anything but the worship of the principle of fertility.

But it may be objected that Siva is only the development of Rudra, who is without any doubt whatsoever a Vedic god. He is said to be the god of the Storm Blasts, whose children are the Maruts, personifications of the wind in its various phases, from the thunder-gales of the tropics to the beneficent breezes. Says a hymn:

> "When mountains bow before your march,
> And rivers, too, before your rule,
> Before your mighty roaring blast."

And again:

> "From heaven Maruts bring to us
> Abundant wealth, distilling joy,
> With plenteous food all nourishing."
>
> Rig-Veda, viii., 7.

Rudra is the Vedic deity who is malevolent, but he too has his beneficent side. Though he is "implored not to slay or injure in his anger his worshippers and their belongings," he is also invoked as "best of all physicians."

> "Where is that gracious hand of thine, O Rudra,
> That is so full of remedies and coolness?"
>
> Rig-Veda, ii., 33.

Professor MacDonell explains that "the deprecations of his wrath led to the application to him of the euphemistic epithet

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Siva, 'Auspicious,' the regular name of Rudra's historical successor in post-Vedic mythology." Nearly all this has been lost in his later character. He is no longer a nature god of the Storm, nor is he specially connected with medicine, but the attribute of Destroyer certainly suggests the storm as one manifestation of destruction, as his attribute of Reproduction suggests as one manifestation the healing physician. On the other hand, though the former is self-evident, it is only by a process of *a posteriori* reasoning that we can read the Reproducer into the physician, and it is significant that in the later mythology the healing side of Rudra's character has been dropped. For with the exception of Vishnu, Rudra is the only Vedic god who has kept his place in the hierarchical system, and as embodying one side of the god Siva he is always the terrible god. Mahadeva and the many variants of Iswara may inspire awe, or reverence, fear, or even love, but Rudra fear alone. This complete disappearance of one side of Rudra's character and the transference of the other from the Storm god, who destroys the just and unjust alike, to the Destroyer of all evil things suggests that the Vedic god came into contact with some other god already established who possessed similar attributes, and having regard to the usual custom of primitive peoples, it is not unreasonable to suppose that that deity was a god of fertility. The fusion of one god with another is not unknown, as we have seen in the case of Apis and Osiris, and though the Egyptian culture may have been single and undivided, it is quite probable that the Vedic Aryans after they had settled in the country combined with Dravidians to form a distinct civilization. The fact that the original Vedic nature gods gradually vanished suggests that the Aryans had come into contact with new ideas which profoundly modified their metaphysical conceptions. Let it be remembered that it was only the monotheistic and patriotic fervour of such men as Elijah that prevented the Israelites from combining the worship of Jahveh with that of the tribal gods reverenced by the surrounding peoples.

Lest the foregoing discussion should offend any Indian friends, let me remind them that of the four great world religions, only two go back to those prehistoric times when primitive man first put into shape his conceptions of the supernatural. Christianity is as much the offspring of Judaism as Buddhism of Brahmanism, and, to go no further back than the great exodus from Egypt, we know that Jahveh was at first the tribal god who had taken Israel into his special protection—a jealous god who visited the sins of the

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fathers on the children, and an awful god who appeared in storm and thunder. The loving kindness of God was a far later conception, and the Fatherhood belongs specially to the Christian development. The God whom Christians worship is no more like the original Jahveh than is the Siva of today like that conjectural god whom we have been considering or the Rudra of the Rig-Veda.

The cult of the bull, which if there be any validity in the argument may be claimed by South India as the modern representative of Dravidian culture, has had an almost incalculable effect on Indian life. One may indeed hazard the conjecture that out of it arose the doctrine of ahimsa which appealed so strongly to Gautama and reached its extreme limit in the religion of Mahavira. On the other hand, the sanctity of human life is a doctrine specially characteristic of the West, which again is somewhat prodigal of animal life. The very existence of capital punishment and the controversy that has raged round it is proof of Western respect for human life, for it is the main argument of its supporters that nothing short of the punishment of death is sufficient to meet the case of intentional homicide, while their opponents contend that in no circumstances whatever is man justified in taking the life of his fellow in cold blood and under the shelter of supposed justice. But to hunt the fox, to shoot the tiger under conditions that give him no chance, to kill birds and slaughter sheep and cattle for food and to capture fish—these are all everyday occurrences which it is only the occupation of a crank to dispute. In India, however, those very men who showed such scrupulous care for animal life clung tenaciously to the custom of burning the widow, showed the utmost fortitude in their extremity by slaying wives and children before going to their own certain death in battle, slew father or mother by consent to take revenge on an enemy, and submitted sometimes to a voluntary death in the ecstasy of devotion. Is it not at least probable that the whole idea of ahimsa arose from the peculiar sanctity of the bull and cow, to slay which was ranked among the most heinous offences?

There are two main directions in which the effect of this cult is seen. The first is, of course, that it has provided a fruitful source of friction between the chief elements of the population. Apart from the frequent collisions which it has occasioned, it shows itself now and again in unexpected places. I once had to try a case in which a Hindu killed a quite inoffensive Mussulman whom he had never seen before merely because he belonged to a class which killed

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cattle. He had worked himself up to this frenzy by walking in the dead of night several times round the slaughter-house, which his imagination no doubt peopled with the ghosts of slaughtered cattle, and proceeded at once to slay the first Mussulman he met, who happened to be a fellow scaring birds in a fruit garden. The sin of murdering the innocent man was in his eyes slight beside the awful crime on cows committed not by the victim but by the class to which he belonged.

The second effect is economic. The cult of the cow is the despair of agriculturists in India. Except in the case of the temple bull, sacred *par excellence*, which wanders through bazaars taking mouthfuls of what he fancies, the Indian reverence only extends to the actual preservation of life, and this naturally results in the survival of the unfittest. Indian pasture grounds are usually inadequate both in quantity and quality—in quantity owing to the pressure of cultivation for the subsistence of ever growing numbers, in quality chiefly because of the natural conditions, but partly also because over-grazing never gives Nature a chance. Not only does this involve inadequate nourishment for the stronger stock, but the crowding together of all sorts and conditions often leads to indiscriminate breeding and to feeble offspring, chiefly owing to the mothers, since castration of bulls is an everyday practice This, of course, reacts on the by-products and especially on the supply of good manure, but so deeply rooted is the cult that the eyot would rather forgo material advantage than be guilty of sin against a cow or bull—a proof, we may note in passing, of the spiritual claim of India.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

INDIA

STUDIES OF AN IMPERIALIST. By Lord Sydenham of Combe. (*Chapman and Hall.*) 18s. net.

(*Reviewed by* SIR REGINALD CRADDOCK.)

Of the many forcible articles or speeches by Lord Sydenham reproduced in this volume the three relating to India are naturally those which will attract most interest from the readers of the ASIATIC REVIEW. They represent the author's views in 1913 on Indian nationalism, in 1918 on the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, and on the actual working of the Reforms in 1923.

In the first of these articles we have the author's impressions when he was fresh from his administration of the Bombay Presidency, and he quotes with approval Sir Valentine Chirol's pronouncement on the illusory character of Indian nationalism, based on a temporary and unnatural alliance between Brahmanism and the Western educated. It is customary among persons who imagine that they have the monopoly of liberal ideas to dismiss Lord Sydenham's utterances as those of a reactionary and a diehard. These like to think of themselves as the only people possessed of vision, forgetting that there is all the difference between the man of vision who knows the facts as they are, and the pure visionary who ignores all the facts and whose visions are nothing but castles in the air. But Lord Sydenham's "diehardism," if that term be conceded for the sake of argument, is not based on that obstinacy of self-assurance which distinguishes the doctrinaire, but on hard facts and bitter experience. A man of wide knowledge of men of affairs, he went to Bombay with the strongest possible desire to cultivate and bring out the very best faculties of the Indian *intelligentsia*. So strong in this desire was he that in the early period of his Governorship he was freely criticized by British opinion in India for excessive indulgence to extreme Indian politicians. It was only when he found, after fair trial, that an attempt to conciliate Indian agitators was a mere labour of Sisyphus that he felt obliged to take new bearings. His description of the Indian Nationalist whose national ideal is confined to "the attainment of power for himself and his class" was true in 1913, and is still true today. It is not the fault of the Indians of today that they are not a nation any more than it is the fault of Europeans that there is no nation which can call itself the European nation. Indians belong to several nationalities, which, though to some extent intermixed, have never amalgamated into one because, firstly, the area called India is too vast, and, secondly, intermarriage has been interdicted, and disobedience by individuals to this prohibition, entailing as it does loss of property and social status, has been confined to a negligible

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few. Such union as there is between these various races in India consists of their common allegiance to British rule. Take away that rule and the bond of union is gone. As Lord Sydenham has said: "Were we to abdicate in favour of the 'Nationalists,' there would be no materials from which to form and no democrats to administer a democracy."

The second study on India is a speech which Lord Sydenham delivered in the House of Lords in 1918 in criticism of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. It was trenchant criticism — what he said was true. Nothing was truer than his statement that the Report came before Parliament without any *pièces justificatives*. That was Mr. Montagu's political adroitness. Nothing before the Report was to count, for it brought into the horizon what he called a new angle of vision. All, therefore, that had been written on the subject was "raw material." So far from much of it being the raw material of the Report, it was material thrown into the waste-paper basket, because the recommendations contained in that Report would have been seriously prejudiced if the rejected matter had been published. Lord Sydenham's wise words of warning were just neglected, because in the atmosphere that then prevailed no one wanted to listen. Mr. Montagu was so carried away with enthusiasm for his great ideal that he no longer wanted advice. But that his insight was at fault should have become clear to him because of the many checks and safeguards which even he was obliged to introduce into his scheme, checks and safeguards which clearly showed that the soil was quite unsuitable for the exotic plant that he sought to produce. If Mr. Montagu had listened to those who, from long observation, understood the people, educated and uneducated, and what the objectives of the former were, he would have known that the attempted conciliation of this class never could bring peace. On the morrow of the last concession given to them the agitator begins asking for something more, and every new concession merely increases the demand for something greater. In the meantime, in his eagerness to "produce a calm atmosphere"—one of Mr. Montagu's favourite fallacies—safeguards at first proposed were either given up or made nugatory. Deluded by his own optimistic imagination, Mr. Montagu proceeded to shed much of the caution which here and there appeared in the famous Report, and, as Lord Sydenham tells us, "the Bill emerged in a form which rendered the Government of India far weaker, especially in regard to finance, than the Report itself appears to have contemplated, and all the conditions which Lord Curzon had laid down were flagrantly violated."

In the third of his Studies, written in 1923, Lord Sydenham refers to some of the actions of the Legislative Assembly. By 1928 members of this Assembly have excelled in their attacks upon the Government of India and have dealt blows at its influence, which are having the most disastrous effect on its reputation and on the future and peace of India.

The frank utterance of Mr. Lionel Curtis which has been quoted by Lord Sydenham—viz., that "we may have to look on while the helpless people are being injured by their own electorates"—is the utterance of a constitu-

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tion-maker who apparently did not at the time think of the nature of the injuries involved, when the words he used came to be translated into actual facts. "That," says Lord Sydenham, "is what I think we can never do while we remain in India." From our position in India the people expect us to interfere in such circumstances, and have a right to do so. They will blame us and not their representatives if they suffer such injuries, and the representatives themselves will take care that the blame is attributed to the British Government and its officers.

Lord Sydenham has examined the results of the first three or four years of the working of the Reforms, and shows how differently things have turned out from the optimistic anticipations of the authors. He once more reviews the manner in which Mr. Montagu secured the assent of Parliament to the scheme as finally embodied in the Act of 1919, and his evidence on this point is unquestionable, for he was an inside witness of the procedure followed. The greatest error that the reformers made was in believing that the scheme would bring satisfaction and peace in those Indian political circles which affected to feel the greatest discontent. All prophecies that this peace would not be brought have been proved up to the hilt by subsequent history, and still there are people who will not be convinced by these prophecies, "even though one rose from the dead." It is now the task of the Simon Commission to recommend the course that should be followed. But it must surely be clear, to all who have followed the recent proceedings of the Legislative Assembly, how illogical it is to give power to politicians over the Central Government who, in their own Provincial Governments, are not yet entrusted with the maintenance of peace and order. The Assembly, in the opinion of many, while triumphantly wrecking the measures of the Government of India, and indeed of the Parliament at Westminster, *vide* its rejection of the Navy Bill, has been steadily digging the grave of its own reputation.

Lord Sydenham's book is styled "The Studies of an Imperialist." To some shallow-thinking minds this title is self-condemnatory as an index of a jingo mentality, but only to those who have no understanding of what the British Empire stands for, not only in India but in the whole world to-day, or of the truth that, if the British Empire fell, with it would fall the greatest bulwark of human liberties in the world.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF C. R. DAS. By Prithwis Chandra Ray. Illustrated. (*Oxford University Press.*) 12s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* HARIHAR DAS.)

This book, to use the author's words, describes "the greatest Bengali in the first quarter of the twentieth century, and the founder and builder of the best organized school of political thought in India," together with a systematic account of the rise and growth of the Nationalist movement in Bengal and its subsequent effect on other provinces of India. No authentic or standard work dealing with the history of the political

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evolution of India during the lifetime of C. R. Das has hitherto appeared, but, though the want of such a work is in part supplied by the volume under review, sufficient material remains for a thoroughly exhaustive account of the subject. The author of this work, Mr. P. C. Ray, whose lamented death occurred shortly before its publication, was well qualified for the task he undertook. Not only was he one of the most accomplished journalists of his time in India, but his moderation and sobriety of judgment always commanded the respect of the more reasonable section of Indian politicians, while he had the advantage of an intimate acquaintance with Mr. C. R. Das.

The author surveys the history of Bengal during the mid-Victorian era, when a strong spirit of unrest pervaded its literary, social, political, and administrative conditions, and draws a vivid picture of the state of the province at the time of the birth of the future political leader of Bengal, who was destined to lead his countrymen still further towards the goal of self-determination and national self-consciousness.

Chitta Ranjan Das belonged to a well-known family in the Dacca district, whose interest in the reform movement in Bengal had been social rather than political. Mr. Das was destined to depart from the family tradition. Neither in India nor in England was his academic career of a brilliant character, but he achieved striking success both in the profession of law and also as a political leader of his countrymen. He had considerable literary ability and possessed some talent for poetry. The sterling qualities of his character were such that his inherent Indian culture and tradition remained unaffected by the influence of his Western education. To these qualities were added a generous support of all philanthropic work and a readiness to make personal sacrifices for the good of others. He had been for some years in practice at the Bar when he made his mark by defending political cases of a seditious nature, and his able advocacy of the Maniektollah bomb conspirators established his fame as a great criminal lawyer.

Mr. Das did not begin to take an active part in politics till 1917, but between that time and his death in 1924 he gradually rose to the position of undisputed political leader of the province. The question of India's demand for *Swaraj* occupied a great deal of his time and thought, and his interpretation of the word *Swaraj* differed at various times. It is difficult to estimate the effect of the efforts made by him towards the materialization of *Swaraj*. The author of this book has admirably summarized the history of the constitutional development in India; the Gandhi cult or the Non-co-operation movement; the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms; the boycott of the Councils; and has emphasized the fact of Mr. Das's active participation in the opposition to the measures initiated under the reforms advocated by the bureaucracy. In 1922, in his presidential address at the Gaya Congress, Mr. Das made a new departure in his policy by advocating the entry of Indians into the Councils, and in the following year devoted his attention entirely to the organization of the *Swarajya* party and the initiation of a fresh political movement in the country. His activities

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in that direction continued till the end of his life, and no other leader of Bengal commanded in the same degree the respect and confidence of his followers. This was amply demonstrated after his death by the crowds which accompanied his body to the funeral pyre. Mr. Ray summed up the work of C. R. Das in the following striking passage :

"Taking everything together, Chitta Ranjan's memory will be cherished by his grateful countrymen as that of a builder rather than a destroyer. When he entered Indian politics he found political ideals and parties in a most nebulous and chaotic condition. The masses generally, and a large portion of the classes, were still sleeping in the long night of mediæval mysticism and inaction. Chitta Ranjan whipped up his people from this deep somnolence, brought them face to face with the gravity of their condition, and awakened them to a consciousness of nationhood. He worked day and night for a few years, spent laborious days and sleepless nights, and left behind him a party which, for the first time in the history of India, knows its mind, and can gather courage enough to follow its convictions. This will remain the principal landmark of his political work—a whole people brought under a common standard, inspired by ideals of self-help and determination, and set to work out their own destiny without any extraneous aid or help."

Mr. Ray's book everywhere gives evidence of a well-balanced judgment, and its value is further enhanced by the incorporation in the Appendix of a number of important documents, such as extracts from the political speeches of Mr. Das and others bearing on Indian reform and administration. The book is not, however, without some defects. Mr. Ray's style is at times wanting in strength, and his comparisons of historical characters are not always happily made. For some other minor blemishes, such as the misspelling of Indian names, responsibility cannot be said to rest with the author, whose untimely death prevented him from seeing the the work through the press. Considered as a whole, the work appears to be a valuable contribution to the history of the Nationalist movement in India.

GREAT QUEENS (FAMOUS WOMEN RULERS OF THE EAST). By the late Lady Glover. (*Hutchinson.*) 16s. net.

(*Reviewed by* MRS. N. C. SEN.)

A very fascinating book. The authoress was a great traveller, and had an intimate knowledge of the East and an intense love for her own sex. She made herself one with the women of every land, and was proud of their achievements.

She has shown in this book, over and over again, that ability is not a monopoly of one race, nor of one sex, and that women of intelligence, given opportunities and education, are capable everywhere of adapting themselves to any responsible position.

She has depicted portraits of many well-known women rulers of the

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East, some of past ages and some of the present day. Among the latter is Her Highness the Maharani Regent of Cooch Behar, whose picture on the title-page makes an attractive introduction to the subject of the book. Lady Glover has stated facts with true understanding, and thus has made it very pleasant reading.

The examples of Queen Chand, the Rani of Jhansi, the Dowager Empress of China, the Empresses of Abyssinia, the Begums of Bhopal, and of the New Zealand Heroine are all inspiring.

It is a pity that the price of the book is so high. I hope there will be a popular edition for the general public.

A work of this kind helps people of different nationalities to know that human nature all over the world is the same.

The authoress evidently had a shrewd mind and always saw beneath the surface. It is sad to think that she did not live to see the publication of her book. She rendered a great service both to the East and the West. The women of the West are sure to find in the narratives of these Eastern women counterparts of many great women of their own—as the authoress herself found—and I think it would make a fine textbook for schoolgirls in all the English-speaking countries.

Report on Labour Conditions in India. By A. A. Purcell, M.P., and J. Hallsworth. (*British Trades Union Congress Delegation to India.*) 1s. net.

The writers of this report should have started with agriculture and made it the basis of their whole report, for without a careful study of the agricultural labourer and small farmer, an understanding of the Indian factory labour problem is impossible. The Indian worker in organized industry is an agricultural labourer spoiled. He has been squeezed off his tiny plot of land or out of his village by his inability to make a living with his existing methods. He brings to his new employment neither skill, physique, nor an ambition to succeed; merely the capacity to do inferior work for a low wage, ample, however, for his material needs in most cases, and far higher than anything he could earn in his village, to which his only ambition is to return, as soon as he can save enough money.

So long as these conditions last, he will never acquire operative skill. But he loves not town life; to pay rent at all seems to a man who lived rent free in a hovel built by his own labour of free materials a monstrous imposition, and he mitigates it as far as possible by taking two or three more families as lodgers into his ten foot by ten room, till it contains, one cannot say accommodates, twenty or more persons.

To achieve intellectual uplift, sanitary surroundings, or a decent wage for good work, for such a man is almost a matter for despair. His earning power and that of the infinitely more numerous farm labourers and small tenants that make up the vast majority of the population of India is far too small to support the cost of modern ideals in education

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and sanitation—a cost greatly increased by the stolid resistance which meets the would-be reformer. A year's work as health officer of an Indian municipality or as finance member of a local Government would show the authors a few of the obstacles which stand between the state of affairs which they see, or think they see, and that which they would fain have.

For they do not always see what they think they see. The juxtaposition of a whip-holding tea-planter to a gang of coolies does not mean the application of the whip to the coolies, or the young "creeper" would lose his job in five minutes. The "fiscalism" which the Indian cotton trade "have had a generation of," "all in its own way," consisted of a five per cent. excise tax levied on Indian cotton mills at the dictation of Lancashire. European education in India is more expensive than Indian education because it costs a European more to live in India than an Indian. But the European pays for a much larger share of his own education than the Indian does. The cost of education plays no part in the backwardness of the working classes, for primary education is free, and far more generally available than "availed of." The expenditure of the local Governments on education is not the only public money so spent; the various local bodies subsidize it largely. This error has been often repeated and exposed.

The delegates have rightly pointed out that labour unions received a great impetus from the Washington Conference of the I.L.O. (and a still greater one from the industrial boom that synchronized with it). But they do not mention that the way had been paved years before by European and Anglo-Indian unions, which have now for the most part found it impossible to co-operate with Indian unions. They are right also in refusing to be alarmed by the fact that labour leaders in India are not labourers; but the process of substitution will be much slower in India than in England.

The report is interesting, and by no means only from mistakes like those pointed out above. The delegation forms a distinct landmark in the history of Indian organized labour. Visits like this may teach Indian labour some of the lessons of self-help, self-respect, and solidarity that English trade unions have taught themselves; let us hope that they will be often enough repeated to teach the delegates themselves a little more about India and the difficulties that beset those who work for her progress under the most Socialistic Government that the world has so far seen.

THE GURKHAS: THEIR NAMES, CUSTOMS, AND COUNTRY. By Major W. Brook Northey and Captain C. J. Morris. (*John Lane.*) 18s. net.

There are not many books of recent date dealing with the interesting country of Nepal, and apart from this fact the present addition to this literature will be appreciated on account of its reliable information. The volume opens with a short history of Nepal of sixty-two pages.

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Then follow chapters on the People, the Language, Religion, Government, and a description of the various parts of Nepal.

Although Nepal is an independent State, the British are entitled to enlist Gurkhas for service in the Indian Army, and both officers have had occasion to live in the country and to be in charge of Gurkha contingents. It can safely be stated that the information provided is authoritative, and that especially the social life has been adequately described. There is no doubt that this volume will be read with profit in India as well as in England.

INDIAN FINANCE IN THE DAYS OF THE COMPANY. By Professor Pramathanath Banerjea. (*Macmillan.*) 12s. 6d. net.

The author has already made a name through his previous works on Indian Economics, and has now added one which is the first sound and comprehensive treatise on the period of 1765 to 1858.

Though Mr. Banerjea gives in the Appendixes a number of statistics, he has treated his subject chiefly from the historical side, with full chapters on the Financial System, the Resources of the East India Company, and Civil and Military Expenditure.

We prophesy that the volume will be widely studied by the Government Departments, as well as by students of Economics, who will find in it accurate and thorough information, with references throughout showing the writer's indefatigable diligence.

AN INFREQUENTED HIGHWAY THROUGH SIKKIM AND TIBET TO CHUMOLAORI. By John Easton. (*The Scholastic Press.*) 21s. net.

This is a beautiful book, printed in fine type and on good white paper. The illustrations are also very well done, giving a good idea of the country. The text is rather short, and the anecdotes and incidents might have been supplemented by additional information regarding the native population, the country, or its life.

ASOKA. By Radhakumud Mookerji. (*Macmillan.*) 21s. net.

Although a number of books on Asoka have been issued, especially in English and in German, we welcome this new, complete, and masterful publication by the well-known scholar, Professor R. Mookerji of Lucknow. For his purpose the author has taken into account all the latest discoveries, and has given a detailed account of Asoka's life and Government, taking account of the famous monuments, the original text of the inscriptions, with a new English rendering, and scholarly notes.

The Appendix on the grammar and dialect of the Inscriptions is a most happy ending to a valuable work, though the special work of Mr. Woolner is, of course, to be remembered in this connection.

What we miss in the volume is an enumeration of all literature so far issued on the subject, with short notices. Within the book, reference is made to all of it, but for the busy student a handy bibliography would

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have been of great service. Perhaps the author will bear this in mind when a second edition will appear.

Of late, Indian professors have proved that they can fall in line with modern European methods, and Professor Mookerji is certainly one of the foremost.

Santal Folk-Tales. Edited and translated by P. O. Bodding. Two vols. (Oslo: *H. Aschehorig and Co.*)

The Santals are an old tribe who have lived in India since before the advent of the Aryan. They inhabit the Western frontier of Lower Bengal from Orissa to Bhagalpur, and Santali is spoken by over a million people. Accordingly, we receive here an insight into the life and beliefs prevalent in early India, which are now fast disappearing. We have to thank Mr. Bodding, a Norwegian missionary, for having collected, before it is too late, a comprehensive series of these Santal folk-tales. On the one side, the author has given the Santali text, and on the opposite page, in an excellent rendering, the English translation. The first volume contains the stories about jackals and women, and the second volume gives the humorous tales and the stories regarding ogres. The notes which are to be found on every page elucidate the stories, and furnish a large amount of inside information concerning the native population and their habits.

There are many folk-lore societies throughout the world and also many people who like to dip into the past history of nations. To these we would recommend the above-mentioned two stately volumes: their perusal is bound to arouse sympathy with the Santals. It will be recalled that the first comprehensive grammar was compiled in 1873 by another Norwegian, the Rev. L. O. Skrefsrud, and a large dictionary by the Scottish missionary, A Campbell, in 1899.

Dupleix et l'Inde Française. By A. Martineau. Vol. IV. (Paris: *Société de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises.*) 50 fr.

The new volume of this treatise on the French struggle for supremacy in India concludes with the recall of Dupleix and begins with the events in 1751. Mr. Martineau has thoroughly investigated his subject, with the result that his views regarding the relation of Dupleix with his chiefs in France are different from those generally put forward. At any rate, the authorities in Paris did not like the idea that a Trading Company should be engaged in war. In consequence of his failure at Trichinopoly, Godehen was sent out in order to take charge of the French interests in India. Mr. Martineau appears to agree with the French Company on the military side, as recent events have taught him that nothing is stable in this world, and that it is not easy for any nation to impose its will upon another race with its teeming millions, when that race develops "self-consciousness."

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AU PAYS DE TAGORE. La civilization rurale du Bengale occidental et ces facteurs géographiques. By Arthur Geddes. (Paris: *Colin.*) 25 francs.

As stated by Mr. Demangeon in his Preface, the remarkable feature of this volume is the manner in which the author has amalgamated European and Indian thought. After having familiarized himself with European scientific methods, the author attended the school of the great poet, Rabindranath Tagore, in order to understand the Hindu mind. For several months he resided at Santi-Niketan, the abode of peace in Bengal, in the midst of the men who wished to reorganize the country life in Bengal on a solid basis. His studies and conclusions are profound for the reason that they are based on observations made on the spot. The volume is embellished by the vivid style of the author, who combines in his descriptions the genius of the artist and the poet.

INTERCOURSE BETWEEN INDIA AND THE WESTERN WORLD: FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE FALL OF ROME. By H. G. Rawlinson. (*Cambridge University Press.*) 8s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* HARIHAR DAS.)

The first edition of this book appeared about ten years ago. We are glad now to have a new and cheaper edition which will enable many more students who have no knowledge of European classics of acquiring some information concerning the earliest intercourse between India and the Western world. The author has treated his subject well, and gives in a compact form in eight chapters a systematic account of all references derived from Greek and Roman literature relating to intercourse between India and the Western world in the period chosen; the latter, beginning with the earliest times, goes down to the fall of Babylon and includes the Persian and Maurya Empires, the Greek and semi-Greek dynasties of the Panjab. The chapter on the Ptolemys shows that during their rule there was very little direct trade between Egypt and India; and the reader must not omit to study the chapters on "India and the Roman Empire," which are specially valuable. In the last chapter Professor Rawlinson has admirably summed up the results of his research. He has also provided us with a useful bibliography which will afford much help to those who are interested in ancient Indian history.

NETHERLANDS INDIES

VOLKENKUNDIGE OPSTELLEN. II. (Amsterdam: *Kolonial Institut.*) Fl. 6.

(*Reviewed by* JOHN DE LA VALETTE.)

The Colonial Institute of Amsterdam is steadily adding to the scientific material lavishly placed at the disposal of the student of the Netherlands East Indies. The three essays which compose the above volume maintain the excellent standard set by the long list of Dutch colonial contributions to the ethnology of their Eastern Island Empire.

As an important means of studying the language, sounding the thoughts

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and apprehending the traditions of races and peoples, popular riddles have long been recognized as ranking in utility with fables, myths, and other elements of folklore. The improvising of riddles and their solving as a social entertainment is common to many Oriental races and widely prevalent throughout Insulinde. In several parts a regular system of forfeits and ransoms has been developed. So much so, that among certain Batak tribes in Sumatra this "riddle of the riddle" has gained currency: "if it *is* captured, it is *not* ransomed; if it is *not* captured, it *is* ransomed." Isolated references to, as well as more detailed enumerations of, traditional riddles have been frequently published. Thus Meyer Ranneft has collected several which are current among the Javanese; Joustra has recorded a number of the Bataks; Adriani and Kruyt have collected those in common use among the Toradja tribes, etc. But it is probable that not since Dr. Snouck Hurgronje published his great work on the Atjeh (Achinese?) language, no such detailed study of *Achinese Riddles* has been undertaken as that of which Mr. J. Kreemer publishes the results in the first of the above essays. Not only has he collected some seventy-six riddles, several of them not hitherto published, but his commentary on each is exhaustive. He begins by explaining the general nature of each riddle which, frequently, is worded in a deliberately elliptical phraseology in which words with double meanings are freely employed. He next throws a flood of light upon the ethnological facts which underlie each image, deals linguistically with each word, and finally compares similar riddles from other parts of the Archipelago. A great measure of similarity of thought between distant islands and differing peoples is thus established, and the general conclusion would seem to be warranted that, whilst the images vary with the environment, the essence of the riddles remains everywhere the same. Both from an ethnographical and linguistic point of view, this essay provides valuable material.

Dr. J. P. Kleiweg de Zwaan contributes a minute description of some sixteen skulls of natives from the Schouten Islands, recently acquired by the Colonial Institute. This group of islands, composed of two larger islands, Wiak (Biak) and Supiori (Korrido), and a number of smaller ones, lies north of Geelvink Bay (New Guinea), not far from the Padaido Islands, the inhabitants of which appear to be racially related to those of the Schouten group. It would exceed the scope of this review to follow Dr. de Zwaan through the details of his analyses of these various skulls or into the comparisons he establishes with those of inhabitants of New Guinea and other Pacific and East Indian islands. Whereas the various tribes of the Schouten Islanders have hitherto been somewhat loosely included among the Papua, Dr. de Zwaan considers that they represent an intermediate racial form between the Tanimbarese and the Papua, having several features in common with the former, but still more with the latter, and lacking in particular several of the Malay —perhaps also Wedda—elements which the author considers to be demonstrable in the racial make-up of the Tanimbarese. Thus, whilst

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the Tanimbar group shows greater affinity with the Nias-type than with the Papua-type, the reverse is the case with the Biaks, the Arfaksi and generally the other Numforese tribes of the Schouten group. A further link is hereby established in the graduated intermingling of Asiatic and Pacific races. As Sarasin established in the case of the natives of New Caledonia, Dr. de Zwaan shows that the Schouten skulls display very primitive forms of *fossa glenoidalis*, having great similarity with the skull of Neanderthal man.

The third essay is by Father P. Drabbe, a Roman Catholic missionary of Tanimbar, and describes a traditional Tanimbarese house. Although apparently well constructed and of excellent materials, it presents little of architectural interest, and from an artistic point of view falls short of the high standard of beauty set by the graceful buildings found in Sumatra and certain other islands. The importance of the article lies in its detailed and humorous description of the intricate traditions which surround, not only the actual construction of such a house, but the preliminary negotiations with the "prospective architect"—who will ultimately become the principal builder and contractor—as well as the ceremonies which accompany those parts of the work which require the assistance of the remaining inhabitants of the *Kampong* and which end in sumptuous banquets. It also throws interesting side-lights upon the practices of a matriarchical society which enjoins strict reciprocal duties upon the *duas* or maternal uncles and their *lolats* or sisters' children. It would appear from Father Drabbe's account that not only racially, but also in their social organization, the Tanimbarese combine Malay and Papua elements, possibly with a preponderance of the former.

FRENCH COLONIES

La Plus Grande France. By Léon Archimbaud. (Paris: *Hachette.*) 10 fr.

(*Reviewed by* John de la Valette.)

Under the alluring title of "Greater France," M. Léon Archimbaud, Member of the French Chamber of Deputies and, since several years, *rapporteur* of the colonial budgets, has contributed a lucid and stimulating summary of the French colonial problems of today. To this he has added suggestions of a concrete nature, resulting in an outline of French colonial policy, as conceived by those French politicians and administrators whose wide outlook enables them to envisage all countries under French rule from an imperial rather than a metropolitan point of view. As a general introduction to the vast flood of detailed literature which the forthcoming French Colonial Exhibition is sure to release, this essay, which combines historical analysis with practical synthesis, should be welcome to British students of colonial problems.

Dealing with what the author calls the *imperial mentality* and which may, perhaps, be described as the habit of seeing the home country and its colonies in their imperial interdependence, some fundamental differ-

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ences between the French and the British attitudes are clearly brought out In France, homogeneous and traditionally "one and indivisible," the irresistible impulse to reduce every land under French dominion to the common denominator of a centralized government; in Britain, with its facility for compromise, a natural tendency towards differentiated local government within the common bonds of a federal entity. To the French, continental, terrestrial, military in their outlook, the instinctive feeling that the ocean is a barrier, rather than a link; that beyond it lies exile. To the British, with their roaming and seafaring traditions, their ease in transplanting their national ways of life to every clime and country, a natural disposition to create new homelands on distant shores of the same familiar ocean. To the French, moreover, who, unlike the Spaniards, Portuguese, or Dutch, never "ruled the waves," the links with their colonies have always seemed at the mercy of outside interference, and for that reason frail and transient. Again, private, individual initiative has ever lain at the root of British settlement overseas, whilst combined, government-supported endeavour has founded the French colonies. In this connection M. Archimbaud, not unlike other continental writers, is inclined to overestimate British governmental foresight and predetermined policy in founding settlements. Only the British themselves may, possibly, realize fully how haphazard were the origins of their mighty empire. Another great difference stands out in the lines of the author's arguments: the French fiction that "all men are born equal" begets the desire to assimilate the native as a full and complete French citizen. While the author is alive to the different stages of cultural development of the various native races within the French Empire, he does not seem to allow sufficiently for the differences between the British Dominions—white-men's countries, permanently inhabited by white men of one race and origin—and the mainly tropical colonies of France. If the former are capable of developing into autonomous dominions and yet remain united within a common federation, it is hard to see how a preponderantly native colony could attain the same development without inevitably splitting away from the main body. The problem which Britain faces in India is, fundamentally, that which confronts, or will confront, France in all her colonies, except, possibly, in Algiers and the Pacific Islands, where a substantial measure of permanent white settlement is possible.

It is not surprising, then, that the encouragement of French settlers receives much attention in this essay, and it is interesting to note that, according to the author, there are at present only 70,000 French inhabitants in all that part of the French dominions which comprise Western and Equatorial Africa, Madagascar, and Indo-China, and, of these, close upon 50,000 are civil servants, a surfeit of officialdom and a lack of individual enterprise unknown in the British Empire. Under such circumstances one appreciates why the author pleads for the rapid "frenchification" of the native as the swiftest method of increasing the colonial demand for the industrial products of the home country. Such a development, coupled with an increased standard of native prosperity,

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resulting from enhanced exploitation of colonial produce, is recommended as the surest means of embracing the material interests of the colonies and of the metropolis in one and the same policy.

The comparative lack of Frenchmen with first-hand experience of colonial life is said to have another result—viz., deficient sympathy with and understanding of the colonial point of view on the part of the Government, civil servants, politicians, and public in the Metropolis. Hence several of the author's recommendations are in the direction of giving the colonies a preponderating influence in their own administration, as well as shaping French foreign policy to suit each of the colonies. In order to create cohesion in the guiding principles, and enable each colony to benefit by the endeavours, the successes, and failures of the others, M. Archimbaud advocates inter-colonial conferences. These he would jealously keep away from the Metropolis, in order that the concrete and practical problems which he wishes them to solve, should not be allowed to evaporate in the atmosphere of an all too political *milieu*. He goes even further in his final recommendation, which is that there should be created a High Commissioner of the Pacific who would reside for six months in Indo-China and the remainder of each year in Paris. This supreme official should not only have authority over the Governor-General of Indo-China and the Governors of the Pacific Settlements, but the French diplomatic representatives in Peking, Tokyo, and Bangkok would receive their instructions from him. His annual stay in Paris would serve to co-ordinate the general foreign policy of France with its specific policy in the East, as directed and controlled by the High Commissioner of the Pacific.

Space forbids us to follow the author in his many interesting proposals. The above should, however, suffice to show how valuable this able essay is to all concerned in Asiatic questions.

NEAR EAST

American Geographical Society Oriental Explorations and Studies. Nos. 1-3. New York. 1926-27.

Rarely has a series of publications been inaugurated with volumes of such permanent value as these now under review. We are already indebted to the author, Professor Alois Musil, of Prague University, for his "Arabia Petræa" and "Kusejr Amra," and it is remarkable how he has been able to compile these three volumes, each containing between 400 and 600 pages, within such a short period. The three volumes do not afford the same attractive reading as the books by Doughty, Philby, and Ameer Rihani, but the author does not pretend to add to the existing travel literature, he is chiefly concerned in giving us technical information which will be studied and applied for many years to come. The transliteration is according to the German system, but the English reader will have little difficulty in following the Arabic words. The following are the titles of the three volumes already published: No. 1, "The Northern Hejaz": a topo-

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graphical itinerary; No. 2, "Arabia Deserta": a topographical itinerary; No. 3, "The Middle Euphrates": a topographical itinerary. Others are expected before long to complete this series of works on exploration in Arabia. In the long appendices the learned author gives his early records of the various periods such as the Assyrian, the Greek and Roman, as well as the Arabian authorities on their own literature. He also obtained information regarding the geography and history of these regions. The accurate and detailed map will aid the student and explorer in following the various ancient and modern routes.

La Prehistoire Orientale. By Jacques de Morgan. Three vols. (Paris: *Paul Geuthner.*) 300 francs.

M. Jacques de Morgan was a great scholar, and all workers interested in the research of the Near and Middle East will remember his wonderful publication on his missions to the Caucasus and to Persia. Before his death the author worked upon a new publication in Oriental history which he handed over to his friend, Louis Germain, to see through the press. He may be ranked with Klaproth, Abel Remusat, and Julien in his devotion to scholarship. His posthumous work bears testimony to his great erudition. The first volume deals with the origin of life and its gradual progress towards prehistoric civilization. The second volume contains a history of prehistoric Egypt, and in a lesser degree of Tunis. In the course of a long chapter the Chaldean origin of the Pharaohs is ably discussed. In the third volume the author's general knowledge is displayed to even better advantage. Syria and Mesopotamia, Chaldea and Elam, Susa and the Far East, come before us from times immemorial until the period that brought in the civilization with which many of us are familiar. The weapons, ornaments, ceramics, metals and furniture, are shown in their gradual development. The illustrations are good, and the colour plates are beyond praise. Mr. Geuthner can claim great credit for the way in which he has issued these beautiful volumes, thus adding to the success which he has achieved with so many of his books.

FAR EAST

Visions d'Extrême Orient: Corée, Chine, Indo-Chine, Siam, Birmanie. Par Robert Chauvelot. (Paris: *Berger-Levrault.*)

(*Reviewed by* Brigadier-General C. D. Bruce.)

For those who can find pleasure in "doing" the Far East at the pace set by M. Robert Chauvelot this well-illustrated book and its photographs will be of interest. The book differs as much as do East and West from the learned volume of his compatriot, Professor Henri Maspéro, reviewed below. But *chacun à son goût*, as M. Chauvelot might say in his light-hearted way.

Another witty Frenchman has remarked: "We Europeans are beginning to be educated by ancient China," which, even as a half-truth, would

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necessitate a somewhat longer sojourn in that unhappy country than that made by the author of "Visions d'Extrême Orient." To include Japan Korea, China, Indo-China, Siam, and Burma in a round tour is no novelty. To pass as rapidly as M. Chauvelot did from place to place is a task more easily performed by a hardened American globe-trotter than by an earnest enquirer after the "Wisdom of the East." From the fifteen days allotted to Peking (p. 25), in which brief space M. Robert Chauvelot hoped to obtain "an approximate idea" of this far-famed city and its unique surroundings, we may gather that his views need not be taken altogether seriously, though M. Chauvelot is already the author of several books of travel. The late Dr. Morrison once told the reviewer that every time he conducted friends round Peking he discovered something he himself had never previously noticed. And, as all the world is aware, the late correspondent of *The Times* at Peking was endowed with unusual powers of observation.

In the portion of this Far Eastern tour devoted to China the author confines himself almost entirely to the beaten path—Seoul, Mukden, Ching wang tao (the Great Wall), Peking, Hankow, Shanghai, Hong Kong, Macao, and Canton.

M. Chauvelot's comments are those of a widely travelled, well-informed man of the world, who wields an easy pen in describing his fantasies while in Korea, Manchuria, and China. Of the descriptions of the other portions of this tour the reviewer is hardly competent to express an opinion. If the book itself were smaller and issued in a handier form it would appeal more to the ordinary traveller, for whom it appears to be intended.

HISTOIRE DU MONDE. Tome IV. La Chine Antique. Par Henri Maspéro, Professeur au Collêge de France. (Paris: *Boccard.*)

(*Reviewed by* BRIGADIER-GENERAL C. D. BRUCE.)

Any attempt here to consider in detail the contents of this the fourth volume of M. Eugène Cavaignac's "History of the World" is obviously impossible. Neither the space at disposal nor the attainments of the reviewer would allow of such treatment, but it is profitable to call attention to the vast store of knowledge therein embodied. "La Chine Antique" is the fourth of thirteen volumes which will eventually comprise this modern "History of the World." Of these, three volumes only are at present on sale. The direct object of the present edition is well summed up by M. Cavaignac: "Les travaux encyclopédiques ayant pour objet de tenir les étudiants et le grand public au courant du progrès des connaissances historiques ont, d'une manière générale, subordonné plus ou moins strictement l'histoire du monde à l'histoire de l'Europe et l'histoire du passé à celle de l'époque la plus immédiatement contemporaine. Il nous a paru bon pourtant, qu'une-fois au moins, l'Histoire du Monde fut présentée dans ses proportions juste, en faisant aux civilisations exotiques la place correspondante à l'importance réelle qu'elles ont eue dans la passé:

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c'est la seule manière d'apprécier objectivement la valeur de la civilisation européenne actuellement dominante." Of no country or people is this more true than of China; for did not the great emperors of halcyon days aspire to be "kings of all nations, swaying the wide world"?

The present volume on "La Chine Antique" consists of over 600 pages in twenty-six chapters, again subdivided into five books. There are also three instructive charts showing clearly the geographical spread of Chinese early civilization. To readers unable to spare time except for occasional reference to Professor Maspéro's encyclopædic work we would recommend specially the chapter in Book V. upon the ancient literature and philosophy of China (pages 427 *et seq.*). No one who aspires to understand present-day events in that land of anomalies can do so without some knowledge of its past. Chinese character, assailed upon all sides by the onslaught of Western civilization—as we think of it—may in the end reconcile itself to these changes. On the other hand, it may continue to fight against them. That it has not already attempted fundamentally to make the necessary changes, and why it does not display more enthusiasm in doing so, puzzles many foreigners. The secret is to be found in the past history of the race upon which Professor Maspéro concentrates fresh attention. In this instructive volume, and in terms of modern thought, we are offered a searching enquiry into the hoary past of this extraordinary people.

Is it possible for China to regain her proud position in the future as the dominant race in Asia?

China Year Book. Edited by H. G. W. Woodhead. 1928. (*Simpkin Marshall.*) 42s. net.

The constant disturbances in China of recent years have made the compilation of a work of reference on the country extremely difficult. The editor must be congratulated on having overcome this well-nigh impossible task; the securing of the necessary and correct information on the various subjects treated can only be the reward of persistent application. The "China Year Book" is, in fact, essential for the economist, the man of business, the student, and the politician who wants information on that great country. Whatever may be the outcome of the struggle in China, the twenty-eight chapters, covering 1,400 pages, are an indispensable guide for research. If the reader is not interested in mines and minerals, in currency and banking, in railways and shipping, the chapters on religion and education, or those on agriculture and labour, or on trade and commerce, are bound to arrest his attention. A Chinese "Who's Who" is always useful; and the long concluding chapter on the Kuomintang forms a useful history of recent events. As in previous editions, the general index of thirty pages is a welcome feature. The growing interest in China has rendered the issue of this Year Book more important than ever, and it is to be hoped that it will receive widespread support.

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History of the Monghols from the Ninth to the Nineteenth Century. By Sir Henry H. Howarth. Part IV. (*Longmans.*) 2 guineas.

It has been greatly regretted for many years that this work of renowned British scholarship was not completed on account of the author's death. We are now delighted to find this final volume at last in print. It has been edited by his son. This final volume contains the supplement and the indices. The editor deserves every credit for putting together the notes left by his father. The indices alone comprise 150 pages. Unfortunately this volume can be obtained only, or chiefly so, by the libraries or others who have had the previous volumes, as it is difficult to obtain complete sets. It need not be added that the supplement contains a vast amount of information upon the life of the Monghols and their religious system which will be valuable to a very large circle of readers.

Ainu Life and Lore: Echoes of a Departing Race. By John Batchelor. (Tokyo: *Kyo Bun Kwan.*)

Dr. Batchelor has been known for many years as a great scholar on the Ainus and their language. Many years ago he published a dictionary, of which the third edition was only recently issued, and his constant contributions in various journals are well known to every student of Japanese. Although the volume contains 448 pages, one cannot possibly be tired by its perusal as its stories and legends are extremely fascinating. There are a great many illustrations produced by the collotype process, and a number of coloured plates which add to the value of the work. It can be thoroughly recommended.

ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY

George Eumorfopoulos Collection. Catalogue of the Chinese, Korean, and Siamese Paintings. By Laurence Binyon. Folio, with 75 plates, including some in colour. (*Ernest Benn*, 1928.) £12 12s.

We have here the happy association of three names: George Eumorfopoulos, the collector and admirer of Chinese art objects; Laurence Binyon, the connoisseur and art critic on Far-Eastern painting; and the firm of Ernest Benn, who have done so much to place such publications before the world.

The chief part of the handsome volume consists of the reproduction of these 134 paintings on 75 plates, but before looking at them the reader or student would be well advised carefully to impress upon his mind the introduction on Chinese pictorial art in general, and on this large collection in particular, which Mr. Binyon has provided. We know how difficult it is to assign a painting to an artist, be his name inscribed or not, or even to a period, and how the different leaders, both in Europe and America, vary in their judgment. Let us not forget that the study of Far-Eastern art, especially Chinese, is of quite recent date, and that this art originated and flourished in countries and amongst ideas so very

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different from ours. After this introduction, the volume proceeds with a description of each painting which should be extremely helpful to the collector. No early student would wish to form a judgment on a painting unless he had the advantage of hearing or reading what European pioneers think of it. We bow, of course, to the great experience which Mr. Binyon has had in the British Museum of the exhibition and the cataloguing of such paintings, but we venture to differ from him in his views on some of those which are here described.

Our likes and dislikes depend upon many circumstances: upon our training, understanding, mentality, and upon the sympathy which we bring towards the subject. This being the case, a few paintings of this collection may be singled out as having found special favour with the reviewer, and if he had the choice, he would wish to have these in preference to all others:

No. 4. A bold and artistic brush drawing of Bamboo. By Wu Chên.
No. 19. Boating by Moonlight. By Ma Yüan.
No. 39. Lotus and White Attributed Herons.
No. 45. Wild Geese Alighting. By Lü Chi.
There seems no reason why it should not have been painted by the artist whose name is inscribed.
No. 51. Lotuses and Birds.
In our mind this painting belongs to a much earlier period; we would describe it as a Sung picture, and it is to be regretted that it has not been reproduced in the original colours.
No. 54. Wild Geese and Millet.
No. 75. Wild Geese and Lotus. By Ch'ien Hsüan.
We agree with Mr. Binyon that it is an admirable painting, but here again are doubtful about the painter's name, and would ascribe it to the Yüan period.

Be this as it may, Nos. 51 and 75 are in the eyes of the reviewer the two which appeal to him more than all the others, on account of their delicacy, the soul of the artist that is exhibited in them, the masterful observation of nature, and the hand which has guided the artist's brush.

Researches in Prehistoric Galilee, 1925-26, by F. Turville-Petre, B.A., and a Report on the Galilee Skull, by Sir Arthur Keith. (*Publication of The British School of Archæology in Jerusalem.*)

(*Reviewed by* Stanley Casson.)

This most important and well-arranged volume illustrates the activities of the British School and their successful exploration of a large region. The palæolithic remains of the Galilee region have been at last properly examined and classified, and the east end of the Mediterranean can now be classified with the other Mediterranean lands from the point of view of the earliest periods of prehistory. The skull found in a cave on the shores of Galilee can now be studied and examined in a report which is certainly a model of what a scientific report should be. We are shown the most admirable photographs of the exterior and interior and also of the endocranial cast. Although the skull consists of little more than the

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THE ASIATIC REVIEW

(FORMERLY "THE ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW")

The Times writes:

"The January issue brings that quarterly to the fortieth year of its steadfast devotion to the mission of providing a platform for information and opinion on Asiatic affairs—political, social, literary, educational, commercial, artistic and general . . . many eminent names appear in the list of contributors."

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brows, part of the cheek-bone, the front of the cranium, and part of the nasal bridge, it is sufficient to make a fairly reliable restoration possible. It is the skull of a young person under thirty years of age of the Neanderthal type, and it closely resembles another Mediterranean example—the Gibraltar skull. The bone was wholly fossilized and as hard as porcelain. No other fragments were found in the deposit, and the skull clearly came by chance in the place where it was found in Palæolithic times. Sir Arthur does not actually suggest that it is an indication of cannibalism in Neanderthal times, but the evidence looks remarkably like it. This and other caves contained a fine series of implements of the Mousterian type.

The trial excavations in another cave are fully dealt with, and a general survey of the region has begun as a result of these researches. The School is to be warmly congratulated upon so successful a campaign and upon so well-produced a report.

PERIODICALS

"ISLAMIC CULTURE"

We note with interest the recent appearance of a new periodical entitled *Islamic Culture*, a quarterly review edited in Hyderabad by Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall, the second volume of which is approaching completion. The names of such distinguished authors among the contributors as the Right Hon. Ameer Ali, Mr. Yusuf Ali, Mr. S. Khuda Bukhsh, and Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, are a sufficient guarantee of the literary excellence of its contents; and the editor has been able to announce that all the famous Oriental scholars of the world have promised to become contributors; learned articles have already been printed in its pages by Professor R. A. Nicholson, Professor J. Horovitz, and other well-known authorities. The founders of this review started their new venture with high aims, and they are to be congratulated on the success of their efforts to "uplift the standard of Islamic Culture at its best"; it deserves the support of every serious student of Muslim history, art, and literature.

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SEVENTEENTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS.

THE following Resolutions passed at the Congress will be of special interest to readers of the ASIATIC REVIEW:

RESOLUTION A.

Endorsed by Consultative Committee. Passed by General Meeting.
Proposed by Mrs. Ayscough; seconded by Professor Porter.

"The Far Eastern Section of the Seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists, which has spent a major part of the last five days in hearing reports on recent studies in the history, literature, and art of China, realizing afresh the significance of Chinese Culture for other peoples of the World, desires to place on record its sense of the supreme importance of safeguarding against injury, and preserving without change the great works of art, the monuments, and the ancient buildings in which the unique spirit of the Chinese race has found expression. Members of the Section regard these records not only as a precious heritage of the Chinese, but also a treasure of history and art through which the inspiring conceptions of their creative genius can be *made available* for the World."

RESOLUTION H.

Read; accepted by Consultative Committee. Passed by General Meeting.
Proposed by Dr. C. Otto Blagden; seconded by Dr. Majid.

Draft Resolution.

"The Seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists, fully realizing the great scientific importance of the Ethnographical and Linguistic Survey which has been proceeding in Burma for some time past, expresses the hope that the Government of Burma will find means to carry it out to its full completion."

August 30, 1928.

RESOLUTION G.

Read; endorsed by Consultative Committee. Passed by General Meeting.
Proposed by Dr. Majid.

Draft Rider or Resolution.

(Supplementary to the Resolution passed on Thursday, 30th), postponed to Friday, 31st.

"Having regard to the fact that the aboriginal tribes of the Malay Peninsula are in process of being assimilated by their more civilized

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neighbours, and thereby losing their individuality of language, customs, and other peculiarities,

"The Seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists expresses the hope that the Governments of the Straits Settlements, Federated Malay States, and Unfederated Malay States will encourage the collection and publication of information on the above-named subjects before it is too late."

C. O. BLAGDEN,
31.8.28.

Passed by Section V.

RESOLUTION I.

Read; endorsed by Consultative Committee. Passed by General Committee. Proposed by Professor Jules Bloch; seconded by Dr. Morgenstierne.

"The Seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists assembled at Oxford desires to congratulate Sir George A. Grierson, O.M., K.G., on the successful completion of his monumental Report on the Linguistic Survey and to express its high appreciation of the care, thoroughness and scholarly accuracy with which the work has been done, and its sense of the great value of the Report to all workers in the field of philology.

"The Congress also tenders its respectful thanks to the Government of India for having caused the Survey to be undertaken and for having met all charges connected therewith."

PROGRESS REPORT OF THE LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA.

At the Seventh International Congress of Orientalists, held in Vienna in 1886, the Government of India was moved to undertake "a deliberate systematic survey of the languages of India." This proposal was favourably received, and some years were spent in preliminary spade-work, such as preparing lists of languages, collecting specimens, and the like. At length, in 1898, the formal Survey—that is to say, the arrangement and editing of the materials collected—was begun. From the first, I have had the honour of being in charge of it, and at various Oriental Congresses it has been my pleasant duty to report the progress made in the interval between each.

I have now the honour to report to the present Congress that the Linguistic Survey of India, as originally designed, has been completed, and I have much pleasure in presenting to it a copy of the volume that contains a summary of the results. A supplementary part of this volume, consisting of a comparative vocabulary, is in the press, and will, I hope, be issued very shortly. A third part, from the competent pen of Professor Turner, has not yet gone to press. It will be a comparative dictionary of the Indo-Aryan languages, and is intended for the special use of philologists.

My part of the work has been finished, and I am now *functus officio*; but I cannot conclude this *Nunc Dimittis* without gratefully recording the

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heavy obligations that I owe to my valued friend and collaborator, Professor Sten Konow. Those of my hearers who may have studied the pages of the Survey will endorse my estimate of the importance of his share in it. My warm thanks are also due to those of my brother Orientalists who have throughout accorded to me their cordial fellowship. Their kindly and never-failing help has greatly lightened my labour, and has materially contributed to such success as has been achieved. My only regret is that I am unable to present this report, and to assure them of my thanks, in person.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

OXFORD, 1928.

RESOLUTION J.

Read; endorsed by Consultative Committee. Passed by General Meeting. Proposed by Professor A. Meillet; seconded by Dr. G. Morgenstierne.

Resolution of Section VI.a (2) *dated August* 30, 1928.

"That this assembly wish:

"(*a*) To express their gratitude to the Ceylon Government and the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for having undertaken the preparation of an Etymological Dictionary of the Sinhalese language, which, if scientifically compiled, will be a most valuable contribution to the study of Indo-Aryan languages, ancient and modern.

"(*b*) To express their opinion that a consultative Committee of Comparative Philologists interested in Indo-Aryan and Dravidian should be formed as soon as possible to advise with regard to the compilation of etymologies."

R. L. TURNER.

Passed unanimously.

RESOLUTION L.

Read; endorsed by the Consultative Committee. Passed by General Meeting.

SECTION IX.

The following resolution, proposed by Mr. E. B. Havell, and seconded by Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, was unanimously carried at the morning session on Tuesday, August 28:

"That this Congress, while deeply appreciating the action already taken by the Government of H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad, urges that steps should be taken immediately to obtain a complete and adequate photographic record of all the remaining fragments of Indian wall-painting, which, in spite of all efforts for preservation, are liable to gradual decay and ultimate disappearance."

M. E. SADLER,
President of Section IX.

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RESOLUTION M.

Read; endorsed by Consultative Committee. Passed by General Committee. Proposed by Professor F. W. Thomas; seconded by Professor Konow.

"The Seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists welcomes with profound satisfaction the resumed publication of the *Orientalische Bibliographie* and ventures to express the hope that the Governments, Academies, and Learned Societies which in the past have lent countenance and financial support to this most valuable undertaking will readopt their former favourable attitude."

RESOLUTION M (1).

Read; endorsed by Consultative Committee. Passed by General Meeting. Proposed by Professor F. W. Thomas; seconded by Dr. Hari Chand.

"Understanding that in responsible quarters the idea of non-official co-operation with the Government of India in archæological, historical, and philological research within the immense and infinitely varied sphere of that Government's administration has been favourably contemplated, the Seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists ventures to give expression to the view that the most suitable procedure would be the establishment of schools of study independently organized and financed on the lines of those existing in Athens and Rome, but in connection with an institution founded, maintained, and controlled by the Government."

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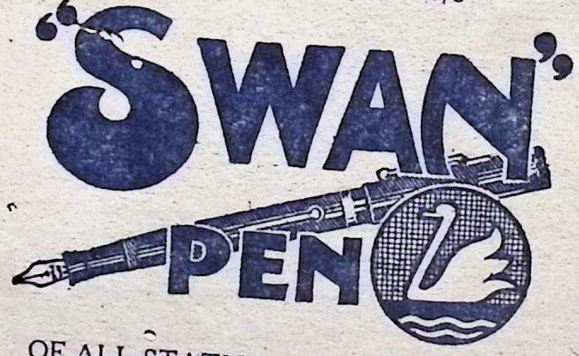

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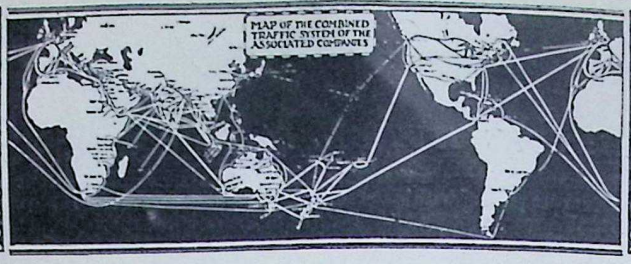

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THE ASIATIC REVIEW

JULY, 1929

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SOME FEATURES OF THE AFGHAN PROBLEM

BEFORE proceeding to comment briefly on the present situation in Afghanistan, it may be as well to emphasize certain important facts which must always be borne in mind when attempting to appreciate the kaleidoscopic changes now sweeping across the Afghan stage.

Being accustomed to the term Afghanistan, we are apt to visualize the area which bears that name as a "country" in the Western sense of that term, to imagine that it is a "country" as France, Italy, Belgium are "countries." This is, of course, far from being the case. Both physically and ethnologically Afghanistan has many and serious

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internal divisions. Amongst the former the chief is the Hindu Kush, which, running from the Pamirs in the east towards the Persian frontier in the west, divides the kingdom into two main parts by a mountainous barrier crossed by infrequent passes, often blocked by snow during the winter months. Likewise the people—or rather peoples—inhabiting Afghanistan are composed of various races and tribes. At least two main ethnological divisions are generally recognized: Afghans and "other Pathans," and "non-Afghans," the latter of Turkish, Persian, Mongol, and Tartar origins, speaking various dialects and mostly belonging to the Shiah sect. The former have Pushtu as their language and are of the Sunni persuasion, but are much at variance amongst themselves. The "other Pathans" are riddled with intertribal feuds, while the Afghans contain two powerful and mutually hostile confederations, the Ghilzai and the Durani. The latter are again divided into the Barakzai—to which Amanullah and his family belong—and the Sadozai sections.

Not that something towards welding Afghanistan into a nation has not been effected both by pressure from outside—fear of Russia and Great Britain—and internally by some able Amirs, notably Ahmed Shah, 1747-1773, Dost Mohammed, 1817-1863, and the great Abdur Rahman, 1880-1901. Unfortunately, as so often has happened in Oriental history, the edifice of law and order which these rulers built up has crumbled away after their deaths, until after a period of anarchy some new man of "blood and iron" has arisen to pull the country out of chaos. It is just these intervals of anarchy which have fatally retarded Afghanistan from becoming, as yet, a real national entity, and it is just this lack of homogeneity which must be remembered when reviewing the Afghan situation. At the same time, however, it may be pointed out in passing that the one thing which will unite all, or almost all, the Afghan peoples, at any rate for a time, is a foreign invasion—as we found out to our cost in 1841-1842, and again in 1879.

The other important factor in the Afghan problem is the foreign menace, the fear on our part that some great Power will use Afghanistan for its designs on India. It was this motive that impelled the Indian Government as far back as 1809 to send a Mission to the Amir of the day to counter the schemes which Napoleon—then intriguing in Persia—had, or was supposed to have, for the invasion of India. Since then Russia has supplied the menace. It was Russian intrigues that were the cause of the first and second

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Afghan Wars, and it was the same cause which mainly embittered the political relations between Great Britain and Russia up to the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907. On at least one occasion, the Penjdeh incident of 1885, the two countries were on the verge of war. The Bolshevists have not lost sight of Afghanistan in their Asiatic policy, and in 1925 a serious situation was brought about between that country and Moscow by the seizure of the island of Urfa in the Oxus River from an Afghan garrison by some local Bolshevist troops. The matter was adjusted apparently to the satisfaction of Kabul. It is notorious that the Bolshevists have fished in troubled waters all over Asia. So far, however, they do not appear to have cast their lines in those of Afghanistan since Amanullah's fall last December, and it is to be sincerely hoped that they will refrain from doing so. Left to herself, the country may regain some measure of equilibrium within a reasonable period. Foreign interference might lengthen this period indefinitely.

With regard to the present situation. The reader may be assumed to be generally conversant with the events which led up to it: the abdication of Amanullah in favour of his brother Inayatullah; the fall of the latter; the rise of Bacha-i-Saqao; the brilliant rescues from Kabul by the R.A.F.; the attempt by Amanullah to rally the Southern Kingdom round him at Kandahar; the personal intervention from his retreat in the Riviera of General Nadir Khan, Amanullah's step-uncle and former Commander-in-Chief, in the Afghan imbroglio; and the attempts of one or two other aspirants to the Afghan throne, such as Ali Ahmed Khan Jan, Amanullah's cousin and former Governor of Jalalabad. The events of the last month have clarified the situation not a little, if perhaps only temporarily. Amanullah, after various abortive attempts at an advance northward on Kabul, which barely reached Ghazni, has retired from his kingdom, and apparently abandoned the struggle for the Afghan throne, while the troops of Habibullah have taken Kandahar, captured Ali Ahmed Khan, who on his cousin's departure proclaimed himself Amir of that town, and sent him to Kabul.

There are thus left in the field Habibullah Ghazi, General Nadir Khan, and the Malik Ghaus-ud-Din, a leader of the powerful Ghilzai clan. Of these three, the strongest is undoubtedly Amir Habibullah. He has a fairly strong hold on the capital, and on a good deal of the surrounding province. In Afghan Turkestan, the important province adjoining the Russian frontier, he has

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apparently strengthened his influence and claims at date of writing—June 12—to be once more in possession of its chief town, Mazar-i-Sharif. In the west he holds Herat, and now in the south Kandahar, a town of considerable strategical importance, the meeting-place of caravan routes from the Indian frontier towards Herat and Persia, and the centre of a province rich—according to Afghan standards—both in natural resources and in foreign trade. In addition to these material gains, by the capture of this town Habibullah will undoubtedly acquire much of that intangible, yet most precious asset to a new Oriental ruler, prestige, all the more necessary in his case, since he is of foreign Tajik (Persian) origin, and until a short time ago followed the profession of freebooter. At the same time it would be easy to exaggerate the strength of his position. When we say that he "holds" such and such a province all we mean is that, with the exception of Kabul, where he rules in person, certain areas are held for him by his generals, who are moved to their activities as much by their own private ambitions as by any loyalty to their master, and who may—precedents are by no means lacking in Asiatic history—set themselves up as independent rulers if they see a reasonable chance of success.

The position of General Nadir Khan, apart from his connection with the royal clan, is by no means strong. He has no important town or fortress on which to base the claim to the Amirship which he has made, and though he has received promises of support from various tribes, these promises have as yet brought into the field no armed forces of any size.

Malik Ghaus-ud-Din, while apparently not a candidate for the kingship of Afghanistan, has declared himself Amir of Ghazni, and as the most influential leader of the Ghilzai confederation, whose assistance any aspirant to the throne must covet, is in the strategical position of being able "to straddle the seesaw."

Whatever the individual fortunes of the various Amirs may be in the future, the general state of the country at the present moment is deplorable. The machinery of government, both central and provincial, built up by the genius of Abdur Rahman, and used by his two successors, is rapidly breaking down, law and order are ceasing to exist, the trade routes are unsafe, the tribal confederations all over the land are taking the opportunity to make themselves completely independent, and there is a distinct danger that Afghanistan may disintegrate into a welter

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of its component parts all mutually hostile. On the other hand, one must remember that, as already indicated, the country has passed through similar crises before, and after a period of anarchy has been brought together under the firm rule of a central authority.

A word in conclusion as to British policy. Now, as previously, our Afghan policy, as stated by the representatives of the British and Indian Governments, is non-intervention in Afghan affairs. Since the forward policy, as applied to Afghanistan, which involved us in the first and second Afghan Wars, was dropped after the conclusion of the latter, the British Government for the last fifty years has carried out a stationary policy, enabling us to consolidate our position on the North-West Frontier, and at the same time to avoid war with our neighbour beyond it. Even in face of the provocation of the third Afghan War of 1919, which was none of our seeking, the Indian Government contented itself with repelling with ease the Afghan advance. It wisely refused to repeat the mistakes of the two previous wars, and commit the cardinal error of a counter-invasion.

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT* IN NORTHERN INDIA

By Dagmar Curjel Wilson, M.D. (Glasg.), D.P.H. (Camb.)
Employed under the Indian Research Fund; formerly Senior Medical Officer, Women's Medical Service, India

Reaction to Changing Conditions in Other Countries

Anyone who comes into contact with different classes of women in Northern India at the present time cannot help noticing the rapidity with which, in so many directions, their outlook on life is rapidly altering. To summarize the extent of such alterations is less easy, since in many instances they are as yet indicated, rather than acknowledged, facts. These changes correspond undoubtedly to women's movements in other countries, in so far as they represent an attempt to meet by adaptation of mode of life and thought the varying demands of modern social and economic life, though

* *Cp.* previous articles on same subject with reference to (*a*) The Near and Middle East (April, 1928) and (*b*) China (April, 1929). This series will be continued.

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the reactions elicited do not necessarily conform to the experience of other countries, being modified by their own peculiar environment. For instance, the recent changes in the status of women in Turkey and Afghanistan have had considerable influence on the outlook of Muslim women, especially regarding the relaxation of *purdah*.

Economic Conditions in the Area under Consideration

The term Northern India covers the upper part of the United Provinces, Delhi, the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, and the various Indian States lying between. Though it is difficult to generalize about so large a tract of country, the findings of the recent Royal Commission on Agriculture indicate that, compared with the rest of India, this area is relatively prosperous, owing mainly to the extensive system of canal irrigation, but in the south-east and south-west large tracts of land depend entirely on rainfall, and many families are heavily indebted.

Division into Rural and Urban Areas

In Northern India Muhammadans predominate in the north and west, Hindus in the south, and Sikhs in the centre, but there is much overlapping of races, and actually a truer picture is obtained if the population is considered under the headings used for electorial purposes—namely, rural and urban. Women in the country are more conservative, clinging to old customs, and less influenced by the changing conditions of modern life, while town-dwellers come more into contact with, and respond more readily to, external influences; hence it is in urban areas that the women's movement is most marked. But a false idea of the extent of such changes is obtained unless it is borne in mind that the large majority of women in Northern India live in country districts, and in spite of rapidly improving means of communication (numerous motor lorries now run along the main roads, connecting up the railways), tend to lead an isolated life.

The heading "depressed classes" is recognized for census purposes, but the term does not imply that social ostracism accorded to women of similarly named classes in Southern India. In rural areas such women perform the menial duties of village life, but have their recognized place in the microcosm of the village community; for instance, women of the barber class are often the recognized go-betweens in the preliminary discussions of marriage between families of

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higher social status. In urban areas there is no sharp distinction between menials and the lower classes of craftsmen, such as workers in leather.

Emergence of Women from Seclusion

The idea of the restriction of women in *purdah* is foreign to the Hindu code, but following on the Muhammadan occupation of the north Hindu women of the upper classes in Northern India are accustomed to lead a more secluded life than women of equal status in many other parts of the country.

Among certain Muslim women *purdah* may be extremely strict; for instance, the middle-aged wife of a leader of Muhammadan orthodoxy had never left her husband's house since the day she entered it at her marriage at about sixteen years of age, until, when the non-co-operative movement was at its height, she went out with the women of her family under strict *purdah* conditions to sit behind a heavy screen and listen to a meeting presided over by Mahatma Gandhi. But within the past few years there has been a tremendous relaxation of *purdah* among such women. Ladies who formerly rarely went out of doors now regularly take an evening drive in their cars. *Purdah* screens are often omitted from motors, and ladies may be seen with their burkahs thrown back taking a keen interest in their surroundings. Those now living under such modified restriction talk freely of the time when their daughters, at present being educated in *purdah* schools, will finally abandon seclusion. It must require considerable courage for older women to emerge from *purdah*. A middle-aged lady, who came out from her seclusion when herself a grandmother, described how hard she found it at first to join in mixed society, but to Westerners it is amazing how quickly such ladies adapt themselves to changed conditions and hold their own in public life.

In rural areas the wives of agricultural peasants live busy lives, helping when necessary in the fields, and apparently following immemorial custom. Indications, however, such as the allusions contained in modern village songs, show how new ideas are gradually permeating village life. The lives of country women of the landed classes are usually restricted, but the daughters of these ladies are being sent away to *purdah* schools, where with education they obtain more advanced views. From their menfolk, who recruited in large numbers in the Great War, they have also heard of the customs of other lands. Their touch with the outside

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world is, however, slight; vernacular newspapers are published for Indian women, but literacy is low in country districts.

A half-way position is observed at present by ladies who observe *purdah* in one place, perhaps their own more conservative country homes, while moving freely in mixed society in a not very distant town. Certain *purdah* ladies accompanied their husbands who were attached to the Simon Commission on their recent tour of India. *Purdah* parties, clubs and meetings have a distinct place in the life of the urban Muslim lady, and in these gatherings Hindu ladies and Englishwomen also join. The reason given by certain well-educated ladies who retain *purdah* is that the men are not yet ready for the women to emerge. Many Muhammadan gentlemen are, however, most anxious for their wives to take their part in a joint social life, and certain larger towns contain flourishing clubs where Hindu and Muhammadan ladies and gentlemen meet for tennis, badminton, bridge, etc. An amusing vernacular poem was recently written purporting to originate from a conservative Indian husband who deplored the excessive bridge, smoking, and use of rouge and lipstick of the modern Indian lady.

"Advanced" Indian women tend to be rather impatient of the slower progress of their more secluded sisters, a rather natural reaction on the part of those who have already braved the publicity of modern life; and one may at times find it is a British woman who remains to cheer on her retiring Indian friend.

The worst features of *purdah* life today are found among the women of the more conservative lower middle classes, who in overcrowded, small town dwellings, often in the midst of very insanitary surroundings, cling to the tradition of a secluded life. Among such women and girls diseases such as tuberculosis and osteomalacia often develop.

Standard of Living

In towns a desire has been created for comforts previously unknown, and on the whole among the upper and middle class women the expenditure has increased; in villages less change is apparent, and among villagers barter is still often the chief medium of exchange.

Efforts are being made by the "beneficent departments" of Government towards lessening poverty and indebtedness, the co-operative movement is slowly spreading among women, together with industrial education, and attempts at limiting excessive expenditure on marriage ceremonies.

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Social Conditions

One result of modern economic conditions is the gradual breaking up of the joint system of family life, and with it the sway of the senior lady of the household, the often dreaded "mother-in-law." At the same time, although there are many exceptions, there is a gradual raising of the age at marriage.

Various forms of legislation have been proposed in the Legislative Assembly to raise the age of marriage and of consent. Much opposition has been raised against these Bills by members of orthodox communities, but a public opinion has been created in their favour by the ventilation of the subject, and in this the meetings of women organized in each province by the Women's Conference Committee have undoubtedly been effective.

A curious sidelight on the unhappiness to which the present marriage customs may lead is shown by the fact that many of the women now serving long sentences in prison have tried to murder their husbands. Theoretically a Muslim woman can divorce her husband, but in practice the privilege is limited to the husband. The feeling among educated Muslim women against polygamy is evidenced by various resolutions passed at conferences of Muhammadan ladies. Modern Hindu social reformers have worked hard to promote widow re-marriage, and to have inter-caste marriages legalized; but there are still relatively few such cases. There is no barrier to the re-marriage of Muhammadan widows.

In many districts both Hindus and Muhammadans of the agricultural classes follow customary law, under which women have difficulty in inheritance.

Health

The number of women receiving relief at hospitals and dispensaries has recently much increased; for the special diseases of women usually a woman doctor is preferred, but still in many places the indigenous *dai* or midwife carries on with her crude methods. Maternity and child welfare propaganda and the work of health visitors and nurses is beginning to create a demand among the more enlightened public for the better care of mothers and babies. An indication of the value of health propaganda are the increasing numbers of wives and children submitting willingly to preventive inoculation in the time of epidemics.

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Education

Girls' education is chiefly carried on by local or religious bodies with the aid of Government grants. Proportionally very much more is spent on the education of boys than of girls, though recently there has been a great demand for girls' education in urban areas, many of the existing schools being overcrowded from the entrance age till the fourteenth or fifteenth year, when increasing numbers leave for marriage. The actual cost to the parent of a daughter's education is low.

The Indian Christian community, though relatively small in numbers, has a high standard of education, due to the devoted efforts of educational missionaries. The women teachers for girls' schools are still largely recruited from this community.

An increasing number of Indian girls each year seek higher education in Government or Aided Women's Colleges in Arts, Science, or Medicine, where they are taught by British and Indian women graduates. The fees are small and many scholarships are given. The standard of work of women undergraduates compares favourably with that of the men students, but the criticism is sometimes made that women students also resemble the men in not showing sufficient interest in the practical application of their studies —that they seek a degree and not education. In discussing this point, the vexed question as to what vernacular should be the medium of education is bound to arise; there is no doubt that many college students have an insufficient knowledge of English. On the medical side Indian girls in increasing numbers are seeking training as doctors, nurses, and health visitors.

Position of the Woman Worker

The independent life which a trained woman worker, be she doctor or teacher or nurse, must of necessity lead is often misunderstood, and in certain instances such women living alone do require protection. The demand for such trained workers is usually greater than the supply, and there is no objection to the employment of married women. The work in country districts may be very arduous.

In Northern India far fewer women are employed in industries under the Factory Acts than in either Bombay or Bengal. When women are used, as, for instance, in cotton ginning, it is because they are cheaper than men and will

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undertake the dirty work which men refuse to do. Industrial workers are gradually becoming aware of the rulings of the Workmen's Compensation Act. Health Insurance for women workers under a minimum salary is much to be desired.

Women's Activities

Educated women, British and Indian, unite with others of mutual interest to form societies and hold meetings, such as Medical Associations, Associations of University Graduates, Teachers' Unions, and Trained Nurses' Associations. Muhammadan ladies hold an Annual Conference in Northern India, and women of the orthodox Hindus and of the Arya Samaj have their own meetings and activities.

Interdenominational bodies, such as the Y.W.C.A., and the Girl Guides, and the St. John Ambulance Association, are all trying to interest, physically and mentally, Indian women and girls in the towns. Much of this work is of recent growth. Women's Institutes are still in their infancy, but under suitable guidance appear to have a promising future.

At the moment perhaps most interest is centred in the Women's Conference, which is represented in each province by an organizing committee, who are responsible for the special activities along educational and social service lines undertaken in that area. Though British women are represented on the committees, the movement is really indigenous in conception and outlook, and has caught the popular imagination. Several hundreds of women gathered together from all parts of the country for the last (third) annual conference, held this time at Patna, and useful discussions were held on the various problems affecting women's welfare in different parts of India. There is much useful work for this conference still to do. Subjects for discussion are now being arranged for the next meeting.

Women in Public Life

Women in Northern India are backward compared with their sisters in the south in coming out into public life. Women are, however, represented in the Provincial Councils, on Municipal Committees and on the University Senate, and on special committees, such as that dealing with the censorship of cinema films. A woman from Northern India was a member of the recent committee set up by the Legislative Assembly to tour India and consider the problems bound up with the raising of the age of consent.

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The number of such prominent ladies may yet be small, but they indicate a general striving forward of a much larger number of educated Indian women.

IMPRESSIONS FROM THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

By Sir E. Denison Ross, C.I.E., PH.D.

[The Author, who is Director of the School of Oriental Studies in London, has recently returned from a tour, and has visited many places which he had not seen since the War.]

I may say the turning-points in my trip were my interviews with King Fuad in Egypt, with the intelligentsia of Baghdad, and with Reza Shah Pahlavi in Teheran.

I also had the pleasure of seeing several times King Faizal of Iraq, to my eyes the handsomest of them all. He looks like Charles I. out of a Van Dyck picture, and no king ever rivalled him in manners and grace. Unfortunately, I had no regular interview with him, but this was partly compensated for by the conversations I had with some of the leading intellectuals of Baghdad.

On January 14 we landed at Alexandria, where, taking up a paper, I found I was due to lecture on the following day in Cairo. It was very surprising news. They did not say what the lecture was to be about; and although they fixed the date and the hour, they most considerately left to me the choice of subject.

On the following day I paid a visit to Al Azhar in the company of Mahommad Khalid Hasanayn Bey of the Religious Institutions Department. What struck me most when he offered to take me round Al Azhar was that a man of the effendi class should be the Inspector of a University of the type of Al Azhar. It was the first indication I had of the way things are progressing in Egypt. We went in and listened to some of the classes being held in the big mosque, and had a talk with the head, not the new Sheikh Al Azhar who was away, but the man acting for him. I then visited one of the preparatory schools for Al Azhar, which had 800 students. There are six schools like that, in which they teach all subjects—history, geography, and so on—except foreign languages. The reforms in Al

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Azhar, of which I will speak in a moment, constitute one of the most important things happening in the East today.

On the same afternoon I was received by King Fuad at 4 o'clock and remained till 5.15. I was in an awkward situation, because I had to lecture at 5.30, and I had to excuse myself before I felt we either of us had really finished with each other, in order not to disappoint the audience at the American University. However, that conversation I had with King Fuad was one of the most interesting that I have ever had with anyone. He is new to kingship in a way—his life was spent in other countries and in other avocations—but he has entered into the life of the people, and into the reforms of education especially, in a way which commands nothing but the highest admiration. At the expense—I will not say of boring you, but of lingering over this particular subject—I would like to give you some idea of what the King of Egypt is thinking about. I am only going to tell you one-quarter of what he said, because I naturally cannot allude to many things of a semi-confidential nature which I am sure he would not have said if he thought I was going to put them into print. What I tell you are the public things he is thinking about. He began by referring to the wonderful reception he had received in London and Lancashire. He said Oriental history was one of his chief interests; he has established a library in Cairo, in which every kind of document bearing on her history, including photographs of manuscripts, are being brought together. He is collecting copies of all documents relating to Egypt to be found in foreign chancelleries. He did not trust the translations of such documents alone. He is very busy trying to improve the conditions of Al Azhar; he has appointed a new Sheikh Al Azhar, to help him in his task. A large piece of land all round the present building has been purchased, on which class-rooms and dormitories are to be built. No longer are the students to sit in bunches of thirty or forty with a teacher in the middle, and removed by fifty yards or so from other bunches with other teachers all shouting each other down. I think the floor space of the mosque of Al Azhar can claim sometimes as many as twelve to fourteen classes going on simultaneously. The King is going to build class-rooms on this new land, leaving the mosque to be used only as a mosque; and dormitories for the students instead of the poor quarters they now sleep in. When I expressed surprise that such reforms could be easily carried out, His Majesty replied, "It is realized

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that the old system is antiquated and out of date and has little to commend it. I have also changed the bread ration. A great many pious men in dying have left rations of bread to be distributed among the teachers every day. This bread ration I have transformed into cash, which is divided among the teachers, who are able to spend it as they think fit." That Act actually was passed, I think, on the day following my interview. He proceeded to say they were to have three faculties—a faculty of letters (*Arab*), of law (*fiqh*), and religion (*dīn*)—in which students will be respectively prepared for the career of teachers, lawyers, or divines. Ultimately he hoped to introduce the study of foreign languages. He also said: "I have instituted the plan of sending students of Al Azhar to reside at five of our foreig n egations abroad, in order that they may become men of the world, in addition to performing their religious functions. In ten years' time," said the King, "we may have a real University." Then he said finally, "Why should not the Sheikh Al Azhar of the future be as cultivated a man as the Archbishop of Canterbury? I see no reason why in making progress we should do away with tradition. I always admire the English, for they have preserved tradition more than any other nation in the world." Now I had never thought of that before, but it was significant, coming from someone who certainly knows Europe very well indeed and knows countries outside Europe, and I think on the whole there is a good deal to bear it out.

I think that is all I can tell you, but it gives you an idea of the kind of conversation we had, and shows to what an extent he is in touch with all that is going on around him, and what he means to do. We discussed many other educational questions, but the above will serve as a type.

At 5.30 I went to lecture at the University. Lord Lloyd and a number of foreign ministers were present, and there were speeches in Arabic and English afterwards. Most of my trip has consisted of lectures and interviews.

The following morning, January 17, I lectured at the University, the *Jāmi'a*. [The *Dār ul-'ulūm* is the training college for teachers.] I had an audience of about 300 students, and a number of literary men, like Ta-Sin, the well-known blind author, and 'Azzām made speeches in Arabic. I talked about the history of the alphabet in general and of the origin of the Arabic alphabet.

Afterwards a tea party was given for me by the Persian Colony at the house of Mirza Mehdi Bey, whose father and

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grandfather before him had been the head of the Persian merchants (*malik ut-tujjār*) in Cairo; the family are practically Cairene, but are very patriotic Persians still. We had a wonderful reception there at the tea party, and by the time we had done almost everybody had made a speech, either in Arabic, Persian, or English. The great question they were all interested in was Romanization. One young man said, "Is it true you are going to Teheran in order to change the Persian alphabet into the Latin alphabet?" I said, "No." "Then why is it that the papers say so?" I replied, "That I cannot explain in the presence of so many journalists and newspaper proprietors!" There were indeed several.

In the evening I went to see one of the two large evening free schools established by King Fuad. They are held in houses that are his property, and he pays all expenses. The one I visited had about 500 students of all ages; they were chiefly learning geography, drawing, and caligraphy. This last was taught by a Turk who knew no Arabic, though he had lived in Cairo for twenty-five years. I had a little fun with him in my broken Turkish. The classes are free; the only condition of admission is that you must be a worker or bread-winner. I do not suppose many of my readers have heard of these schools before.

On January 19 I had a long interview with the Prime Minister, Mahmud Pasha. He, as you know, is a Balliol man. I am delighted to see he has just received an honorary degree from his old University. He told me when he first went up to Oxford he had failed in Arabic! They set him a passage from a book he had never read; but the second time he passed. He is a most charming man, and I had a very long and interesting talk with him.

On January 20 we left Cairo by rail and reached Jerusalem on the following morning. It is a marvellous thing to think you can now travel by train from Cairo to Jerusalem in twelve hours. In Jerusalem what interested me most was the Hebrew University. Of course, we saw a great many sights. There is no incident in the New or Old Testament which has not been carefully located, and they do not think the witness of archæologists is at all necessary. We had an orthodox guide who regarded the evidence of the mother of King Constantine as final. If she regarded the place as a genuine spot where anything had happened, it was enough for him, and presumably should be for the rest of the world. So we saw where everything had happened. What interested me was the

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new side of Jerusalem. The University has a most marvellous site on Mount Skopos. It is not yet complete, but it is going to be one of the finest Universities in the world, and with one of the finest libraries that has ever been built, which will be capable of holding 400,000 volumes. It is being built at the expense of one man. We visited the Arabic Department, which is temporarily located in the heart of the town. They have bought Professor Goldziher's library, and they have four or five professors working away there at special branches of research. The two main tasks they are engaged in are a complete concordance of all the Arabic poets down to the end of the Umayyads, and an edition of rare work entitled *Ansāb al-ashrāf* by al-Baladhurī, the famous historian, rather on the lines of the *Kitab al-Aghānī*. I should think they have half a dozen men all told, working all day at these important undertakings. The concordance of Arabic poets is on cards; they have great big cabinets packed with cards on which you will find quotations of all words with references either to printed texts or to manuscripts.

Then we visited the Masjid al Harām, the site of King Solomon's Temple, including the Mosque of Omar and the Masjid al Aqsā, which was badly damaged by the earthquake of 1927, and Jerusalem, the first *qibla* of the Muslims, is held in such universal respect that a large share of the enormous sums being spent to repair this cruciform building, once a church and now a mosque, has been subscribed from India.

We set out next day in a car for Tiberias, and passed through Nazareth, Samaria, and Nabulus, which last had also suffered from the earthquake. I do not think there were more than 150 Samaritans, and they were all left homeless. I was interested in them because their old Patriarch had arrived in Cairo while I was there with a petition to collect funds to restore the dwellings of the Samaritans. Somehow or other he came to me by mistake first, and, as I happened to know one or two rich people in Shepherd's, I think I sent him away happy; I hope they were happy too.

Leaving Tiberias we skirted the western shore of the lake, which looked very grand in a storm. One rather associates it with storms, because of one of our hymns.

We drove along a very bad road to the Palestine-Syrian frontier on the Jordan, crossing the stream there over a fine old bridge where several battles between the Crusaders and the Saracens took place, one with Saladin in 1178.

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GROUP OF STUDENTS AT THE KHAYYAM SECONDARY SCHOOL IN NASIRI (AHWAZ) ON THE OCCASION OF SIR DENISON ROSS'S VISIT

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After crossing the rain turned to snow. When we had gone on about an hour, the driver said he could no longer see the road on account of the snow, so we decided to turn round and retrace our steps. It took exactly an hour with a spade and a shovel to turn the car round. If ever you have to turn a large Buick car in the snow, with a blizzard blowing, you will find it is very good exercise. We turned back, but on reaching the Jordan we saw a car coming down the hill; having thus some track to go on, we turned round again and eventually at 4 p.m. we reached a place called Kineitra, where we found a number of cars which had been snow-bound for two days.

At Damascus I spent some time in the Royal Library where I saw a number of interesting manuscripts and visited the great mosque. I have never seen so many carpets in my life—really a wonderful show.

We travelled from Damascus to Baghdad in one of the famous six-wheeled Nairn buses.

At Baghdad I attended a reception given by Muzahim Bey Pacachi in the restaurant of Maude's Hotel. There were ten tables, and at each there were eight or ten people: poets, journalists, philosophers, teachers, and divines. It started at about 3 in the afternoon, and by 7.30 I had gone the round of all the tables. We discussed everything under the sun, from Omar Khayyám to cinemas. Everybody complimented Muzahim Bey Pacachi on having done something original—I will not say for the first time in his life—but he had nearly founded a club without knowing it. I am intensely grateful to him, as he gave me that wonderful opportunity of meeting so many people in one afternoon.

The next day we visited the museum founded by Gertrude Bell. We found there Mr. Sydney Smith of the British Museum. In the afternoon I called on Père Anastase of St. Joseph's Church. The churches are all close together. All the Christian communities live in one quarter, because in the old days they dared not venture out of it, so that the Chaldæan, the Armenian, Catholic, and Syrian are all huddled together in one quarter, each with their own church. From the tower of Père Anastase's church you have the best possible view of Baghdad; he has lived there sixty years, and there is nothing about Baghdad he does not know. He pointed out every object of interest. One of them was the tomb of 'Abd ul-Qādir Gīlāni. In India nearly all the Muslims I knew, especially in Bengal, were Qādirīs the followers of this saint; but I

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only learned at Basrah station from a local official whose main duty was receiving the pilgrims from India and sending them on to Baghdad to visit this tomb that the saint's tomb was visited by so many Indians. Everyone knows about the pilgrimages to Kerbela and Mecca, but this pilgrimage to the tomb of 'Abd ul-Qādir for which they have to have an officer on special duty at Basrah station, seems to be not at all well known.

One of the things that Père Anastase told me was that the only old tower dating from the thirteenth century in Baghdad has been proved recently to have been built by Hulagu. It is interesting to think the rebuilding of Baghdad was begun by Hulagu, the relentless Mongol who reduced it to ashes.

In the afternoon we went to a tea party arranged by the Minister of Education at a private house, and there my wife and I met a number of Iraqi ladies. They were all beautifully dressed, they were most of them good-looking, and all of them charming to talk to.

I was much interested in the development of the Arabic language in Baghdad, because, of course, what is going on is the change from Turkish to Arabic. All the men of a certain age in Iraq, the cultivated men and the soldiers, were all educated in the Turkish way. It was the same in Mecca: the official classes and soldiers were educated in Turkish. Now the process is going on of cultivating Arabic, and in many cases the Arabic has been learned by men as a foreign language, just as English has been learned by Indian officials in India. The language is, in the case of the Iraqis, much more cognate, but it is interesting because they approach Arabic from a new point of view, and they may possibly bring about some reforms, not in the script, but in the simplification of the language. Many of these men I talked to in Baghdad I found were very anxious to simplify the written Arabic, to drop grammatical endings wherever possible, and not to exaggerate the grammar where a thing was intelligible, to reform the rules concerning the use of numerals, which in classical Arabic are the perpetual bugbear of everyone.

The bazaar is especially interesting in Baghdad, notably the coppersmiths' bazaar, where the little boys not only blow the bellows, but do the roughest and hardest work. They take hammers twice their own length and bang away and generally work very hard. They learn their craft early and thoroughly. In Baghdad they start very young doing the hard work.

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From Baghdad we went to Basrah by train; the chief stopping places were Hilla, Kerbala, and Ur. On the journey we saw more of Bedouin life than we had seen before on our journey. All along the side of the railway were little encampments or groups of Bedouins on foot or on horseback. Every type of Bedouin life is extremely interesting, and the mystery of his existence seems to deepen with acquaintance. It is curious that they wear that long cloak which seems so unsuited for walking in a dust storm, but they know best, and I expect it makes a very good substitute for a tent at night. One learns from the Bedouins that its use is as much to keep out the cold as the heat, because the cold of the desert during several months of the year is terrible. The wind blows very cold, and there is absolutely no shelter of any kind. If they have to carry their clothes, I think it is as well to carry them on, and there are a great many days and nights in the year when they need something very warm.

Then we went by train to Basrah, which has, of course, romantic associations for one interested in Oriental history. There the shipping is probably, except for modern steamers coming up the Gulf, exactly what it was, at any rate, in the time of Omar. There is the "Bellam," which is very like a gondola, and the smaller sailing ship, the "Muhaila," and the "Baghala," which is exactly like the Portuguese "caravel," with a huge poop and enormous bows; it is almost higher in the bows than the stern, reminding one of the old pictures. These "baghalas" are used generally for carrying dates. The main feature of the Shatt al Arab, which runs down from Basrah to the Gulf, is the enormous forests of palms. The peculiarity is that every tree is the same height, which makes the scenery a little monotonous. Even Ibn Batuta mentions that he saw more palms near Basrah than he had ever seen anywhere else.

From Basrah we went to Abadan, which is the Anglo-Persian Oil Company's refining station and headquarters, an original mud-bank which has been converted partly into a modern Garden City, partly into an enormous and efficient factory, and partly into one of the wretchedest towns in Asia. It only serves to show that example goes for nothing. Although they have had the European quarter as a model, the Persian town built up in Abadan is deplorably clumsy; I have never see an Indian bustee more tumble-down. It has a population of 60,000 people, but they seem to be too busy to build themselves more than bare shelters. One of the few solid buildings is the primary

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school, in which I saw a lot of intelligent little boys who seemed to be making great progress. In the Refineries I learnt a new Persian word: it was "Try-Khāna," or school for apprentices. I think the mixture is good.

From Abadan we went to Muhammara, which is a sort of Venice of the East, and one of the most beautiful spots I have ever seen. On the one bank are charming houses, on the other date groves. I do not think we saw anything more beautiful on the whole journey. Thence we took a stern-wheeler to Ahwaz, and took thirty-six hours on a journey which we could have done in three and a half by car. But it is a great delight to go by a stern-wheeled steamer: it is never rough, you are quite safe, it goes slowly, everything is agreeable, and the people all seem happy. Ahwaz is now called Nasiri, and is a real Persian town, with a little bazaar, which is more or less unspoiled and simpler than any bazaar I have seen. The chief trade is tailoring: every other shop is a tailor's shop. We here saw the first Pehlevi cap, which every man and child in Persia is compelled by law to wear excepting only the recognized mujtahids or "priests." In Nasiri I visited various schools.

I was enormously impressed with all that I saw in the way of teaching and learning. Persian boys are amazingly quick, and I at once decided that the Persian alphabet offered little difficulty to them, seeing they could master it in four or five months. In one school a small boy who could hardly reach the blackboard wrote "az āmadan-i-shumā khush-hāl hastīm" ("we are delighted with your visit"), quickly and accurately. I came to the conclusion that there is no need to have the Latin alphabet for Persia.

The great event of our stay in Teheran was the interview I was privileged to have with His Majesty Reza Pehlevi. He received me alone in his private study, and discussed various matters connected with the encouragement of the study of Persian history and literature, and especially the foundation of a public library. His Majesty stands six feet three. He is a really fine figure of a man, with grizzled hair and a firm chin. His manner is simple and reserved, and he has a calm, soft voice. His whole personality leaves a very deep impression. One can well believe he is the dominating power in Persia. He is, moreover, the hardest worker in his kingdom. The people who work under him said: "If we work twelve hours, he does thirteen." Naturally I cannot attempt to repeat all the conversation, but he told me what his ideals were, what he

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was trying to do for Persia, and how difficult it was to make everybody understand what order meant, and the necessity for strict control. We then discussed public libraries, the Pehlevi hat, and finally hotels. I said I thought, when flying was more popular, Teheran would attract many visitors, and this would bring a great deal of money into the country, especially if it had one decent hotel. We talked of many things of that sort, and I could give you a whole lecture on the Pehlevi hat alone, but I must rapidly finish.

I saw more wonderful manuscripts in Teheran than I have ever seen in my life, especially the historical ones.

As time goes on Persia is bound to change, but let that change be gradual. No traveller should complain of the *jawaz*, or pass regulations, when motoring. They represent such safety on the roads that the journey by car from Teheran to the frontier of Iraq can be made by a woman alone in safety. It was very difficult for any car to travel in safety before.

Nor should the traveller selfishly complain that the men look less picturesque in Pehlevi hats and lounge suits. Persia is not there merely to be picturesque or to be stared at. It is there to go on with its own business. If it becomes less picturesque, we have no ground for complaint. It happened to be picturesque once, but it cannot go on being picturesque for ever. There is, at any rate, a spirit of real endeavour on the part of the King and his Ministers. It is only for this spirit to percolate through to the people, and ultimately to the masses.

(*Here ends "The Asian Circle."*)

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QUESTIONS FOR THE SIMON COMMISSION

II. THE INDIAN ARMY AND A SELF-GOVERNING INDIA

By Colonel J. D. Crawford, D.S.O., M.C.
(Member of the Indian Legislative Assembly.)

The whole constitution of India is once more in the melting-pot with the inquiry into the reforms, introduced by Mr. Montagu in his Government of India Act, 1919, now being carried on by the Statutory Commission under the chairmanship of Sir John Simon.

No one will deny the soundness of an Imperial Policy which seeks to make each portion of the British Commonwealth of Nations self-supporting and a free partner in the Commonwealth. To give practical effect to this policy in India, with its complex problems, is a task of considerable difficulty, but, for the purposes of this article, the writer presumes that in due course Indians will be able to assume the responsibilities which the British Parliament desires to hand over to them.

The writer does not intend, however, to state that he necessarily considers India capable of self-government on the existing lines, but he is prepared to endeavour to solve the Indian problem on those lines.

There are many grave difficulties to be overcome before a satisfactory solution to the Indian problem can be secured. There is a tendency to suggest that anybody who recognises these difficulties and sees the necessity for their correct solution is out of sympathy with Indian aspirations. Indians, in particular, are prone to discourage the British method of tackling the problem. They say we are too material in our outlook, and that we do not understand the psychology of the Indian. But if the problem is to be solved, it will not be by ignoring facts and realities. These must be courageously faced, and an effort made to surmount the obstacles with which India is confronted in her march towards her political goal.

The fact that India is not a nation, that geographically it is a sub-continent nearly as large as Europe, with as many diverse peoples as there are in Europe, that the two major communities are strongly divided on religious lines, that society is split by strong caste divisions, that the vast majority of the population is still illiterate, make the solu-

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tion of the Indian constitutional problem along Western democratic lines one of great complexity. The Indian is apt to make too little of these difficulties, to which he closes his eyes in his impatience to go forward.

For the purposes of considering the problem of India's defence, it is necessary to assume that these difficulties can, in course of time, be overcome, and that it will be possible for India, in due course, to assume the responsibilities of self-government. If India is to be self-governing, it is obvious that she must undertake responsibility for her own defence. In this direction, many politicians chafe under the military difficulties confronting India, which is militarily very differently placed from the Dominions.

The defence of India is a matter of prime importance, both externally and internally. India has a land border of some five thousand miles and more, mostly guarded by the impenetrable barrier of the Himalayas, but open to attack along one thousand miles of its north-west frontier as well on the north-east. It is through the north-west that all the land invasions of the past have come, and along this border India has not only a tribal area containing some 250,000 first-class fighting men, all armed, but an unstable Muhammadan power in Afghanistan, with, further north, unfriendly Russia, whose Imperialistic aims have not changed with revolution.

In addition to her land frontiers, India has a sea border of again more than five thousand miles, with an extensive sea-borne trade to protect.

Internally, besides the constant menace to internal peace, due to strong communal feelings, and a spirit of growing nationalism, exploitable by her enemies, there are many thousand miles of strategic railways from her ports to her frontiers, the protection of which is necessary for the maintenance and movement of her armies.

These form a military task for which India at present maintains a standing defence force amounting to some 200,000 men, of which 60,000 are British.

For her naval defence, India contributes at present only £100,000 towards the upkeep of the Imperial Navy, and the total cost of her defence measures amounts to some fifty-five crores of rupees (one crore = approximately £750,000) per annum.

Defence and foreign policy are at the moment reserved subjects, and are not under the control of the Indian Legislatures. Money for the maintenance of the Army

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is non-votable, though the Legislative Assembly has been given every opportunity to discuss Army policy during the discussion of the General Budget.

In a self-governing India, the central legislature, whatever final form it takes, would have to be responsible for voting money for the maintenance of its army. What, then, will be the arrangements for the defence of India when she attains self-government?

Were India to be embroiled in a war with outside countries, the Empire itself cannot stand aloof, and, in the opinion of the writer, the defence of India must always remain a combined responsibility. If, therefore, we are to visualise the final picture of India's defence, when she attains full status as a self-governing portion of the British Commonwealth of Nations, we must divide the financial responsibility for defence carefully between India and the Imperial Government. Without we have at the back of our minds a picture of the completed structure, it is not possible to lay securely those foundations upon which we should be building today.

Since the defence of India is a combined responsibility, the solution of the problem will be one of considerable delicacy. It will necessitate a great deal of give and take and the development of a spirit of trust and goodwill. Unity of command is essential, and there is no reason to believe that India will not agree, as the Dominions have done, to the command of the combined forces remaining under the Imperial General Staff. There is a danger in laying down too strictly the different spheres of responsibility as between the Imperial and Indian Governments, but some agreement that is not too rigid should be arrived at.

It would appear that the maintenance of order within her own borders, including the tribal area along her north-western frontier, the defence in conjunction with the Imperial Government of her own external borders from attack by any of her immediate neighbours, and the provision of a force as her contribution towards Imperial defence, could definitely be considered India's responsibility.

The Imperial Government would have to be responsible for the provision of an Expeditionary force stationed in India capable of fulfilling without delay the Imperial responsibility for the external defence of India and the protection of the Indian states guaranteed to them by their various treaties. On the naval side, the Indian Navy now being built up could, when ready, undertake a large portion

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of those duties at present performed by the British Navy in the Persian Gulf and along the coast of India. For the fuller protection of her sea-borne trade, India could make a monetary contribution to the Imperial Navy.

If some such division of responsibility as between India and the Imperial Government were to be eventually arrived at, it would materially aid us in laying down the lines of military development in India, which could fit in with her progress towards self-government.

All troops employed for the fulfilment of India's share of the responsibility would be paid for by India, and be controlled by the Indian Legislatures, whilst the forces maintained by the Imperial Government would be controlled by the War Office and paid for from Imperial revenues. If the Imperial Government were to be asked to take on this extra financial responsibility, India would probably need to offer her some particular advantage for so doing.

The division of the responsibility for Indian defence, when she attains the status of a self-governing unit in the British Empire, is possibly the least difficult portion of the problem, though, so far as the writer knows, no authority has so far taken this problem into consideration.

The difficult question is the ability of India to build up a military force capable of fulfilling her share of the responsibility.

Competent military authorities today are of the opinion that it will take two or three generations of intensive work to train the officer establishment required for India's Army, and there are many with an intimate knowledge of India, who consider the task impossible, but the writer is not prepared to subscribe to that view.

The material of which our Indian Army is composed has proved itself equal to the strain of modern warfare under British leadership, and if British officers have been able to train the rank and file to this standard of efficiency, there seems some hope that they may train Indian officers capable of leading their own men successfully in war.

It must be admitted that no very serious attempt has, until quite recently, been made to train our Indian officers, and it will be interesting to see the steps which are now being taken to make good this neglect.

When Lord Rawlinson was Commander-in-Chief, a scheme was drawn up completely to Indianise eight units of the Indian Army by the process of receiving only Indians who had passed through Sandhurst to the officer

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ranks of these particular units. In the course of twenty-five years, the British element in these battalions would be entirely replaced by Indian officers, and an opportunity would possibly have been afforded to gauge the ability of units so officered to make good in war—the only real test of military efficiency. This scheme is still in effect in spite of the vigorous criticism of Indian politicians and the Skeen Committee's Report.

From the Indian politician's point of view, Indianisation on these lines must obviously be a lengthy operation, and his impatience does not brook delay, but it is obvious that the only test of fighting forces is the test of war. These Indianised units may appear admirable under peace conditions, but quite conceivably might not stand the crucial test of active service. In these circumstances, no one responsible for the defence of India can be expected to jeopardise India's safety by rash experiments, for mistakes made in war cannot be rectified, and the authorities responsible must, of necessity, make certain that Indian units, led by Indian officers, can stand the test of war. There appears to be in this matter no other course open.

There are military authorities of standing who criticise the Government's eight-unit scheme on the grounds that it segregates Indians, that neither the rank and file, nor the new Indian officers, like joining these Indianised units, that (segregated thus) they are likely to be looked down upon and to develop an inferiority complex.

Psychologically, there is much to be said for that particular line of criticism, but, if the Indian is to make good in the Army as an officer, he should welcome this early opportunity to stand on his own legs, and to show that the regiment to which he belongs is no whit inferior to that officered by British officers.

The Conservatism and the religious and caste prejudices of the rank and file are infinitely more difficult to overcome. One of the most serious difficulties with which Indians are faced in nearly all spheres of activity is [illegible] of mutual confidence. Money is, for instance, not readily ferthcoming for the Swarajist-run Corporation of Calcutta, Indian businesses continue to find difficulty in raising capital for industrial enterprises, the Indian district officer finds his task far more difficult than that of his British colleague. Indian political leaders find their positions insecure—all due to the fact that their fellow-citizens lack confidence in their ability. This mental attitude will, no doubt, change in the course of time, and

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educational and political reforms will do much to improve the position, but it must obviously be a question of time before education can break down the existing religious mistrust and caste prejudice.

Lord Rawlinson, in his *Diary* published after his death, said that the greatest difficulty in the Indian problem would be to keep the pace of political reform level with the rate at which military progress could be made This is undoubtedly a real difficulty, and the rate of progress under the proposed scheme (one which caution dictates as sound) is obviously very much behind the pace at which India is developing politically. It may be necessary, therefore, for a period to arrange for the defence of India under some form of contract with the War Office.

The main obstacles which lie in the way of rapid military progress are lack of education amongst those most suited by tradition to the profession of arms. It is no good wasting time deploring the faults of the past. What we are concerned with today is the future, and we must take immediate steps to overcome the obstacles which lie in our path.

The writer is of opinion that the first steps for the solution of India's Military Problem on the political side lie in the direction of strenuous reform of education. Military authorities have already taken steps in this direction by the establishment of Military Schools for the sons of Indian officers and rank and file. The creation of the requisite military qualifications required for leadership will be greatly helped by the greater use of training provided by games. The Government of India have recently accepted a resolution, initiated by Dr. Moonje, for the imposition of compulsory games in all schools in the areas administered by the Central Government, and a promise that Provincial Governments who have complete charge of education in the provinces would be pressed to conform.

At a later stage in their education, the youth of India would be given an opportunity of higher military training in Officers' Training Corps at the Universities, and in the various Territorial units which have since been built up.

Whilst some of the existing Territorial units are today composed of material of good fighting quality and would form useful units, with more intensive training, for war, there are others—drawn from provinces where military traditions are unknown or have been allowed to die out—which, at the present stage, are of little military use. It is natural that with the existing financial stringency soldiers should look upon these units as a waste of money

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more urgently required in other directions, and there is possibly not that interest taken in endeavouring to improve the quality of these units which there ought to be, in view of the political necessity of providing India with an Army that is not entirely drawn from one section of India. Far too little attention appears to be paid to the danger with which a self-governing India would be faced were she to be confined to recruiting her army from the areas to which recruitment is at present restricted.

The writer believes that it will be necessary to create an Officer Class, and believes that the intensive training of the present Viceroy's Commissioned Officers and the improvement of their social status, enabling them to educate their sons for the Army, is the best method of building up the Officer Establishment of the future Indian Army. He believes that a Military College for this immediate purpose should be established, and the military authorities have already made a move in this direction.

The Indian politician has so far only visualised the replacement of the British element by the substitution for them of Indian youths drawn from the ranks of what is generally called the "Intelligentia." Whilst in any scheme provision should be made to enable such material to find a place in the officer ranks of the Army, it is improbable that many of the requisite qualifications will be forthcoming to persevere in the profession of arms. One of the difficulties today, is the difficulty of finding men with the requisite qualifications of leadership who have also the educational qualifications to pass the standard required of King's Commissioned Officers. The result is that the vacancies for training offered in England cannot at present be filled. The writer thinks it would be sounder to recognise at once the final intention to build up a Dominion Army for India, and to give all Indian officers a Dominion Commission, the qualifications for which could in the first instance be brought within the educational capacity of those most suited for the profession of arms. Such of them who could later pass the tests for the higher [illegible] should be given an opportunity of promotion. As the general education improves, standards of qualifications for the Dominion commissioned ranks could be raised.

The general lines upon which the military authorities are working at present follow some of the suggestions made in this article, but there is little doubt in the writer's mind that we are at the moment hampered in our progress by the mistaken policy of insisting upon a King's Commission for our Indian Officers.

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INDIA'S INTEREST IN THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE

By P. Padmanabha Pillai

(Director, Indian Branch of the International Labour Office)

The aims and objects of the International Labour Organization are now so well known that it is perhaps needless to go into them at any length here. Intended primarily to improve social conditions all the world over by gradually levelling them up to the standard of the most advanced nations, it has now widened its activities, and has become in addition a great international research institution. By ascertaining the facts of industrial life and progress, and by disseminating this knowledge by means of its numerous publications, it is attempting to create a public opinion, both national and international, which will stand for social justice in all its forms—as social justice is the only lasting foundation for the establishment of universal peace.

The opening of an Indian branch of the International Labour Office is certainly an experiment. It is, however, an experiment undertaken in a spirit of buoyant optimism. The opening of the branch offices of the central organization at various European centres, as well as at Washington and Tokio, has in each case been justified by the results. The success of these branch ventures emboldens one to be optimistic about the beneficial results that are likely to accrue from the inauguration of the Indian branch. Every experiment is in the ultimate analysis a gamble in futures. The optimism induced by the success of parallel ventures at London, Paris, or Washington, to mention a few of such ventures, is therefore toned down to some extent by vague and shapeless fears about the future of the Indian branch. How can the chasm that sunders promise from performance be bridged over? How can we ensure that the summer of achievement follows the spring of anticipation?

The internal conditions in India and India's hitherto excellent response to Geneva's invitation warrant hopes of still further and more fruitful collaboration. The International Labour Office has always taken great interest in the labour problems peculiar to India, and India's own contributions to international social progress have by no

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means been negligible. India has participated in all the International Labour Conferences that have hitherto been held, beginning with the Washington Conference of 1919, and her co-operation with the I.L.O.'s activities has never been of a lukewarm or perfunctory nature. At all the ten conferences that have followed in the wake of the Washington Conference she has been represented by strong delegations composed of men who had indisputable credentials to speak in her name.

To name even a few of the outstanding personalities who have represented this country at these International Conferences would be to reel off a formidable list; thus, to take some names at random, we have had Sir Atul Chatterjee, Sir Louis Kershaw, Sir Dadabhai Dalal, and Dr. Paranjpye on behalf of the Government; Sir Alexander Murray, Mr. N. B. Saklatvala, Mr. J. Jay, Mr. G. D. Birla, and Mr. Narottam Morarji on behalf of the employers; and Mr. N. M. Joshi, the late Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. Joseph Baptista, Mr. V. V. Giri, and Diwan Chaman Lal on behalf of the workers. It has been on account of their undoubted competence that the Indian delegates to Geneva have been able to command the respect and confidence of their colleagues on the various conferences and committees. And, conversely, it has once again been on account of their sobriety of judgment that the Indian Legislative Assembly has invariably made good their commitments at Geneva and implemented their undertakings by the ratification of the conventions there adopted, due regard, of course, being had to the peculiar industrial and labour conditions of the country.

The importance which the Geneva organization attaches to India is thus partly due to the character and capacity of the Indian delegations; it is also due to the fact that the working population of India is numerically greater than that of any other country in the world, with the possible exception of China, and that the volume of her industrial activities enables her to be classed amongst the eight leading industrial countries of the world. As such, India's right to nominate a permanent representative to the governing body of the I.L.O. has been accepted by the Council of the League of Nations. This fact has its own significance when it is remembered that the only two Asiatic countries which have won for themselves this special right are Japan and India. An even more signal compliment was paid to this country in 1927 when the Indian Government's representative on the governing body, Sir Atul Chatterjee, was

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invited to preside over the International Labour Conference of that year. Nor should we omit to mention that Mr. N. M. Joshi, M.L.A., the distinguished Indian labour leader, has, on more occasions than one, been elected by the workers' group at the Geneva Conference to represent it in the governing body as a substitute member.

The Indian branch of the I.L.O., therefore, is commencing its activities under favourable auspices. There has been of recent years a considerable awakening in the rank and file of Indian workers as to the dignity of labour and the inalienable rights of the primary producers of national wealth. Indian workers are also realizing in an increasing degree the necessity for united and combined action in bargaining for better terms of employment as well as in organizing various measures of remedial self-help. And besides, they have learned to appreciate the value of forming international connections with their fellow workers in other countries in order that, in pressing their claims before the tribunal of public opinion, they may be able to evoke support which will be not merely national, but world-wide in character.

A parallel movement is observable among the Indian employers, and we have today a rapidly increasing number of captains of industry who, while keeping a very vigilant eye on their dividends, are at the same time animated by high humanitarian motives. A feature which has always distinguished the Indian employers' delegations to Geneva has been their zeal for social reform. The employers of the West, feeling even more keenly than their brethren elsewhere the effects of the economic depression consequent on the War, are anxious to apply the brake to, and slow down, all reforms undertaken by the I.L.O. The employers of the Far East, and more particularly those from India, on the contrary, go to Geneva because they desire to be more and more closely associated with all attempts "to prevent and overcome human misery." Oftentimes has one been tempted to institute a comparison between some of India's present-day industrial leaders and the earlier employer-reformers of Europe, who exerted their influence both with their colleagues and with their Governments to bring about reforms in national and international labour conditions. The spokesmen of Indian industries, like Messrs. Saklatvala, Birla, and Morarji, have all left an abiding impression on Geneva, where they are looked upon not only as eminent leaders in their own chosen profession, but also as great social reformers imbued

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with lofty ideals of citizenship. The employer classes of India are thus among the keenest advocates of improved social conditions, and by that very fact they take rank among the friends and supporters of the International Labour Organization.

But, with the labourer anxious to usher in an era of higher wages and longer hours of leisure on the one side, and the employer faced with constant labour troubles and the prospect of depleted dividends on the other, India is now passing through a severe economic crisis. Some of the phases of the passing of Indian economic conditions from a static to a dynamic stage are illustrated by the rending asunder of the social bonds of a previous generation, the increasing mobility of the population and the occasional waves of industrial unrest passing over the land. The newly found fluidity of labour and the newly acquired aspirations for betterment are factors of great potentiality which have to be canalized lest their stresses should break the bonds of industrial harmony and national well-being. Already we are having strikes, lock-outs and industrial dislocations of all kinds, and a striking feature of these disturbances in recent times has been the inability of the parties, in spite of protracted negotiations, to come to a permanent settlement. An extreme case in point is the statement which appeared in the Indian Press last February to the effect that an amicable understanding had been arrived at between the Bombay millowners and the strikers, while lightning strikes were still occurring in several mills, and the Parel area was given up to hooliganism.

It is just in conditions similar to those existing in the India of the present day that the International Labour Office may prove to be of help. In times of stress and turmoil, when old standards are breaking down and new ones have yet to be evolved, it is not likely that constructive leadership will emerge from the ranks of either of the combating forces. Those who may be entrusted with the shaping of the future of our social life must be men who, while alive to the economic and social situation about them and vitally interested in its day-to-day developments, must, at the same time, be endowed with the capacity for objectively and dispassionately studying social phenomena.

It is only by carefully collating facts and figures and studying them in their various aspects that their full economic implications may be properly understood. No programme of social reform can prove of lasting benefit unless it is based upon such a dispassionate and scientific

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study. The announcement that a Royal Commission is to be appointed to make a comprehensive report on labour conditions in India has, therefore, come at an opportune moment. And the Royal Commission is expected to do for India what the International Labour Organization attempts to do for the whole world; for the collection of accurate and reliable information on industrial and labour questions as a preliminary to the evolution of schemes of social reform is one of the most important objects assigned to the Geneva Office.

The association of India with an organization commanding the prestige of the International Labour Office has been instrumental to an appreciable extent in accelerating the pace of humane labour legislation in the country. The ten years of India's participation in the International Labour Conferences have witnessed a remarkable spurt of legislative activity directed towards the amelioration of labour conditions. The Statute Book of the country has been enriched within this period by such new enactments as the amended Factory and Mines Acts, the Workmen's Compensation Act, and the Trade Union Act. When it is remembered that the fifty years immediately preceding the establishment of the League present a comparatively barren record of legislative achievement in this direction, it is not too much to assert that the quickened pace of the post-League period is not an accident, but that it derived its inspiration from the healthy contacts established at Geneva. The new laws which aim at limitation of hours of work, protection of women and children, compensation in case of accidents, and the recognition of the rights of association, all of them bear the Geneva stamp of genuine concern for the interests of labour. What has already been accomplished, however, touches only a fringe of the complex labour problems of the country. At the present day the Government and the Central Legislature are studying several schemes of social betterment, prominent among which are those dealing with insurance against sickness, maternity benefits, and the devising of means to bring about industrial peace.

In these and allied matters India confidently looks forward to helpful leads from Geneva. There can be no more convincing or representative testimony on this point than the considered verdicts of Mr. C. F. Andrews, the great friend of Indian labour, and Mr. A. G. Clow, the brilliant Government expert on Indian labour problems. The former in the course of two articles entitled "India

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and Geneva," contributed to the *Hindu* of Madras, expresses himself thus about the services rendered to India by the International Labour Office:

"The International Labour Office of the League has a world position of immense importance, and if advantage is taken of this, there can be no doubt whatever that labour conditions in India will be improved in the most rapid manner possible. . . . Every one of the great landmarks in Indian labour legislation has been put up since the establishment of the League. While, up to the year 1919, it seemed quite impossible to obtain any more humane conditions with regard to labour in mines, factories, and mills, after 1919 every door seems to be suddenly thrown wide open, and we have been pressing forward from one act of factory legislation to another, and all these, on the whole, have been in the right direction."

In reviewing Government policy and action in relation to industry under the Reformed Constitution, Mr. A. G. Clow substantially endorses the generous estimate of Mr. C. F. Andrews. The following is a relevant excerpt from Mr. Clow's review:

"Ten sessions of International Labour Conferences were held between 1919 and 1927, and the submission, at intervals, of conclusions reached by the Conference to the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State has been instrumental in stimulating public interest in labour questions and at times *in initiating measures which might not otherwise have been adopted*."*

Pursuing the train of thought suggested by the latter part of Mr. Clow's observation, but in a different direction, it is permissible to remark that it is not yet perhaps adequately realized in India that the existence of the I.L.O. has led to an improved degree of organization among workers and employers both internationally and nationally. The Geneva decisions are always based upon compromises between conflicting points of view, and compromises, to be effective, must be between bodies which are highly organized and fully representative. The Peace Treaty therefore lays down that in choosing the delegates for Geneva the Government of each country should consult the most representative organizations of employers and workers. In 1919, when the first International Labour Conference was held, Indian labour had not yet organized itself, and Mr. M. Daud, in his presidential address at the ninth session of the All-India Trade Union Congress, has declared that one of the chief objects which the promoters of the Congress had in view, when it was first called together in Bombay in October, 1920, was to safeguard the interests of Indian workers at the International Labour Conferences.

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Similarly, it will be admitted that the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry had its genesis in the necessity felt by employers of Indian nationality for an organization which can effectively look after their interests both in India and abroad. When the credentials of the Indian employers' delegate to the 1926 conferences were challenged at Geneva, the complaining party found itself considerably handicapped because it could not speak in the name and with the authority of a fully representative Indian employers' association; and it is not too much to presume that it was the lesson then learnt that was chiefly responsible for the creation soon after of the vigorous institution of which Mr. G. D. Birla is now the president.

A result of this process of organization is that both capital and labour are now able to formulate their points of view more authoritatively than ever before; in cases of dispute, therefore, it is much easier to define the issues involved, and a clear enunciation of the issue leads us more than half-way to a final solution. A further step in organization, once again under the influence of Geneva, was accomplished when, at the Washington Conference of 1919, the first International Federation of Industrial Employers was formed. This has as yet no counterpart on the workers' side on account of the existing rival organizations. But in the Workers' Group of the Geneva conferences the rival federations of Amsterdam and of the Christian Unions, together with the representatives of certain national movements not affiliated to either, work together, and in fact act as an *ad hoc* organization of over thirty million workers. Indian interests are also beginning to take their proper part in this movement. Thus the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce decided at their last annual session to establish connections with the International Chamber of Commerce, and it is significant to recall that the resolution to this effect was moved by Mr. D. P. Khaitan, who attended the last session of the governing body of the I.L.O. as a representative of the British Empire Overseas Employers' Associations. At the last session of the All-India Trade Union Congress the question of seeking affiliation with Amsterdam came up for discussion, but the sense of the meeting was that the Indian labour movement was not yet sufficiently well developed to derive much advantage from permanent international alliances.

Geneva's interest in the major economic problems of India and the Far East is being continuously maintained

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by some of the enquiries the I.L.O. has now taken in hand. The pressing problem of unemployment among the Indian educated classes will now be brought into the orbit of an international investigation into the question, Acting under the authority of a resolution of the eleventh Conference, the governing body of the I.L.O. will soon be setting up a committee to submit proposals for a comprehensive enquiry into the working conditions in the textile industries; and it is needless to say that the present situation in Bombay's leading industry will thus come to be examined by an international body consisting of the leading experts on the subject. Much progress has already been made in the enquiry into labour conditions in Asiatic countries—an enquiry in the initiation of which Mr. N. M. Joshi played a leading part. But an even more signal illustration of the interest the I.L.O. is taking in the social developments of the Far East is the recent visit of Monsieur Albert Thomas, the Director, to the more important industrial countries of Asia. The direct relations thus established and the personal impressions which he has been able to form of the conditions of social progress in these distant countries will contribute materially to emphasize the world-wide character of the organization and refute ill-informed criticisms about the scope of Geneva's activities.

The psychological value of the harmonious contacts established under the ægis of Geneva between Governments, employers, and workers has already been recognized the world over, and whatever one may have thought of it in its earlier days, no one now dares to insinuate that the I.L.O. has introduced dangerously "advanced" ideas among the working classes. On the other hand, it has now been everywhere recognized that an institution like the I.L.O., far from encouraging "direct action" of any kind, helps, by its methods of open conference and co-operation, to induce a more peaceful and conciliatory frame of mind. It assists organized society to progress along specific lines of development, and there can be no bigger contribution to world peace than a successful attempt, such as this organization alone can make, to give a new orientation to Eastern thought and deflect the spirit of incipient revolt into constructive channels of nation-building.

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THE RATIO CONTROVERSY IN INDIA: A RETROSPECT.

By Sir J. C. Coyajee

The scheme of monetary reconstruction which the Royal Commission on Indian Currency put forward was a very comprehensive one; it contemplated among other things the establishment of an up-to-date and automatic currency standard, the constitution of a currency authority in the shape of a Reserve Bank (which should combine the control of currency and credit), and the thorough overhauling of the paper currency system of the country. Nevertheless, the controversy which followed the publication of the Report of the Commission has raged only around two points of this programme—the ratio and the constitution of the directorate of the proposed Reserve Bank. The surprise with which one regards this selection of two apparently isolated points of the programme for criticism is, however, removed when we remember that the controversy in India over the ratio question is the counterpart of the great struggle which has taken place in most countries after the war between the advocates of inflation and those of the return to a steady and moderate price level. It is also significant that the same set of critics who argued for the reversion to the lower ratio (with inflation as its corollary), also worked for the object of placing legislators on the directorate of the Reserve Bank and of thus bringing political pressure to bear directly on our future banking policy. In fact, the real issue in the controversy is that of inflation; and that fact accounts in the main for the vitality of the controversy. For, if adjustment of prices to the ratio was indeed the real issue, few would be found to assert in this year (1929) that things had not adjusted themselves in a preponderant degree to a ratio which had held the field for five years, and the controversy would have died a natural death before now. But the ratio controversy derives its whole vigour and momentum from the inflationist aspirations behind it; it is the Indian counterpart of the struggle over readjustment of price levels to normal conditions which has been the most important economic movement of the post-war epoch in most countries of the world. It is on that account that the present controversy will occupy a not unimportant place in the economic history of India.

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There has been much misunderstanding over the character and origins of the former 1s. 4d. ratio. Thus that ratio has been called the "natural ratio" and "the permanent ratio." It has been even confused with the currency standard itself, and in the dissenting minute of the Currency Committee of 1919 it has been called the "standard ratio." But a glance at the history of the ratio will show that those who proposed and sponsored it expressly disclaimed any permanent character for it. Thus the Herschell Committee was careful to explain the character of the ratio in its Report. "It would not, of course, be essential to the plan that the ratio should never be fixed above 1s. 4d.; circumstances might arise rendering it proper and even necessary to raise the ratio." So also the Fowler Committee was careful to emphasize the necessity of "the final ratio being fixed either below or above 16d., as further experience might show to be expedient." It added further that "between the rate of today and that determined by the bullion value of the rupee, there is none that can be described as natural or normal."

The advocates of that ratio would also do well to remember that the Fowler Committee in deciding for a 1s. 4d. ratio employed the very same arguments which were used by the Currency Commission of 1925-26 in order to justify the present 1s. 6d. ratio. The Fowler Committee expressly overruled every plea and answered every argument that the opponents of the 1s. 6d. ratio have put forward in our own days. Thus the Committee's main argument on behalf of the 1s. 4d. ratio was that "the rate of 1s. 4d. is that of the present day; prices in India may be assumed to have adjusted themselves to it, and the adoption of a materially lower rate at the present time would cause a distinct and, in our opinion, a mischievous disturbance of trade and business." Another ground on which the Fowler Committee recommended the 1s. 4d. ratio was that in 1898-99 the prevalence of that ratio was found to be compatible with a large favourable balance of trade. The pleas that "the *status quo* had not been arrived at without manipulation and that a *fait accompli* in the shape of an established ratio and a price adjustment thereto had been presented to the Committee were also overruled by that Committee. Not only is there a close and instructive parallel between the arguments employed by the Fowler Committee and the Royal Currency Commission of 1925, but the case for a 1s. 6d. ratio was much stronger in 1926 than that for a 1s. 4d. ratio in 1898. Little statistical proof was brought forward in

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1898 regarding the adjustment of prices to the older ratio, while the ratio itself had been prevailing only for about a year. Finally, the rise of the ratio to 1s. 4d. in 1898 was a very slow and hesitating affair indeed compared to the attainment of the 1s. 6d. ratio in 1925.

In the light of the above historical examination of the reasons for the establishment of the 1s. 4d. ratio in 1898, we can see how little ground there is for the contention that any later change of the ratio constituted "a wanton tampering with the standard of value." Gold has been restored as the standard of value in India, and gold will be —with the adoption of the proposals of the Commission of 1926—more than ever the basic currency "from which the other monetary instruments derive their own exchange value owing to convertibility." The essence of the gold standard is the tying of the value of our monetary unit to the value of gold. But it cannot be contended that any particular ratio once adopted should or could be maintained for ever, regardless of important changes in prevailing conditions—for example, great changes in prices of precious metals. The factors which the Fowler and Herschell Committee took into account in recommending the 1s. 4d. ratio show that in their view the ratio was not either unalterable nor of the essence of the currency system; for they based it professedly on a consideration of the prevailing facts of their own day as regards prices, trade conditions, and the relative prices of the precious metals. It is, of course, true that a standard unit of value once adopted should not be arbitrarily departed from; for any random changes in the standard of value are sure to cause losses to some people. So far one can respect the zeal shown for the older ratio. But the changes in our ratio in India have been such as were absolutely necessary in the interests of the stability of prices—*i.e.*, of social justice. A statistician would be staggered at the number and the size of the fluctuations of prices which India would have experienced if she had adopted the policy of sticking to the old ratio at all costs since the war. It is true that the 1s. 4d. ratio held the field for nearly twenty years; but it need not be forgotten that more recently it was in abeyance for a whole decade—and for a decade which has seen currency and trade changes enough to crowd a century. Under these conditions the currency authority who is proceeding to stabilize the ratio would be well advised to consult the facts of the day for his guidance rather than the conditions prevailing three decades ago. In such an important affair those who admire

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the work of the Fowler Committee would do well to imitate its procedure.

We shall now proceed to examine some of the arguments which have been brought forward against the policy of stabilizing the rupee at 1s. 6d. Thus the contention has been advanced that suitable opportunities for stabilizing the exchange at 1s. 4d. occurred in the years 1923-24, but that advantage was not taken of them. That contention can, however, be shown to rest upon a faulty perspective of the financial, monetary and commercial conditions of the time. As was well recognized, the *sine qua non* of the stabilization of the rupee was a budgetary equilibrium; and that preliminary condition of stabilization was not well assured by the years 1923 or 1924. Another desideratum was the improvement in the position of India as regards foreign trade, which implied, in its turn, an improvement in the trade conditions of the world. But no one could have been sure in 1923-24 of the fact that the general trade depression was coming to an end, and in that year India was only entering upon its task of recovering its former trade position. Again, the stabilization of a country's currency is in an important measure an international problem; and, as an American authority (Dr. W. R. Burgess) has well put it, "At the end of 1923, and moving into 1924, we were in a period of some business depression. The skies were dark in this country, and the world over there was a good deal of disturbance."

The difficulties of the day were not confined to the prevalent conditions of currencies and prices. Dislocated exchanges, unbalanced budgets, and trade depression were the general and characteristic phenomena of the day. Not only would a premature stabilization—whether at 1s. 4d. or any other ratio—have done India no good, but it would have upset that comparative stability of prices which was the one redeeming feature of her condition. We would have been then on the horns of a dilemma; had we stabilized at 1s. 4d. sterling, our prices would have shared all the fluctuations of the prices in the United Kingdom. Had we, on the other hand, stabilized at 1s. 4d. gold, we would have been involved in a fluctuating relation with the sterling.

It has also been contended that the stabilization and maintenance of the exchange at 1s. 6d. was due to currency manipulation in the shape of "excessive deflation" and "undue contraction of currency in India." It is submitted here that there is a double fallacy involved in this

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line of reasoning. Not only is the extent of the actual deflation exaggerated, but the efficiency of monetary deflation as a factor in monetary stabilization is unduly magnified. Compared to the great inflation of the war period in India, the deflation of the period from 1920 to 1923, which amounted to about 38 crores, can only be called a moderate one. The fall of prices brought about by it cannot be compared for a moment with the results of contemporary deflation in the United Kingdom or the United States; while it was a long time before any tangible effects of our deflation on the exchanges could be perceived.

The fact is that the recovery of the Indian exchange was due, not so much to the halting and moderate monetary deflation, as to a singularly fortunate combination of the various factors which are recognized as being necessary for currency stabilization. By 1925 we had the advantage of the restoration of budgetary equilibrium, and we were reaping the benefits of that "financial" deflation which is now recognized by economic authorities as so much more efficacious for stabilization than monetary deflation. Then, again India was entering on a new era of favourable balances of trade, and was showing a recovery from the trade depressions which was unique in the annals of post-war commerce. This combination of favourable factors was partly fortuitous, but it was partly also the deserved reward of wise finance and timely deflation, as well as of that patient policy which withstood the temptations to premature stabilization. It is owing to this combination of factors favourable to stabilization that India has paid a much smaller price for currency stabilization than other countries. Countries which have raised their exchange under less favourable conditions have indeed paid a stiff price for the stabilization in the shape of increased unemployment, and a great strain imposed upon the unsheltered or competitive industries. But to contend (as some critics have done) that India has to face difficulties of the same magnitude in the process of stabilization, or to argue that the necessary period of readjustment to the variation in exchange should be at least as long in the case of India, is to disregard and ignore vital differences of economic conditions between the countries concerned.

We now approach the most important issue in the ratio controversy—that relating to the adjustment of prices to the ratio. On this point the statistics of prices and exchanges can be appealed to for a decisive and unambiguous

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verdict. We have to remember that after August, 1923, there had been no further deflation, and that the trade position in 1924-25 was normal. Bearing in mind the absence of any abnormal influences operating either on the side of currency or of trade, we note a steady rise of exchange from July, 1924 (up to January, 1925), and a simultaneous and steep fall of Indian prices from 179 to 157. We note, further, that after the achievement of this mutual adjustment both Indian prices and the ratio manifested a marked tendency to steadiness. There can be no question that we have here a statistical verification of the adjustment of our prices to the ratio, for there were no other important factors during the period influencing either the prices or the exchange. It has indeed been contended that the fall of prices in India was not an adjustment to the ratio, but was due to the sympathetic influence of the fall of world prices. But that contention ignores the most important circumstance that the world prices began to fall only after the first quarter of the year 1925, while rupee prices in India began to fall after June, 1924, and had traversed the larger part of their downward journey before the world prices began to show any decided tendency to fall. Indeed, it is clear that for a period of over six months Indian prices continued to fall and to adjust themselves to the ratio in spite of the tendency of the world prices to rise. Further, in the case of the United States the maximum of prices was reached only in 1925. Anything like a serious study of the history of prices after 1923 will show that in the matter of the downward movement of wholesale prices India anticipated other countries by a considerable period. Any sympathetic effect of the fall of foreign prices on Indian prices should be dated after the first quarter of the year 1925. There is no possible explanation of the marked fall of Indian prices during the second half of the year 1924 and in the beginning of 1925 except their adjustment to the new ratio.

In the dissenting minute apprehensions were expressed as regards the possible disastrous influence of the ratio on the interests of Indian agriculture, trade and industry. We are now in a suitable position in the light of events of judging the value of such prognostications. Considering the position of agriculture first, we find an entire absence of any possible harm wrought by the ratio. On the other hand, two sets of most material statistics can be pointed to as regards agriculture which are of a most reassuring character. The statistics of agricultural co-operation fur-

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nish unmistakable proofs of growing agricultural prosperity since the introduction of the new ratio. The growth of co-operative capital and deposits, the proportion of the arrears to the loans and the rates of interest charged in co-operative societies show no trace whatever of any adverse influences acting on agriculture. More important still are the statistics of the course of the prices of the main agricultural products—cereals and pulses. We find that the year 1923, although a period of low exchange, was in fact the least favourable year of the post-war epoch for the Indian agriculturist. The reason was that while the prices of agricultural products had fallen as far as they were going to, in India the prices of the article—which our farmer purchases and consumes—had not declined very markedly as yet. While exchange has only a comparatively indirect and small influence on the fortunes of the agriculturist, the state of relative prices of agricultural and other commodities affects him directly. Since the year 1923, however, the movement described above has been reverted; the prices of pulses and cereals have gone up considerably, while the prices of other commodities, as also the general price level, have been falling markedly. Consequently, since 1924 the agriculturist of India finds himself in a particularly favourable position, and has no reason whatever to complain of the change in the ratio.

But it is the condition of the foreign trade of India 1924-25 which provides the best test of a well-selected ratio, and of the adjustment of economic conditions to it. It is no exaggeration to say that the recovery of trade since the general depression has been more marked in the case of India than in that of any other country. Had the new ratio been fixed either too high or too low the recovery either of exports or of imports must have been materially hindered. As it is, making allowance for the change in general prices, both these branches of trade have been gradually and closely approaching their pre-war levels; and we note further that the balance of trade has also been going back to its pre-war figure. A study of the progress of the main items of Indian imports and exports will also strengthen the case for the new ratio. Our total exports of piece goods have made great progress in the last quinquennium; they made a great record in the year 1926-27, and the figure for 1927-28 is higher than that of any year except 1926-27. Our exports of tea have also progressed during the same period, and stood never higher than in 1927-28. The same can be said of our exports

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of tanned or dressed hides and skins. In the case of all these exports the recent figures are far higher than the pre-war records. Thus the trade statistics furnish no support whatever to the assertion that the new ratio was going to prejudice our competitive exports and industries. Nor do they give any more support to the other assertion that the higher ratio constitutes a bounty on imports. The only conclusion that can be drawn from the statistics of exports and imports is that the old pre-war trade equilibrium is being re-established. As the last review of trade for India concludes, "Imports in 1927-28 reached very nearly the pre-war level, thanks to lower prices and successive good monsoon which have increased the purchasing power of the country. Exports also were actually above 1913-14 level."

In the economic history of India the quinquennium following the year 1924 will be remembered as the epoch of the country's return to normal conditions,* whether as regards trade, finance or currency; and in this process of the restoration of the normal conditions (which had been disturbed by the war and its *sequelæ*), the new ratio has borne its part well. Allowing for changes in the price levels, the exports and imports trades have been regaining their pre-war level, and so has the balance of trade. Indian prices, too, have been kept steady, and we have an equilibrium of price level with other leading countries. Another feature of the period has been the removal of the disparity and divergence between the prices of agricultural and other products which was acting adversely to the interests of the agriculturist. Such a reversion of trade and price conditions to normal and healthy standards could not have been possible with a ratio which was unsuited to, or out of harmony with, the prevalent economic conditions. Had the present ratio been ill-adjusted to its economic environment, it would have rendered such a rapid and decisive re-establishment of the general economic equilibrium impossible. In fact, the best proof of a well-chosen ratio consists of its harmony with a steady and moderate price level and a healthy and normal condition of imports and exports.

* *Cf.* an article by Mr. H. A. F. Lindsey in the *Commercial*, published by the *Manchester Guardian* in January, 1921.

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THE BUTLER REPORT AND THE INDIAN PRINCES

By J. Saxon Mills, M.A.
(Barrister-at-Law, Inner Temple.)

The new Labour Government inherits a vast responsibility in India. Within the next year it will have to consider the Report or Reports of the Simon Commission, which are expected in about six months, and also the Report of the Butler Committee on the Indian States, which has already appeared. It will have to decide how far the views expressed by these two bodies are to be implemented, and on its decision will hang the future destinies of the whole of India with its 320,000,000 of people.

For these two Reports or sets of Reports cannot be considered in complete isolation from each other. It is true the older India of the Indian Principalities and lordships will not be directly affected by any changes wrought in the government of British India. But the Princes and their subjects must be indirectly touched by these developments and cannot be wholly unconcerned in the fortunes of over 250,000,000 of people, in the midst of whom the semi-sovereign States are placed. In the Reforms of 1919, the opinions of the Principalities were not asked or considered, but that cannot be repeated in 1929 or 1930.

In one important respect a distinction may be made between the two sets of India problems. In British India the political medium is always disturbed by the atmospherics of those extreme aspirations which look to the speedy disappearance of the British Power from India. No one can foresee what the attitude in this respect may be of any new and developed government of British India in which Indians may play a larger part. On the other hand, this anxiety is entirely absent from our deliberations with regard to the India of the States.

It is true that since the war there has been a general stirring of the waters in India, as elsewhere, and that the 700,000 square miles and the 72,000,000 people of the States have not escaped this effervescence. But the agitation for the removal of certain economic and political grievances and for a clearer and more satisfactory definition of the relations between the States and the British

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Power, has been quite free from the revolutionary ideas which have found expression in British India.

This steadfast loyalty of the States to the British Crown and Empire, which was so signally displayed during the Great War, is a steadying influence in India whose value can scarcely be set too high. But this strong conviction that the *Pax Britannica* is still as necessary as ever to the well-being of the whole country, does not mean that the Princes and their people are unprogressive or reactionary in their views about British India. The resolution moved by H.H. the Maharajah of Patiala and unanimously carried in the Chamber of Princes at Delhi, on February 13 of this year, is clear enough on these points. It reads thus:

> "While adhering to their policy of non-intervention in the affairs of British India, and repeating their assurances of sympathy with its continued political progress, the Princes and Chiefs composing this Chamber, in view of the recent pronouncement of a section of British Indian politicians indicative of a drift towards complete independence, desire to place on record that, in light of the mutual obligations arising from their Treaties and engagements with the British Crown, they cannot assent to any proposals having for their object the adjustment of equitable relations between the Indian States and British India, unless such proposals proceed upon the initial basis of the British connection."

The Principalities, however, were amply justified in raising the question of their own grievances and of their relations with the Paramount Power. The greatest ignorance prevailed in the Empire outside India on the character and position of the States.

It is not possible here to set out in detail the claims and grievances of the Indian States, which were the subject of the inquiry and report of the Harcourt Butler committee. The Magna Charta of the Rights of the States was Queen Victoria's Proclamation after the Mutiny, during which the steady loyalty of the great Northern Principalities saved the situation for the British Power:

> "We hereby announce to the Native Princes of India that all Treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of the Honourable East India Company are by Us accepted and will be

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scrupulously observed; and We look for the like observance on their part."

This assurance has been again and again repeated by Queen Victoria's successors. King George's Proclamation in 1921 ran thus:

> "In My former Proclamation (1919) I repeated the assurance, given on many occasions by My Royal predecessors and Myself, of My determination ever to maintain unimpaired the privileges, rights and dignities of the Princes of India. The Princes may rest assured that this pledge is inviolate and inviolable."

On these solemn and voluntary utterances of the Supreme Power the Princes base their view that the relations between themselves and that Power are contractual, and have to be established by searching the Treaties and engagements referred to and interpreting them on strict legal principles. From the early days of the East India Company the Indian Principalities have entered into these contracts. There is one common and essential factor in all the Treaties. The States surrender to the British Power the control of their foreign relations and military policy, and receive in exchange protection against all dangers and enemies. This defines the nature and limits of Paramountcy, and there is no evidence whatever for a view, which prevailed growingly in the Victorian days, that the Paramount Power has a residual and prerogatival right of interference in the native States, which can be exercised at discretion and without limitation when the necessity seems to arise.

The Princes maintain that this latter view, which is incidentally quite inconsistent in letter and spirit with the Royal Proclamations just set out, has given rise in the past to countless encroachments on the rights of the States both in the political and in the economic sphere. The assumption of the servants of the Crown has been that a vague residuum of jurisdiction, of which no mention is made in the Treaties, was left over to the Paramount Power. In the exercise of these discretionary rights the Crown has frequently assumed control of States during a dynastic minority, has deposed rulers, and behaved in general as though it were a feudal superior dealing with its dependents. It has claimed the right to remove from any State any personage whose presence might seem objec-

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tionable, and the supervisory duties of the British Political Officers resident in the States was often exercised in a manner so intrusive and provocative that the Prince of Wales was moved to write a formal protest on the subject to Queen Victoria. It scarcely needs to be said that with the growth since those days of a better spirit between the British administration and the States this particular grievance has generally disappeared.

In the economic sphere the effects of this fallacious and unfounded view of the relations between States and Paramount Power has been even more pronounced and trying. The Princes complain that their dominions have been made subject to legislation and administrative measures in British India which, though closely affecting the States, were devised by the Indian Government solely in the interests of British India. This has been especially so with the railway, currency, and salt policies of the British administration. But the most striking example is to be found in the customs tariff on goods imported into India. The States are chiefly devoted to agriculture. Their manufacturing industries are few. Their main object is, therefore, to obtain their cloth and other manufactured products as cheaply as possible. They were, of course, not consulted when the Government of British India is these late years made India a highly Protectionist country, incidentally, much to the prejudice of our English, and especially our Lancastrian, trade. The result has been that the people of the States have had to contribute largely to the customs revenues of British India through the higher prices of these imported manufactures. Yet they had no voice in devising this Protectionist tariff, and they have no share in the revenues thus raised at the ports.

It is estimated that the States contribute to the revenues of British India some 12½ crores (a crore is equivalent to £750,000). Under the various headings of Indian administration, railways, salt, customs, coinage, etc., it is calculated that the States swell the British Indian revenues annually by a sum of some £7,830,000, of which not a rupee is returned to them. Obviously, too, these calls on the people of the States make it increasingly difficult for their Rulers to raise any revenues for themselves by means of taxation.

In fact, as the Government of India becomes more and more popularised and controlled by Indian politicians, the problem of the relations between the States and the Central Indian Government becomes increasingly urgent. The

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Princes may have protested against undue interference from the Indian Government when it was almost purely British. But interference from a Government largely consisting of professional Indian politicians would be even more intolerable. It is a vital point with the Rulers that their relations are with the Crown alone, and they will not for a moment admit that the allegiance they owe to the Sovereign may be transferred to any legislative assemblies which may sit at Delhi.

Since the beginning of the present century, when the discretionary view of British Paramountcy reached its climax in Lord Curzon's assertion of "unchallenged sovereignty," there has been a great change in the spirit of British administration. Viceroys have leaned more to co-operation with the States than towards ascendancy and patronage. The old policy of keeping the Principalities isolated from each other has been modified, and they have been encouraged to confer and act together. In 1921 the Chamber of Princes with its Standing Committee and elected Chancellor came into being. It was in the same spirit that the Butler Committee was appointed last year to inquire into the relations of the States with the Paramount Power, and the grievances and disabilities of which they complained.

Before this Committee the case for the States was presented by Sir Leslie Scott, K.C., and the Committee itself reported last February. There will be different opinions on the nature of the Report as a whole. But it unquestionably concedes a large number of the political and economic claims advanced by the States. In many respects, therefore, it may be regarded as a victory for the Princes. It may be useful to enumerate the important points on which the case for the States may be said to have prevailed. One of the most vital of all the Princes' contentions was that their relations are with the Crown and not with the British Indian Government just outside their frontiers. There is no mistaking the conclusion of the Committee on this question, which, indeed, takes precedence of all others. The direct relationship of the States with the Crown is fully acknowledged and provided for. Paragraph 38 says:

> "We agree that the relationship of the States to the Paramount Power is a relationship to the Crown, that the Treaties made with them are Treaties made with the Crown, and that those Treaties are of con-

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tinuing and binding force as between the States which made them and the Crown."

The last paragraph of the Report speaks thus:

> "We particularly recommend that the Viceroy, not the Governor-General in Council, should in future be the agent of the Crown in its relations with the Princes and that important matters of dispute between the States and the Paramount Power and between the States and British India should be referred to independent committees for advice. . . . We hold that the Treaties, engagements and sanads have been made with the Crown and that the relationship between the Paramount Power and the Princes should not be transferred, without the agreement of the latter, to a new government in British India responsible to an Indian legislature."

It must be allowed that these words carry us a long way forward to a complete agreement on the most essential questions. The Report is no less explicit in its admission that each State has its own particular and individual relationship with the Crown, to be ascertained from the existing Treaties and engagements which, it is also fully allowed, are as binding upon the Crown as upon the States.

How far the Report, as a whole, maintains consistently these views, I shall discuss in a moment. On the economic, as distinct from the political aspect of the case for the States, the Report apears to be no less satisfactory. In paragraph 55 it states very precisely that the Paramount Power is not justified in interposing its authority to secure economic results which are beneficial only or mainly to British India in a case in which the economic interests of British India and the States conflict.

These are unquestionably very important admissions which might seem to satisfy all the substantial claims in the case presented by the Princes. I do not know whether the States will accordingly express their complete satisfaction with the result. It should be obvious, at any rate, that many of the grievances and encroachments of which they have complained in the past will now presumably be corrected. On the other hand, it cannot be overlooked that even on some of the more fundamental questions the meaning and conclusion of the Report are not so well-defined as could be desired. Vague reserva-

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tions and exceptions occur, which may almost have the effect of neutralising the main decisions which have just been enumerated.

For example, the Report seems to lay down quite firmly the principle that the relations between the States and the Paramount Power are contractual, to be ascertained in each case by the study of the Treaties and engagements it has concluded with the British Crown. By accepting the above-mentioned points the Committee would seem to have literally and implicitly admitted this essential principle. But in other paragraphs we seem to be thrown back on to the quicksands of the old discretionary view of Paramountcy. Instead of the sound principle that the States possess sovereign rights, except in so far as these have been surrendered to the protecting Power in Treaties and engagements, which he who runs may read, we have the competing theory, for which no documentary evidence is available, that the Paramount Power has a residual authority which cannot be defined and may, in fact, justify any interference of any sort in the affairs of the States.

In paragraph 39 we are, indeed, expressly informed that "the relationship of the Paramount Power with the States is not a merely contractual relationship, resting on Treaties made more than a century ago. It is a living, growing relationship shaped by circumstances and policy, resting, as Professor Westlake has said, on a mixture of history, theory and modern fact." Again, in paragraph 57, the Report refers to the difficulty of defining Paramountcy. In the case presented by the States the essence of Paramountcy was defined as the transference by the States to the Crown of their foreign relations in return for defence against their enemies. That is the common element in all the Treaties and engagements between the States and the Crown. The rights of the Crown as Paramount Power do not, according to the opinion expressed by Counsel for the States, extend beyond these points, though a certain discretionary power or "play" must be left to the Crown in carrying out the duties thus implied. But that is a different thing from the claim that the Paramount Power has a range of duty and right which is quite incapable of definition—and may justify any and every interference.

Yet such is the view which seems to be expressed in paragraph 57. "Conditions alter," we read, "in a changing world. Imperial necessity and new conditions may at any time raise unexpected situations. Paramountcy must remain paramount; it must fulfil its obligations, defining or

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adapting itself according to the shifting necessities of the time and the progressive development of the States." And, though elsewhere the Report adopts the view that the Treaties are still of binding force, we have it also stated that "in the Indian constitution an acknowledged supreme will decides every question which arises." One naturally wonders what, on this view, was the force and meaning of the successive Royal Proclamations concerning the sanctity of the Treaties.

It is difficult to reconcile some of these apparent contradictions. We seem to stagger again where we thought we firmly trod. I do not know what view the Princes themselves may officially take on the subject. The Report, as pointed out, does enshrine highly important admissions, which would seem to rule out for the future a wide range of grievance and disability. This may be regarded as a sufficient guarantee for the future. It may be felt, on the other hand, that the sovereign rights of the States, subject, of course, to ascertainable qualifications, are not so finally and firmly guaranteed as could be desired. On this question an official view has not yet been expressed by the Princes.

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THE DEFENCE OF THE NETHERLANDS INDIES

By Lieut.-General H. Bakker
(Late of the Netherlands Indies Army)

The term "Defence of the Netherlands Indies" refers exclusively to the repelling of foreign invasions, the combating of a possible foreign enemy, as opposed to the maintenance of Dutch authority against unrest and rebellion within the country—*i.e.*, war against a possible indigenous enemy.

So far, the Netherlands Indies have only once experienced an attack from outside, namely in the period of Napoleon I., when the so-called Kingdom of Holland was incorporated with France (1810-1813), as a result of which the Netherlands Indies became temporarily a French possession. In 1811, the Governor-General of (British) India, Lord Minto, equipped a considerable force under the command of Sir Samuel Auchmuty, and this force on August 4 of that year landed east of Batavia and defeated the Franco-Dutch troops. This British feat of arms is described in the book "The Conquest of Java" by Major W. Thorn, written in 1815.

The Netherlands East India Company (1602-1796), which reigned supreme in the Indian Archipelago, held there the command of the sea, so that it depended for purposes of defence almost exclusively on its fleet and disposed only of a small army for the protection of its factories and offices against inroads from the inhabitants and small enterprises by European competitors. When, however, in the second half of the eighteenth century the Company's position began to decline, its fleet also lost its standing, with the result that its command of the sea soon became a thing of the past. The part of the fleet still in existence when the Netherlands Government in 1798 took over the East India Company, with all its assets and liabilities, was in 1806-1807 totally destroyed by the British, under Admiral Pellew (afterwards Lord Exmouth), so that the Governor-General Daendels (1808-1811), who had to prepare for the defence against the British, could reckon only on an army too weak to defend all the islands of the Archipelago, or even the whole of the principal island of Java.

When in 1817 Holland recovered most of her former

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colonies, which between 1811 and 1817 had been in British hands, the defence of the Archipelago was immediately one of the principal cares of the Government, and has remained so to the present day, although it must be admitted that defence has not always received the attention to which it is entitled, considering the political and economic importance of Netherlands India for Holland's position in the world. It is remarkable, although quite comprehensible, that the question of defence only enjoyed the full attention of the authorities in Holland and those in the Netherlands Indies when complications in Europe awakened the fear that Holland might be involved in a war. This was the case in 1830 (Belgian revolution), in 1848 (general revolutionary movement in Europe), 1867 (the Luxembourg question), 1870 (the Franco-Prussian War), and 1914 (the World War). No sooner was the danger averted, however, than the interest in the defence dropped, sometimes below zero.

This latter symptom also appeared whenever internal disorders demanded in considerable measure the attention of the Government and necessitated the use of military forces. Thus the outbreak of the rising in Central Java (1825-1830), known as the "Java War," resulted in the shelving of the plans with regard to the defence of Java and certain other of the principal islands, contained in a "Memorandum for the Defence of the Royal Netherlands Possessions East of the Cape of Good Hope." The outbreak in 1873 of the war with Acheen, on the northern extremity of Sumatra, which for many years made such heavy demands on Holland's resources in men and money, occupied so completely the attention of both the Supreme Government in the Mother Country and the Netherlands Indies Government, that all consideration of the question of defence of the Indies against attacks from without was regarded as unnecessary, "as," it was said, "the interests of defence required in the first place the repression of internal risings, *in casu*, the war with Acheen."

This was not the first time indeed that the defence against attacks from without was discarded or at least made subservient to the maintenance of tranquillity and order within the country. In 1861 and 1862, the then Minister for the Colonies declared in the States-General that as no fears need be entertained of an attack on the Colonies, all plans of defence might be abandoned, and that the available funds should be utilized in rendering the army more suitable for its task of combating an indigenous enemy. If it were equal to that task, it would also be able to meet a foreign enemy.

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In 1876 another Minister argued that the principal task of the army was to take action against an indigenous enemy and that "the strategical question of defence against a European enemy is of secondary importance." In a later period the Supreme Government, through the Minister for the Colonies, expressed the opinion—which was shared by many others—"that the Netherlands East Indies as such would never have to contend with a serious attack, as the keys to the Indies lie within the fortress of Amsterdam, so that the most that the Indies might be called upon to do would be to guard against raids undertaken by a few ships of the enemy, *i.e.*, against *coups de main.*

These and like pronouncements, of course, did not promote interest in the defence question or its rational solution, and elicited many vigorous protests on the part of successive commanders of both land and sea forces. It is only fair to mention that sometimes, even in periods when war did not threaten, the Supreme Government devoted more than usual attention to the defence question; this was the case, for example, in 1899, when a system of defence, adopted in 1892, had not been organized to the extent expected and, presumably for this reason, a military expert, a retired general of the Dutch army, was appointed Governor-General. Under his régime defence measures were energetically taken in hand; fortifications were constructed, not only in Java, but also in other islands—for example, in Pulu Weh, an island on the northern extremity of Sumatra.

In course of time numerous commissions have been appointed to advise the Government concerning the best system of defence, and consequently many plans have been formulated, which have either partly or entirely been carried out, but continuity, which is so necessary in the sphere of defence, is conspicuously absent in the history of the defence of the Netherlands Indies. Lack of space prevents me from giving even a concise survey of the various plans, but certain principles may be mentioned, which may be said to have been maintained, if in a more or less modified form. In so doing no secrets are violated, for the history of the defence system of the Netherlands Indies—as far as its main lines are concerned—is common property; it is publicly discussed and criticized in the two Chambers of the States-General in Holland, in the Volksraad in the Netherlands Indies, and also in the press, whilst an extensive historical survey of the defence system is to be found in the Encyclopedia for Netherlands Indies.

The very rational principle of relying in the first place on

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the navy for the defence of such extensive insular possessions could not be adopted by Holland, because its resources in both men and money do not permit of maintaining a navy calculated to guarantee the command of the seas in the face of the navies of the surrounding Great Powers, which in the course of time have shown a steady increase. However, there has been no lack of plans and proposals to have the navy play the principal rôle in the defence, sometimes even at the cost of the army.

It should not be deduced from this, however, that in defence the navy has ever been, or is today, a negligible quantity. On the contrary, the navy will always be called upon to meet the first shock of any attack. We have gradually become familiarized, however, with the idea that the navy will not be able to play indefinitely the rôle which it will assume at the beginning of hostilities, and that after its first efforts the turn of the army will come.

It would be beyond the resources, both financially and otherwise, of even a Great Power to put all the numerous islands of the Archipelago in the same state of defence, and, as a matter of fact, this is not necessary, because certain of those islands would not be of the slightest use to any eventual assailant, and for that reason will never be exposed to attack. An energetic defence of the more important islands would, indeed, have been possible if the scheme proposed by the Government in 1915-1917 for the introduction of compulsory military service for the native population had been realized. This would have given us a militia force of a few hundreds of thousands; as it is, the scheme has been abandoned, and we have to be satisfied with the European militia in addition to our expensive volunteer army. It is in the first place the island of Java—from an historical, political and economic point of view the most important island of the Archipelago—which demands a strong defence. This point of view is not of recent date; on the contrary, in practically all the defence schemes which have successively been drafted the defence of Java occupies the foremost place, whilst the safeguarding of the other islands is, apart from the fleet, entrusted to those parts of the army which are stationed there to maintain peace and order.

With regard to the defence of the island of Java, which is about four times the size of the mother country, various principles have gradually been adopted, which, however, all had in common one feature—viz., they all naturally placed the safeguarding of the seat of government and of the

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naval bases in the foreground. As is well known, the seat of government has from the very beginning been established at Batavia, at a very short distance from the north coast. Although the Governor-General has his principal residence at Buitenzorg, about thirty miles south of Batavia, practically all Government Departments and Government bodies are established in the last-named town. Considering, further, that Batavia, founded in 1619, on the ruins of Jacatra—the capital of the erstwhile native realm of that name—has always been the centre of trade and commerce, it becomes clear why great importance has always been attached to the undisturbed possession of Batavia. At one time it was decided to fortify the town as strongly as possible and, together with this, to concentrate the defence of the whole island on the capital; another time the difficulties involved in the defence of a town with such an unfavourable strategical situation were regarded as insurmountable and a transfer of the seat of government to the interior was several times advocated, either immediately and permanently, or as soon as war threatened. Thus the transfer of the seat of government to places in Central and Western Java, with simultaneous concentration of the defence of the whole island in those districts, was at one time seriously contemplated and, partially, even prepared. The idea has even been broached of fortifying East Java and to transfer the seat of government there in times of war.

In 1912 it seemed as if a beginning would be made with the transfer of the seat of government. Indeed, in that year, funds were appropriated for the building of a new War Office at Bandoeng, to which town, in 1922, practically all sections of that Department had been transferred. The transfer of the Department for Government Control of Railways, Mines, etc., followed later, but no further transfers took place, so that Batavia is still the principal seat of government.

Naturally in the Netherlands Indies, as elsewhere, a struggle has been waged between "dead" and "living" means of defence; in other words, there were periods in which it was believed that a vigorous defence was only possible if based on strong and costly fortifications. These were followed by others in which salvation was solely expected from a mobile, well-trained, and well-equipped army. Numerous, indeed, have been the fortifications, which not only in Java but also in the other islands have been planned, constructed, utilized, and after a while left to the wear and tear of time. The Netherlands Indies have

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passed through these various evolutions in the system of defence at the cost of great financial sacrifices.

As mentioned above, the interest of both the Supreme Government and the Netherlands Indies Government in the defence of Holland's Asiatic possessions declined seriously after the late World War, and this despite the fact that it was realized during that time, to a greater extent than ever before, that the East Indies formed an important centre of international politics. Whilst on the one hand this may be regarded as a reaction from the efforts which both Holland and the Netherlands Indies had to make to preserve neutrality during the war, on the other hand an important factor was the unfavourable condition of the State and colonial finances and the creation of the League of Nations, of which Holland immediately became a member.

At that time, indeed, it was generally believed that the Government expected the League of Nations to banish war, and that for this purpose it aimed at limiting the forces to a minimum and at reducing the army to the status of a "police army." An army commander, who resigned in 1920, declared publicly and emphatically that at that time the army was not in a position successfully to resist any foreign power bent on the conquest of the Netherlands Indies. The position of the naval forces was not much better. Both in the navy and in the army, indeed, a spirit of depression and discouragement reigned, which found expression in Parliament in Holland, in the Volksraad in the Netherlands Indies, at meetings of the Service clubs, in military organs, and in the daily Press.

To all these and similar protests the Government could not shut its ears, and a first symptom of a revival of interest in the defence of the Indies is to be seen in the appointment in 1920 of a Commission in Holland, composed of representatives of the Navy, War, Colonial, and Financial Departments, to draft a scheme of laying down ships covering the next few years, in order to arrive at a logical composition of the fleet.

The proposals of that Commission, which in the first place concerned the defence of the Netherlands Indies, were submitted to the Netherlands Indies Government, which in its turn appointed a special "Defence Commission," to advise concerning the question as to how, in connection with the plans of the Dutch Commission for naval defence, it would be possible to arrive at an efficient defence of the Netherlands Indies, whilst keeping within

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the limits of the presumably available resources in men and money.

The advice of this Commission was accepted by both the Netherlands Indies Government and the Supreme Government, but as a result of the unfavourable financial position, it was only possible for the time being to appropriate funds for the extension of the navy.

The proposals introduced for this purpose were passed by a large majority in the Netherlands Indies Volksraad; in the Second Chamber in Holland, however, where certain members, in view of the results of the Conference of Washington, opposed the Navy Bill, the discussions dragged on until the Chamber went into recess.

Again, in 1924, a draft Naval Bill was introduced, providing for a slower rate of construction and retrenchments on the working cost. The discussions on this Bill aroused great excitement throughout the country. The opposition to the creation of a Netherlands Indies defence system ultimately assumed the character of an action—carried on chiefly under the leadership of the Social Democratic Labour Party—against the Government in power. The Bill was finally rejected, though only with a majority of one vote.

The preamble of the two above-mentioned Bills described their object as "strengthening the naval forces with a view to the *defence* of the Netherlands Indies"; now that Parliament, although with the smallest possible majority, had declared itself averse to all measures of defence, and the naval material in the Netherlands Indies being in urgent need of revision, the Government in 1925 again brought in a Naval Bill, not purporting to provide for the defence of the Netherlands Indies, but only for maintaining neutrality on the principle that Holland has in any case to provide forces to preserve neutrality in any possible conflict between other nations. The Government declared that it abandoned all idea of a maritime defence against attacks on a large scale "because effective security against such attacks would require expenditure, especially as regards 'dead material,' which—also in view of the small prospect of such attacks—was out of proportion to the results to be expected." For the Netherlands Indies a "neutrality fleet" of about half the strength proposed in the two preceding Bills was considered necessary. This Bill met with energetic opposition in the Netherlands Indies Volksraad, not only on the part of those who opposed all defence measures on principle, but also, and even more energeti-

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cally, from the side of those in favour of strong defence measures. Nevertheless, it was passed by 23 votes to 21. It was, however, not laid before the Home Parliament, as it was the opinion of the Government that "the work of Geneva renders undesirable a definite plan of defence extending over a great number of years."

This attitude of the Government with respect to the defence of the Netherlands Indies gave rise to numerous protests in the Press and at public meetings, whilst in the Netherlands Indies Volksraad great interest continued to be manifested in the question of defence. The Netherlands Indies Government, however, was not prepared to make known its intentions regarding its defence plans, still forming a subject of discussion with the Home Government. These discussions ultimately led to the Home Government in 1927 laying down the principles of defence, which were communicated to the Volksraad and became public property.

These principles defined the aims of the Netherlands Indies military forces as follows:

1. The maintenance of Netherlands authority in the Archipelago against disobedience and rebellion.

2. The execution of Holland's military duties, as a member of the League of Nations, towards other nations, which task—apart from co-operation in the carrying out of military sanctions of the League with all available means—is confined to the preservation of strict neutrality in conflicts between other Powers.

The organization and equipment of military forces are based on the principle that the maintenance of neutrality in Java is the task of the army with the support of the navy, and outside Java that of the navy, which at especially vulnerable points—such as the places where liquid fuel is stored and worked—will be supported by the army.

The naval forces in the Netherlands Indies will consist of a seagoing fleet, floating material for local defence and for purposes of blockade, the naval air forces, and the naval forces on shore.

As to the army, the strength of the infantry is to be determined by what is necessary to perform the task specified in Section 1. In so far as the infantry is stationed in Java, it will be organized, armed, equipped, and reinforced by auxiliary arms and services for the preservation of neutrality in Java.

It was on this basis, the Netherlands Indies Government stated, proposals for the defences would be made.

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The actual organization of the two component parts of the Netherlands Indies military forces, the Navy and the Army, can be briefly described as follows:

THE NAVY.—The naval force in the Netherlands Indies forms part of the Royal Dutch Navy. This has not always been the case, for the first naval force which was created in 1816, after the colonies had been restored, was entirely independent of the Dutch Navy and bore the name of Colonial Navy. Its chief task was to combat piracy, and the greater part of the crews were Asiatics. Besides this naval force there was generally a squadron of the Royal Dutch Navy in Indian waters, and it was to the Commander of this squadron that the control over the Colonial Navy was also given about the year 1830. In 1838 the safety of the Netherlands East Indies was considered in every way sufficiently guaranteed by the Dutch squadron, together with the boats (cruising prahus),* which since 1821, under the authority of the Residents, were especially charged with combating piracy, and the Colonial Navy as such was abolished.

Whilst in the first half of the nineteenth century the principal task of the naval forces was the upholding of Dutch authority against native princes and peoples and the stamping out of piracy and slave-trading, in general the guarantee of peace and order throughout the Archipelago, after 1850 the question of the rôle that the Navy should play in the defence system became more prominent. This question, as has been seen above, is at present still being discussed.

In 1864, greater unity was achieved in the organization of the navy by the creation of a Navy Office at Batavia, with the Commander of the naval forces as chief. In 1876, the first armoured cruiser arrived in the Netherlands Indies and the first torpedo boat in 1888. According to a Royal decree of 1896, the fleet in the Netherlands Indies was composed as follows:

(1) Men-of-war energetically to defend Holland's rights and interests and to uphold her sovereign authority in the Archipelago, also in the eyes of the inhabitants.

(2) Men-of-war for the defence of ports and roads.

(3) Men-of-war suitable for compelling the inhabitants to respect authority in the Indian Archipelago.

(4) Guard-ships and surveying vessels.

The vessels indicated in Section 1 bore the name of the Dutch Squadron in the East Indies.

* These prahus are the predecessors of the still existing Civil Marine.

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The Russo-Japanese War and especially the voyage of the Russian Baltic fleet to Japan, which revealed the difficulties inherent in the preservation of neutrality, led in 1906 to the creation of a State Commission to draft a more efficient composition and repartition of the naval forces in Netherlands India. This Commission recommended the forming of a fleet, exclusively composed of torpedo-boats and manned with crews in the colonial service, which was tantamount to the restoration of a Colonial Navy.

The Government shelved this advice and appointed in 1912 another State Commission with more extensive powers than the first, viz. to consider the organization of the defence of the Netherlands Indies both on land and sea, from a political, technical and financial standpoint. In 1913, this Commission proposed the construction of a fleet of powerful battle-cruisers with accompanying torpedo-boats and of an adequately defended naval base. A considerable number of the crews were to be recruited from the naval militia.

No proposals in the matter had been made by the Government when the outbreak of the World War relegated the matter to the background. The naval policy then followed appears sufficiently from the foregoing. It may be added that despite the non-materialization of the Naval Bills, the Navy in the Netherlands Indies has nevertheless in recent years been strengthened by some modern cruisers which were paid for out of the ordinary Budget, whilst the number of destroyers, submarines and seaplanes has gradually been increased. Since 1923 young men of European origin liable for military service are also drafted into the Navy.

THE ARMY.—Before 1918 the Netherlands Indies land forces were exclusively composed of professional soldiers, the vast majority of whom belonged to the indigenous races of the Archipelago. In that year young men of European origin were for the first time incorporated and subjected to compulsory military service.

In the infantry, the various races form separate companies, so that in addition to European there are also Javanese, Sundanese, Ambonese companies, etc. An experiment begun in 1912—avowedly to increase the fighting value of the various units—by including various races in one and the same company, proved unsatisfactory and was discontinued in 1919. In the other arms Europeans and non-Europeans served in the same unit (battery, squadron, etc.).

The Royal Decree of May 23, 1917, which imposed on

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those inhabitants who are Dutch subjects the obligation to defend the country, rendered possible the introduction of compulsory military service in their case. As already mentioned this compulsory service for Dutch subjects of European origin was introduced in 1918. Proposals to extend it to subjects of Asiatic origin or foreign Asiatics placed on the same footing have so far been unsuccessful.

The military service is personal and applies to all male (European) inhabitants who are Dutch subjects and from 19 to 45 years old. At the age of 32 years the militiaman passes from the militia to the "landstorm." The militiamen live in barracks and are trained separately from the volunteers and, as far as the infantry is concerned, are incorporated into separate companies also in times of mobilization. They form the fourth companies of the field—battalions.

Practically *pari passu* with compulsory military service the system of a reserve of officers was introduced in the Netherlands Indies army.

In 1913, the opportunity was created for youths of Asiatic origin or those assimilated with natives to be trained as officers at the Royal Military Academy in Holland on the same conditions as youths of European extraction. Only a comparatively small number of young men have so far availed themselves of this opportunity.

The above-mentioned Academy is, since 1928, the only institution for the training of professional officers. Up to 1894 such training was also given in the Netherlands Indies, as far as the Infantry and Military Administration were concerned, at the Military School at Meester Cornelis, Java, which has since been closed.

The Netherlands Indies Army consists of a field army and garrison troops. The former is stationed in Java and the latter distributed over the other islands.

Up to 1907 the peace formation of the field army was not in accordance with the war organization, because no organic connection existed between the infantry and the other arms, whilst the greatest organic unit of the principal arms was formed by the battalions. For military expeditions and for manœuvres of mixed troops, separate units were always used in combination under a command especially created for the purpose and also with temporary staffs. In 1907 these very undesirable conditions were put an end to by the formation—in time of peace—of "mixed brigades," each composed of 4 infantry battalions, 1 artillery section, 1 squadron of cavalry, 1 machine-gun company, half a company of engineers, trains and accompanying services. The

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brigade commander was at the same time territorial commander in the district in which the troops included in the brigade were stationed.

In 1922 the field army was redistributed by detailing it into divisions, coupled with the introduction of regiment formation in the arms where such was possible and also with a revision of the territorial division of Java, as the division commanders were placed in command of the territorial sections. A division of the field army now comprises 3 infantry regiments, of 3 (in case of mobilization 4) battalions each, besides a machine-gun company, 1 battalion of light infantry, half a regiment of cavalry of 3 squadrons, 1 artillery regiment, composed of one field section, one mountain section and 1 howitzer section, one company of cyclists, one company of engineer troops, trains and auxiliary services. Outside the frame of the division there are a number of infantry sections, heavy artillery, technical troops, orderlies and the Air Force. Further, every arm in Java has its depot, in which the newly arrived troops are trained and the cadre is formed.

From the infantry field troops in Java the garrisons in the other islands are kept up. These troops are, according to their strength—which depends on the size and importance of the district—organized into detachments, companies and battalions. The European militiamen residing in some of the districts are also incorporated in those sections of the garrison troops. The territorial command in the districts outside Java is in the hands either of officers especially appointed, or of the Commanders of the troops garrisoned in the district.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

HEALTH PROGRESS IN INDIA

By Sir Thomas Carey Evans, M.C., F.R.C.S.

I must first of all thank you for the honour you have done me by inviting me to address the Association this evening. In accepting your invitation, I felt that, whatever my inexperience in addressing a gathering like this, I would be amongst workers in the same field, and that my audience would be full of sympathy, and deeply interested in the progress and welfare of their fellow beings in India. Your Association was founded to promote the "welfare of the inhabitants of India," and I am sure we are all agreed that health work, efficiently carried out, is far and away the best means of furthering this laudable object.

Your Chairman, Sir Harcourt Butler, during the many years he served India, was intimately associated with health work in all its spheres. He gave every support to various voluntary health organizations such as the Red Cross Society and St. John Ambulance Association. He served for many years at Delhi and Simla on the committees of the Dufferin Fund, the Lady Chelmsford League, and Lady Minto's Association. They owe him a great debt for the labour he so ungrudgingly devoted to them. Indeed, any appeal sent to him as Governor of the United Provinces or of Burma in connection with the branches of these societies in those provinces was never in vain, while his record in Burma in matters relating to public health and welfare will remain for all time as a monument of his foresight and vision. The Harcourt Butler Institute of Public Health at Rangoon is the first of its kind in India and Burma; it is bound to have a beneficial influence in years to come, and I sincerely hope it will be an example to be followed by the other provinces.

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The title of this paper covers a very big subject and relates to a continent far more diversified than Europe. There is so much that can be said even about the progress of only one of its provinces that I cannot hope to cover the subject either to your or my own satisfaction. The most I can do is to touch on conspicuous points and to leave you to interrogate me, if you subsequently wish to do so, upon omissions or whatever may be obscure.

Curative Work

To appreciate progress on the curative side of this great work, I must refer to the early history of our connection with India. One of the most widely known stories thereon is the legend of Gabriel Broughton, the surgeon of the ship *Hopewell*. He was sent for to attend the daughter of the Emperor Shah Jahan who had been badly burned. Luckily for us he effected a cure and made such an impression upon the Emperor that when he was requested to name his own reward, he asked for and obtained liberty for his masters, the East India Company, to trade in Bengal.

Factories were established on the River Hughli, the site on which Calcutta with its two million inhabitants is a thriving city today. This was the beginning. We had to protect by garrisons this privilege to trade, and the death-rate amongst our troops and traders from the so-called tropical diseases was exceptionally heavy. The knowledge of the causation of disease and its prevention was in its infancy, and though our primary purpose in our various enterprises in the East was trade and commerce, the question of the health of the traders and of garrisons became an important factor. Today the health of the Britisher in all tropical countries is so dependent on the health of our coloured fellow subjects that we cannot advance without that greater reward of their progress as well.

The study of tropical diseases started with our garrisons, chiefly by officers of the Indian Medical Service, the Service which has done so much in the investigation of the cause and

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prevalence and cure of these diseases. Today the benefit of our researches in the fight against disease is not confined to India but is given to the whole world. Our whole destiny as a nation today depends more and more on the development of our tropical possessions than on any other factor. The whole scientific world recognizes and utilizes the epoch-making discoveries of Sir Ronald Ross in connection with malaria, the discovery of emetine in the treatment of dysentery and of the saline treatment of cholera by Sir Leonard Rogers, and the recent researches of Colonel MacCarrison on food values and goitre. Diseases hitherto held to be hopelessly incurable, such as kala-azar and leprosy, have now been brought well within the realms of curative medicine. Hookworm disease, so prevalent amongst tea-garden coolies, is rapidly being controlled, and at the present rate of progress a few years hence will be a disease of the past. Unhappily, though our researches into the causation and prevention of plague have been invaluable, we have not as yet discovered a remedy for this vile disease.

I would like to mention one other disease, and that is tropical sore. We first came in contact with the malady during the siege of Delhi in the Mutiny, when 75 per cent. of our troops were attacked by this unpleasant affliction. It was then christened Delhi boil. It was discovered that the disease was conveyed by a species of sand-fly and was always associated with insanitary surroundings. Today it hardly exists at Delhi, and during the three years I spent there I never saw a single case. This in itself is proof of what efficient hygienic measures can do in the eradication of disease.

Contrasted Pictures

Sir Nilratan Sircar at the opening of the All-Indian Medical Conference on December 28 last, speaking of the noble workers to whom I have referred, used such terms as "alien aloofness and apathy," "sneers of self-sufficiency,"

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and "arrogance and self-righteousness." Such phrases on the lips of a well-known medical practitioner in a medical conference are not quite suited to a disquisition on the value and progress of medicine to suffering humanity; nor does it promote the universality of medicine, which has, up to now, known neither race, creed, nor country as a barrier.

Having quoted one Indian authority, I must now quote another—Hans Rama Rau, the editor of a medical paper called the *Antiseptic*. In an essay in which he recalls the various contributors to his journal during the twenty-five years of its existence he warmly acknowledges the assistance rendered by British officers in the raising of the status of the subordinate medical services. To fully understand this, we have to be conversant with the early beginnings of the training of assistants in the various hospitals established by the officers of the Indian Medical Service. Then he alludes to regularization of the practice of lay vaccination, the suppression of quackery, the promotion of public health legislation, and the great progress in medical education generally throughout India. He concludes by exhorting members of the medical profession in India and abroad to cast aside all racial and geographical prejudices and to work together for the common interest of suffering humanity.

The sentiments expressed by this well-known health worker in India provide a true picture of the progress generally accomplished, and are an inspiration for further efforts. The services rendered to India in the vast field of medicine and hygiene by British workers are written large and cannot be decried. Co-operation in other spheres may be lacking, but here it is easy and essential. Medical men in India and elsewhere may be entitled to have strong political views and racial feelings, but these should never prevent their working together without acrimony or jealousy, if only because they are labouring in the one great field for the good of common humanity.

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Medical Administration

As many of you know, with the advent of the Reforms all medical matters were classed as "transferred." Hence each province is directly responsible for the administration of all sanitary and medical matters. Whether this is an advantage or not does not concern us. Let us hope anyway that it will encourage a healthy rivalry between the various provinces in all matters relating to hygiene generally. I can never imagine any province declaring war on its neighbour because of its lower infantile or general mortality-rate, or on account of the greater efficiency of its sanitary service. Time must be the best judge of the value of this great change.

The position of the Central Government in medical affairs today is that of a tactful co-operator, keeping a benevolent eye on each province and ready at all times to step in when its advice or help is needed. It still exercises important powers in respect of infections and contagious diseases, and takes part in medical activities of an international character, maintaining a special cadre of experts to deal with these problems. It also makes annual grants to the Indian Research Fund Association, which has during the last few years carried out important researches into various aspects of malaria, plague, cholera, tuberculosis, maternal and infant mortality, and numerous other matters. Valuable results have been obtained from the researches of the Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine, the Malarial Survey of India, the Haffkine Institute at Bombay, and the Central Research Institute at Kasauli. So important is research work considered by the Central Government that it invited two important International Congresses on Tropical Medicine and Hygiene to meet in India during 1927-8 The subjects discussed at these two conferences ranged over the whole field of tropical medicine.

The question of medical education in the various Universities and teaching colleges has within the last few years been thoroughly investigated by a deputation from the

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General Medical Council of Great Britain. Recommendations have been made with a view to their co-ordination and to the improvement of medical education generally, while the establishment of an All-India General Medical Council on similar lines to that which exists in this country will very shortly be an accomplished fact.

It will be seen that the Central Government has still great responsibilities. It is supplying the essential stimulus with a greater power and force than at any previous time towards progress in the field of hygiene generally. Up to recent years all improvements in sanitation and hygiene were entirely the work of the State, and naturally in such a huge continent progress was slow. It had to be made against great obstacles and with greater expenditure of money and labour than elsewhere, and as we find in other matters, what is in England "one problem" is in India a mass of problems, many of these being deeply rooted in traditional usage or in some complicated religious custom.

Public Health Officers

The devolution of the powers of the Central Government to the various provinces is producing a healthy rivalry, and we can safely state that remarkable progress is being made in each and every province. Briefly, each province has its Minister for Health and Education, who is the head of the department dealing with medical and sanitary matters. He has usually three medical experts—(1) one for sanitation and public health, (2) one in charge of hospitals and medical schools, and (3) one in charge of jails.

The first of these officers is responsible for the general supervision of sanitary and welfare work, and within the last few years has been an official director of propaganda, such as cinema and lantern shows, lectures in schools, and the distribution of pamphlets on health and hygiene. This latter branch of the work has progressed in an extraordinary manner within recent years. A definite demand has been created, and is rapidly increasing amongst the masses, for

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information relating to health matters and hygiene generally. This demand has arisen especially since the Great War. There has been a spirit of progress in all countries, but nowhere greater than in India.

This demand has been fostered to a large extent by various voluntary organizations, such as the Red Cross Society, the St. John Ambulance Association, the Lady Chelmsford League for Child Welfare and Maternity, and particularly by that wonderful institution established and organized by the Marchioness of Reading when she was Vicereine of India—National Baby Week. All these societies have been notably assisted by the lay press, both English and Indian. The newspapers in India have exercised a great influence in this respect. The majority of editors are only too willing to come to the assistance of workers, both official and voluntary, when questions of health and sanitation are concerned.

Water-Supply

The incidence of such diseases as cholera, enteric, and the dysenteries is still high. These being water-borne diseases, those of you acquainted with India will appreciate the difficulties that exist in establishing proper water-supplies, even for the larger towns. It is only within living memory that any attempt has been made to supply such important cities as Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta with a protected water-supply. Today all the provinces are paying urgent attention to this important question; but one of the greatest obstacles is finance. Religious bigotry was a serious obstacle years ago. The question whether a Brahman may drink tap-water or not is of little importance at the present day.

However, human memory is short, and I would remind you that only a hundred years ago there was a serious outbreak of cholera in this very city. Enteric was endemic. London was then drained by sewers flowing alongside the streets directly into the Thames. There was no separate house

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drainage except of the most primitive and insanitary type. The drinking-water supply was obtained from wells sunk in the immediate vicinity of cesspools and of the scandalously overcrowded burial-grounds. No wonder devastating epidemics of cholera and enteric occurred. This description of the city of London would be equally true of all the cities in the British Isles a hundred years ago. To judge progress it is essential to look back a few generations. Today all our cities and towns have a plentiful and reliable water-supply and an efficient system of drainage. The experience we have gained through the study and progress of hygiene in England and its application in our colonizing enterprises has been one of the outstanding factors in our success as builders of the greatest Empire in the history of the world. We can safely say that great progress is being made in India with (1) water-supplies, (2) conservancy, and (3) food control and general medical arrangements.

Malaria

Malaria is the disease whose insidious inroads vitally affect the whole of India, and any accurate mathematical estimate of its ravages would astound us all. It is only within recent years that either the people of India or the local and provincial authorities have given it serious thought. Many of the provinces now have special officers with a requisite establishment to investigate malarial conditions, and to advise the Governments and local authorities. It will take many years before the individual Indian is educated sufficiently to grasp its importance. No easy solution of the malaria problem exists. Each town, each village, each area, has to be judged on its merits, and preventive measures planned to suit local requirements. The physical and geographical features have to be carefully considered in addition to the social and economic status of the people concerned.

Colonel Christophers, of the Indian Medical Service, a few years ago made a rough estimate from the various

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Census returns that there were 80,000 insane, 200,000 deaf-mutes, 500,000 totally blind, and 130,000 lepers—a total of 910,000 persons who can scarcely be said to live. Christophers in his report shows also how preventable diseases hinder industrial expansion, interfere with public administration and trade, and specially affect the rural labouring classes. The influence of these diseases extends far beyond India. Shipping and other firms have to pay their agents higher salaries for living in an unhealthy country. In fact, everyone connected with a disease-stricken territory suffers one way or another.

We hear of unrest in India so constantly that we have got used to it. Every country where disease is rife is a restless country. The people are unhappy and discontented. They do not know what they want, and what they have they cannot appreciate. The prosperity of any country must depend on the health of its people, and the power to produce must also be governed by the health of the producers. The increase of the knowledge of hygiene has invariably led to happiness, contentment, greater efficiency in every sphere, and an increase of understanding and appreciation.

Dr. Bentley, the Health Officer for Bengal, in a recent report, referring to the high infantile mortality rate of 500 per 1,000 throughout the whole of Bengal, gives the following reasons for this: (1) The premature marriage of the parents; (2) the debility that arises from malaria; (3) the lamentable lack of appreciation of even the most elementary rules of hygiene.

When life is begun under conditions that lead to the death of one child out of every two, the vitality of the survivors is not likely to be other than poor, and if the general standard of vitality is low and the power to resist disease diminished, the prosperity of India cannot increase at the rate it would otherwise do.

Education and Propaganda

The real solution of India's health problem lies in one thing, and that one thing is the spread of education on

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proper and practical lines. The reduction of the death-rate to a reasonable level and the general improvement in the public health must be brought by the people themselves. They must be taught the necessity of preventing disease and the need for abandoning customs and superstitions whose ultimate effect is to hamper that essential work of prevention. It is by personal contact and personal example that the ignorant and conservative individual can be best convinced of the error of his ways.

As I have mentioned, each province is at the present time carrying on an intensive propaganda scheme, and I will give a few examples. During 1927 in the Madras Presidency 91,827 lectures were delivered in 41,000 centres to nearly 5,000,000 people. One-eighth of the total population of this Presidency were reached by this means. Audiences were drawn from all classes of society, but mainly from the labourers of the rural areas, who are completely ignorant of even the elementary principles of hygiene and of the facts relating to the causation, spread and prevention of disease. Five years ago nothing of the kind was being attempted.

Because ideas conveyed through the eye leave a more lasting impression than those conveyed through the ear, it has been the policy of this province to equip each health inspector with a magic lantern and slides. 8,800 demonstrations were given during 1927, compared with 6,000 in 1926. This work cannot be carried out without trained personnel, and during 1927 the Madras Government sanctioned the appointment of eight new health officers in eight municipalities. Thirty-four out of the eighty-one municipalities in this presidency now have their own health officers.

A special establishment for the investigation of malaria has been recently created, and the results have already in many districts amply justified its existence. I will quote you an example. During the last two years a vigorous anti-malaria campaign was carried out by the specially

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trained staff in a given area. In 1925 the original inhabitants of this area were found to be very severely infected. During 1926-7 the report reads thus: "Malaria as a source of disability has been practically negligible in this area.' You may ask why this is not done all over India. It would be impossible. The question of finance immediately arises, and also the small numbers of trained workers. Progress will have to be gradual.

Again, in the Punjab in 1927 the number of hospitals increased from 780 to 885—approximately 12 per cent. There was an increase of 870,480 in the number of patients attending. The report shows that the pressing need of this province is for more and more women doctors.

Speaking of hospitals, I must refer to the remarkable success of a member of your Council, Sir Leslie Wilson, in inspiring the generosity of the people of Bombay, as in war days Lady Willingdon did. Sir Leslie founded in 1925 what is now known as the Governor's Hospital Fund for Bombay, which is designed to add 2,000 beds to the inadequate hospital accommodation of the Western India capital, and will be continued on a permanent basis on the lines of the King Edward's Hospital Fund for London.

The progress in the Central Provinces has been phenomenal. After perusing the reports of the various provinces, I consider it must take first place in the development of child welfare and maternity work, and also in the opening of new and modern hospitals.

To give you some idea of the activities of the Bengal Presidency, twenty-nine municipalities have now their own water-works, and the report states that on the whole the future municipal administration of Bengal may be anticipated, if not with optimism at least with hopefulness. In the far-away province of Assam the local boards spent 29 per cent. of their free income on education, 24 per cent. on communications, and 23 per cent. on public health. Here, as in all the provinces, there is remarkable awakening and all-round progress.

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The Work of the Englishwoman

There has been no nobler or greater influence shown in any of our efforts for the welfare of our fellow subjects in India than by the wives of Viceroys and Governors of provinces. I was for three years Honorary Secretary of the Dufferin Fund, the Lady Chelmsford League, the Victoria Memorial Fund, and the National Baby Week. When I reflect on the excellent work carried out in the past, in spite of public apathy, financial stringency and lack of encouragement—save that of the moral righteousness of their cause—I feel that these ladies, the originators of these excellent organizations now spread all over India, will for ever live in the hearts of the masses of the people of India.

Today the harvest is appearing and the energy expended is yearly becoming a more and more powerful force for moral and physical progress in the field of hygiene. From a small beginning in the days of the Countess of Dufferin, only barely fifty years ago, there are today twenty-eight modern hospitals in British India alone for the treatment of women, and hundreds of widely spread dispensaries.

The Indian States have not been behind. Progress can be safely claimed as far as they are concerned, and it would be invidious on my part to mention any particular State. Progress in a State is largely dependent on the enlightenment of its ruler, and a few of the States are exceptional in this respect.

The medical women are far too few in number for the work that lies before them, and here I must criticize the attitude of the Central Government. The influence of women in India, though they are relegated to a much lower status than they are in England, is felt in every direction. The majority of them secluded in zenanas exert their influence over the home life, over their children—the future inhabitants of India. They have a subtle but powerful influence over the political future of India. We have not considered them sufficiently in the past for the simple

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reason that a Government of men only could not approach them, and the only way of enlightening them is through our and their own womenfolk.

The Women's Medical Service, with its ridiculously small cadre, has accomplished wonders, and it will be agreed that any expansion of its activities will result in benefits to the women and children of India vastly out of proportion to the expense incurred. Under the devolution arrangements the Central Government is unwilling to incur any additional expenditure for Dufferin Fund doctors working in the provinces, whilst the Provincial Governments refuse to make any contribution or to take over this branch, apparently thinking that the Central Government should bear all the expense. In the meantime, here is a noble service dwindling away and losing heart, being left in mid-air without encouragement or support, excepting from its own meagre funds. Women doctors are working under great disabilities, with far more work than they can cope with. I would like to read a few extracts from some of the reports for this last year. They are pathetic in their earnestness.

(1) The year has been a satisfactory one, the work showing a remarkable increase in all departments—our chief difficulty being an insufficient number of beds, in spite of requisitioning all the available verandah space and using charpoys. The hospital is decidedly understaffed, and it is impossible to arrange for holidays or sickness without throwing an undue strain on the remaining members who are already doing over the full share of duty!

(2) The extensions are urgently required in the interests of the patients and staff, and I hope they may be proceeded with forthwith. It would indeed be a poor economy were they delayed.

(3) This year my report on the working of the hospital is very satisfactory, in spite of the fact that we are threatened with bankruptcy. The one result of our poverty throughout the year has been that we have had to exercise not only the strictest economy in our expenditure, but actual parsimony in admitting and treating patients in this hospital. In spite of all this, our number of new indoor patients has increased by 17 per cent. over that of last year.

These are not isolated examples. Every hospital report shows a remarkable increase in every sphere of activity. This is the one service that can ameliorate the hard lot of the women—the many millions of the women and children

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of India—but it is being sacrificed at the altar of political reform. The Junior Maharani of Travancore a few months ago, in her excellent speech upholding the women's cause in India, made these cryptic remarks:

> No doubt it will be said, as is said of every shortcoming, that the Government is to blame. It is to blame if we urge that a Government is wrong to respect the prejudices and religious inhibitions of the people over whom it rules, but on no other ground can the charge be made. The ignorance in which women are kept reacts on the whole national life. Not only does it prevent the home being the school of the child in its early years, but it denies to the schools a resource without which no nation has ever educated itself. Illiteracy, one of the greatest obstacles to hygiene, has no position at the present day in this world.

General Conclusions

Health progress is such an involved question in India. Hygiene is so dependent on education, engineering, economics, and the question of finance, that it is extremely difficult to define its boundaries. Statistics are extremely unreliable, and can only be approximate in a country where the registration of births and deaths is not carried out methodically. Still, these show a definite improvement. The infantile mortality and the general death-rate are still far too high when compared with European standards. Compared with ten years ago in such cities as Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras, from an average of between 600 and 700 per thousand it has been brought down to 500 per thousand.

Though disease is being controlled, there are still the social customs and religious habits to contend with. The question of child marriage is a social problem which only Indians themselves can tackle. Great progress has been made both in India and this country with regard to food values and vitamins. The school examination of children which is carried out in certain areas of the Bombay Presidency showed that a high percentage of the children attending school were suffering from food deficiency diseases, 66 per cent., not from lack of food, but the wrong food. Again, 70 per cent. of the students at the University of Calcutta showed signs of some physical defect or other. Again, here,

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the evil effects of certain social customs is noted, and the only means of abolishing them is by health propaganda and also by encouraging the development of civic responsibility.

With regard to such diseases as cholera, plague and malaria, smallpox, kala-azar, and hookworm, we have the requisite knowledge to stamp them out, but knowledge is not sufficient. Money is required, and determination to carry out the measures for their prevention. It follows that the problems are not entirely medical. They are now chiefly financial, administrative, and educational.

Effective reform in every public health sphere is by steady processes. The golden age is still far away and is not a matter of generations but of centuries, and the record of progress in tropical medicine and hygiene is unequalled in any other branch of this great science. I have not told you anything like the whole story. If I attempted to do so I should weary you. I wish I could have told you more from the inexhaustible store of the potentialities and the fascination of the subject. The story of the efforts of British doctors, men and women, in India is a romance and an epic, and we can safely say that no Government in the world today can show a better record of State aid in regard to medical research, medical education, and medical relief than the Government of India. Only those who know India intimately can appreciate the obstacles to progress and the difficulties which have had to be faced.

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DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held on Tuesday, April 16, 1929, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., when a paper was read by Sir T. Carey Evans, M.C., F.R.C.S., on "Health Progress in India."

Sir Harcourt Butler, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., presided, and the following ladies and gentlemen, among others, were present: Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., The Right Hon. Sir Leslie Wilson, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., C.M.G., D.S.O., General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir Herbert Holmwood, Sir William Ovens Clark and Lady Clark, Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., and Lady Walker, Sir Charles Armstrong, Mr. J. A. Richey, C.I.E., and Mrs. Richey, Mr. Surendra Nath Mallik, C.I.E., and Mrs. Mallik, Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Lady Chatterton, Sir Frederick A. Nicholson, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Leonard Rogers, C.I.E., M.D., F.R.C.S., M.R.C.P., Mr. Henry Marsh, C.I.E., and Miss Marsh, Sir George Barnes, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., Sir Cecil Walsh, Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. F. W. H. Smith, C.I.E., Mrs. Ameer Ali, Dr. and Mrs. G. Carmichael Low, Dr. Elizabeth Sloan Chesser, Mrs. Coatman, Mrs. Nolan, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Maulvi Farzand Ali, Mrs. and Miss Harris, Mr. Scott Bremner, Mr. Frederick Grubb, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Miss A. A. Morton, Miss Margaret Brown, Miss Corfield, Miss Bennett Clark, Miss Macpherson, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Khan Sahib and Mrs. M. H. Kothawala, the Misses Kothawala, Miss Caton, Dr. Shah, Mr. W. E. Bennett, Rev. Dr. W. Stanton, Mrs. Bremner, Miss Curteis, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. B. C. Singh, Mr. Nair, Dr. Menon, Miss Brady, Mr. L. Bundaram, Mr. G. A. Dempster, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

Sir LOUIS DANE: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Before we proceed with the ordinary business of the meeting it appears to the Council that it would be suitable and appropriate on the part of one of the oldest Associations connected with India if we at this meeting passed a resolution of condolence with the members and officers of the Legislative Assembly on the dastardly outrage committed in that Assembly on April 8, and expressing our condemnation of the action of the bomb-throwers, their instigators and abettors. I am sure that a resolution of this kind does not require much commendation by me to you.

We must all feel very deeply on this matter, and those who happened to be present in December, 1912, when a similar outrage took place, and a bomb was thrown at Lord Hardinge on the occasion of the taking over of Delhi by the Government of India from the Punjab Government, must feel all the more deeply. It is probably not known to all of you, but it is a fact that Lord Hardinge largely brought that outrage upon his own head. It was owing to his own courage and misplaced confidence in the affection of the people that he refused to have the ordinary police precautions taken which for the fifty years during which Delhi had remained under

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the charge of the Punjab Government had secured practical immunity from such outrages as that which occurred at Delhi. The absence of those ordinary police precautions was the cause of the outrage, facilitated it, and rendered it impossible to secure the person who threw the bomb.

Speaking as one of a generation that is passing away, I think that it is not always a good thing to scrap those arrangements, administrative and otherwise, which in a great country have succeeded in securing peace, prosperity, and progress, and to introduce in place of them possibly excellent arrangements for securing a different form of administration until they have been adequately tried out. At any rate, the experience of the Government of India since they took over Delhi seventeen years ago has, I am afraid, been singularly unfortunate, culminating in this last outrage in the very home of that representative government which was to work such marvels for the benefit of India.

A good many of us must have been rather apprehensive lest the explosion of this bomb in the Chamber of the Assembly at Delhi should have similar consequences to those which followed the explosion of the powder barrels seventy years ago outside Clerkenwell Prison in London. It was those explosions which convinced a great statesman in London that Home Rule had been brought within the range of practical politics for Ireland, and what has been the unfortunate fate of that country almost ever since and even at the present time? We are very glad to see that Lord Irwin, the Viceroy, did not take that easy course, but has shown that he is prepared to insist upon the maintenance of order in India in the most effective way it is possible for him to do, and we must all be very grateful to the Viceroy for asserting himself at this very decisive moment. I have no doubt whatever that the events which have occurred, beginning with the outrage that was intended to wreck the train of Sir John Simon and his colleagues, the various outrages and riots that have occurred in Delhi and other places in India since they have been out there, and, finally, this outrage on the eve of their departure from India, will at any rate have given them some idea of the difficulties which attend the introduction into that country of systems and arrangements based upon experience in other totally different countries, which may or may not be suited to the conditions which at present prevail in India. I would ask that you would signify in the usual way your assent to the message of condolence and condemnation which I have suggested.

The motion was carried by acclamation.

Sir LEONARD ROGERS said the subject dealt with by the paper which had been read by the lecturer was so important that it was only possible to touch on a very few points. He had been particularly interested during the past few years in the epidemic diseases of smallpox and cholera. It was now possible to forecast those epidemics six months before they arrived, having regard to meteorological conditions, which enabled preparations to be made for dealing with them. The average incidence of smallpox had greatly decreased, owing to vaccination, compared with the sixties and seventies. With regard to cholera there had

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been no reduction in the last sixty years in India, which was very disappointing, and was largely owing to the bad water supplies in the villages. The incidence of cholera also depended in some degree on climatic and meteorological conditions. Inoculation against cholera was not used in India as much as it ought to be, though it had been successfully used in the Dutch East Indies and French Indo-China. Malaria had also been mentioned by the lecturer. Dr. Bentley, one of the great medical workers in India, had pointed out that malaria in Bombay was due to a particular mosquito which bred in wells. Attempts had been made to remedy that state of affairs, but there were considerable difficulties in the way, which were mainly due to the uneducated Indians refusing to allow their wells to be made mosquito proof. The financial losses owing to malaria in Bombay had amounted in seventeen years to £5,000,000. With regard to kala-azar, owing to the new treatment in the last epidemic of that disease in 1918, the mortality was negligible as compared with the previous one, in which the mortality was very high indeed. It was very desirable to educate the people in India as much as possible in public health matters with a view to the prevention of the diseases he had mentioned, and steps were being taken in that direction by the establishment of a Public Health Institute in Calcutta at the cost of the Rockefeller Foundation. There was great ignorance on the subject of hygiene and sanitation. On one occasion he had seen a notice at one end of a water tank: "This end of the tank is reserved for drinking purposes," and at the other end there was the notice, "This end of the tank is reserved for washing purposes." More recruits were now being obtained for the I.M.S., which would now be able to do greater work than formerly. They would be able to concentrate considerably more on research, on which depended the future progress of medicine in India. (Applause.)

Dr. CARMICHAEL LOW (London School of Tropical Medicine) thanked Sir Thomas Carey Evans for his very interesting address. He said that the subject of health progress in India, as in the tropics generally, was one of the greatest importance. Sanitation in many parts of the tropics at the present time was in the same condition that existed in England one hundred years ago, a condition that could truly be called deplorable. The first thing in dealing with hygiene was to discover the cause of disease, because by knowing this one could devise the necessary methods for combating the spread of it. Prevention was always better than cure, but one must remember that even though the exact germ was known in many diseases, such as diphtheria, cholera, and typhoid fever, yet one had not been able to completely stamp out these maladies, although by knowing the exact cause great progress has been made in that direction.

When the speaker began tropical medicine under Sir Patrick Manson thirty years ago many of the tropical problems were still unsolved. The brilliant work of that great physician, together with that of the equally brilliant research worker Sir Ronald Ross, had, it is true, solved the problem of malaria and had shown that that disease was spread by mosquitoes, but many of the others still remained. In those days the

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young workers were sent abroad to various parts of the globe to study the different diseases found there, and in his own case India was considered too healthy, so he was sent to Central America and Central Africa.

The speaker said he could give the audience many examples of the progress which had been made in tropical medicine during the last thirty years. In the case of many tropical diseases an insect intermediary was necessary, and if this could be removed, the disease came to an end. Acting upon the discovery of the part which the mosquito played in the spreading of malaria, an American Commission discovered that yellow fever was also spread by a similar insect—a mosquito of a different genus. Once that knowledge was obtained, steps were taken to prevent people infected with yellow fever from being bitten by mosquitoes, and war was also directed upon the breeding grounds of the latter. The results had been extraordinary. In Havana, where yellow fever had been endemic during the time of the Spanish occupation, the disease was completely eradicated and Havana was, at the present day, as safe from infection with yellow fever as was London. It was the knowledge of the part which the mosquito played in the spreading of yellow fever which had enabled the Panama Canal to be constructed. De Lesseps had failed in his attempt to carry out this work not by reason of any engineering difficulty, but simply because of disease which swept off the workpeople in hundreds. Gorgas, having the knowledge of how the diseases were spread, was able to prevent them and so allow the engineers to carry out this great work.

In Africa the great disease of sleeping sickness was now known to be spread by certain kinds of tsetse fly, and by studying the habits of this insect and knowing where exactly it lived, one had been able to move the natives out of the infected zones and so save countless lives. Kala-azar had been mentioned by the lecturer. Thirty years ago every person who contracted that disease died, but as a result of recent discoveries in curative medicine, the death rate had been reduced to something like 10 per cent. only. This wonderful achievement was due to the fact that antimony given into the veins was a specific against the cause of the disease. The history of the intravenous use of antimony was in many respects like a fairy tale. This drug when given by the mouth causes severe vomiting and when injected into the tissues causes sloughing and ulceration. On account of these disadvantages, though it was known that the drug was antagonistic to the trypanosome which causes sleeping sickness, its use had to be given up in this disease. Then came the great discovery of Professor Broden and Dr. Rodhain on the Congo, who found out that this toxic drug could be given directly into the veins of a person without producing appreciable harm. This wonderful knowledge led to the general use of antimony in cases of sleepy sickness, and then it was tried in other diseases as well. Kala-azar was one of these, and as had just been said, the intravenous use of antimony had reduced the mortality of that disease to practically nil.

With regard to India, it was only a matter of time and a gradual education of the population, to get enormous advances in hygiene. The advance

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in all matters tropical in the last thirty years was astounding. Rome was not built in a day, and the Tropics would not be rendered as healthy as England in a day either. We were on the right road, however, and future generations would reap the benefit of the work which was being done now. Though we might not ourselves see these advances, yet they would come and render the Empire more habitable as regards health generally, and diminish the pain and suffering of the many unfortunate individuals doomed to death by diseases which preventive medicine in the future might eliminate altogether.

Dr. ELIZABETH SLOAN CHESSER said that Indian health visitors should be trained in large numbers and sent to the villages. There was great need for health work in Indian villages. Many of the girls trained in India remained at present in the towns. As infant welfare work is more and more distributed throughout India, a great reduction in infantile mortality will be effected. She had been informed that in those areas where infant welfare clinics had been established the infantile mortality had been greatly reduced.

Mrs. COATMAN said the present state of affairs in India was largely due to the lack of education, particularly of the women. Education of the women would be more effective in spreading knowledge of hygiene than would education given to the men. It was extremely difficult to educate the women in the towns and still more difficult to educate the women in the villages, but she was certain that education of the women was the one thing that would bring about the salvation of the country from the standpoint of advance in health and sanitation and in regard to the social services which they had been considering. Mention had been made of the wonderful work done by English women in connection with health in India, but in her opinion Indian women really deserved a great deal more credit. It was comparatively easy for the English women to do all sorts of things in connection with health and sanitation which in the case of Indian women needed a great deal of courage to undertake. To an English woman it did not appear to be a very great task to demonstrate the sterilization of clothes by boiling, for instance, but it was another matter in the case of a high-caste Hindu lady, who would say: "I am turning myself into a dhōbi." Such things meant much more to Indian women than could possibly be realized in England. By Indian women taking up social work was the only way in which their country could progress on the right lines, and they needed more support, encouragement and praise than they were likely to get, because people did not realize at what cost they were doing the work. The fact that England was now kept free of diseases which in London were prevalent a hundred years ago was mainly due to education, and the same thing would apply to India. In England the Women's Institutes all over the country had been very useful, and she thought the same sort of organizations would be most beneficial in India. Anyone who knew English villages twenty years ago and at the present time would realize that there was an enormous difference. The houses were the same, there was still great lack of drainage and conservancy, but the way in which

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the subject of sanitation and hygiene was attacked was entirely different, which was very largely due to the influence of the Women's Institutes in the villages. The movement had spread through England like fire through stubble. It had been started in India, but mostly in the towns and under different names, but when it spread to the villages they would have the beginning of the health revolution for which they were all looking. (Applause.)

Mr. MALLIK said he had spent most of his life in connection with sanitation work in India, and, although a layman, he would like to say a few words on the subject of malaria. Coming from Bengal, bad health was part of his inheritance, and that alone, if not anything else, gave him a right to speak. The most important question in Bengal at the present moment was the question of sanitation and public health. Next in importance came the question of education. At the present time it was hopeless to try to impress upon the masses that malaria was a preventable disease. Sir Malcolm Watson had gone out to India to give the message of hope that it was so, and that at an economic cost.

In his native village a clinic had been started with considerable difficulty. At first only five or six patients per week had attended, but after six years the number had risen to over six hundred. That showed the splendid results which had been achieved, amongst which one was the revival of the spirit of self-help. He had had the good fortune of working with British women for many years, missionaries and others, and they commanded his highest admiration. Indians were under a debt of the deepest gratitude to them, not only in the region of medicine, but in many other matters. (Applause.) The I.M.S. have also rendered excellent service. He was glad to find it admitted in the paper that since the Department of Public Health had been transferred to Indian ministers the propaganda work, which was of vital importance, had been started in India. Such work can always be best done by the educated Indians themselves.

He was sorry to find that there was no mention in the paper, which was a most excellent one, of the fact that the total percentage of taxation spent by the Government in India in sanitation and in education was out of all proportion small for the needs of such important departments affecting the vital interests of the people.

Sir LESLIE WILSON said he spoke with diffidence, because he was a layman who had neither the practical experience of Mr. Mallik nor the technical knowledge of the members of the medical profession who had addressed the meeting, and he would not have spoken at all but for the very generous allusion to the hospital scheme which he had had the honour of inaugurating in Bombay. The need for further and better hospitals in Bombay when he arrived there in 1923 was apparent, and he and his friends had inaugurated a large and ambitious scheme for providing 2,000 more beds, because the hospitals were in a very bad state and because there was not at that time a single children's hospital, there was no dental institute, and there was hardly a maternity hospital. They would not have tried to go forward with such an ambitious scheme if they

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had not recognized that the people themselves were anxious and desirous that something should be done at once, the best evidence of which was that, within the space of three years, the public had subscribed a sum of no less than Rs. 15 lakhs towards the scheme which had been inaugurated. That proved that the work of education was going on very rapidly among people of all classes and of all creeds in India. He had appealed to the working classes in the mill area in Bombay, and those people, whose wages were small, had subscribed in one day a sum of no less than Rs. 30,000 towards the Hospital Fund (cheers), which proved that they were realizing more and more the value of those institutions to their wives, their children, and themselves. Another fact which proved that Indian women and men were realizing the great importance of health propaganda was that they attended lectures on health subjects in thousands. Allusion had been made to infantile mortality, which undoubtedly was a very serious matter in India. To remedy that trouble more attention must be paid to the subject of midwifery. There was at the present time a great deal of superstition, many old customs, a lack of sanitation and hygiene in connection with midwifery. With regard to the work of Indian women in India, he knew of the sacrifices which they had made. They were working with excellent results, and he thanked the Indian women most warmly for the efforts which they were making for the good of India.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have very few observations to make at the end of this most interesting discussion. The thing that impresses me most is the enormous progress which has been made since I first went to India, nearly forty years ago. If anybody had told us then that the results which have been achieved today would have been achieved within forty years he would have been simply laughed out of the room at any gathering, whether Indian or European. When we have that encouraging fact before us, when we see the enthusiasm which exists in many quarters, I feel very hopeful indeed in regard to the future. The great work which has been done has been accomplished by the I.M.S. first of all, by a large number of most devoted Indian medical officers, men and women, by very devoted service on the part of medical missionaries, by eminent ladies, such as the wives of Viceroys and Governors of Provinces, but most of all, I think, in the face of the greatest difficulties, by some of the ladies of India themselves, who have exposed themselves to obloquy and ridicule in order to help their country. It is a great privilege at any time to hear any remarks from a man like Sir Leonard Rogers, who is one of the great men of his generation, and whose name will be long remembered. Sir Ronald Ross cannot be here. I should like to say how greatly I appreciate their work. I happened to be the first Minister of Education and Public Health in India, and in those days we had Sir David Semple, Sir Pardy Lucas, Colonel Christophers, Colonel MacCarrison, and Dr. Bentley, whose name has been mentioned and who has done such magnificent work. There is a whole host of other workers who between them have achieved results which

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I think we may all, Indians and Europeans alike, look upon with pride; while not forgetting the difficulties which they have to contend with, I am confident that in time they will be overcome. (Applause.)

Dr. PARANJPYE, in moving a vote of thanks to the Chairman and the Lecturer, said that a specially welcome feature of the paper was the note of co-operation between Indians and the British in these questions of public health in India. In matters of hygiene and sanitation there could be no difference of opinion. The main difficulty in the way of rapid advance was one of finance. India was a land of villages, and only some 10 per cent. of the population lived in towns. Even supposing all these towns were provided with adequate facilities in preventive and curative medicine, the larger problem still remained.

In this connection he referred to the scheme initiated by General Hooton, who was Surgeon-General in the Bombay Presidency while he was Minister in Charge of Medicine and Public Health. That was to provide a class of *paricharaks*, or first-aid men, who would treat some very elementary but common ailments like sore eyes, boils, etc., act as health supervisors and, above all, explain to people where to go for adequate treatment. At his suggestion General Hooton proposed to make use of some teachers in village schools, who would be given some three months training in a hospital under the direction of some enthusiastic civil surgeons. Batches of these teachers had been trained in some hospitals like Poona and Sholapur and had been found to do very valuable work when they went back to the villages. The small cost involved in the scheme gave very good return, and he recommended its extension on a wider scale.

The LECTURER, in thanking the meeting for the vote of thanks, on behalf of the Chairman and himself, said that he had been asked what the missionaries had done for India in connection with public health matters. They had done magnificent work, and the time would come when Indians in large numbers would pay pilgrimages to Leicester to see where William Carey began his great pioneer work for Indian advancement. He admired the enthusiasm and determination of Mr. Mallik. If there were more like him, India would progress. He (the speaker) had been closely concerned with the inception of the National Baby Week. He had been told it would be a failure, but Lady Reading had been determined to carry it out, and it achieved the most outstanding success that such a venture had ever attained in any country. In the world competition for the best Baby Week held, the shield had gone to the people of a town in Madras, Bellary (Cheers). That showed the spirit which they wanted Indians to have, and it was necessary to encourage them. That was the only hope for the future of India. As long as they had examples of the kind to which he had referred, they could rest happy and contented.

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A NATIONAL SCRIPT FOR INDIA

By A. Latifi, o.b.e., ll.d. (Dub.), m.a., ll.m. (cantab.), Bar.-at-Law, i.c.s.

Eighteen years ago, in the course of a lecture on a similar subject, the Rev. J. Knowles told this Association that there are more alphabets in current use today in India than there have been in all time in the rest of the world. The problem of a simple system to replace this jungle of scripts has, indeed, long occupied many far-sighted men of all communities, who see in a national alphabet an instrument not only for uplifting the Indian masses, but also for the building of an Indian nation. The matter has lately come into special prominence on the adoption of the Roman characters instead of the Arabic as the national script of Turkey.

At the outset of this discussion it is necessary for us to understand clearly that the question of a common or national script has no direct connection with the question of a common or national language. The so-called genius of a language has really no more to do with the symbols by which its sounds are represented on paper than it has with the markings on a gramophone record. Take, for example, the Hindustani language, the Indian *lingua franca*. You find it written at present in three distinct alphabets—Devanagri, Arabic, and Roman—to the comparative satisfaction of large numbers of persons. A system of writing is only a means to an end, not an end in itself: it should not be made into a fetish.

I would further ask you to remember that many scripts, such as the Devanagri, Zend, Arabic, Gurmukhi, and others, have come to be venerated by millions of people as being the vehicles of their sacred literature. These scripts must, therefore, be treated with respect, and I would not dream of suggesting their supersession for religious or even

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semi-religious purposes. The Hindu will always want his *shástras* to be written in Devanagri, just as he will continue to offer worship in his temples, and the Muslim will read his Koran in the traditional Arabic alphabet, and pray to Allah in his mosques. All this, however, is very different from using the sacred scripts for the purposes of ordinary life. Indeed, from some points of view it would seem to be as much a sacrilege to use the Devanagri or Arabic scripts for business as it would be to employ a temple or a mosque for a grain market or a stock exchange.

Three Choices

Turning now to our main theme, I would say that there are only three serious candidates for the position of the national Indian alphabet—the Arabic (as modified for Hindustani), the Devanagri, and the Roman—and it is interesting to recall on the threshold of a discussion of their relative merits that they are all derived from one common Semitic ancestor, the Phœnician. The Arabic letters, as we now know them, were formed about the fourth or fifth century A.D. from the Nabatean, which again were derived from the Phœnician.* The Devanagri were developed by the Brahmans even later—*i.e.*, about the sixth century A.D. —from the ancient Brahmi, which, derived directly from the Phœnician, were imported by Banya traders into Western India about 800 B.C.† As for the Roman, it is not necessary to remind this gathering that they are direct descendants of a local variety of the Greek, which in their turn sprang from the same Phœnician.‡

Arabic

Let us now consider the points for and against these three rivals, the Arabic, the Devanagri, and the Roman.

* "Encyclopædia of Islam," vol. I., p. 382.

† Fleet and Bühler's "Indian Paleography," app. to vol. 33 (1904) of the *Indian Antiquary*, pp. 10-17 *passim* and p. 49.

‡ Isaac Taylor: "History of the Alphabet" (1893), vol. I., p. 73 *et seq.*; vol. II., p. 24.

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As for the Arabic, it still holds a position second only to the Roman in literary importance and geographical extent in the world, and is the most widely spread, if not the most widely used, vernacular alphabet in India. Its chief merit is that in its cursive variation it can be written faster than the others, and that in its *naskh* form it is somewhat less difficult to print than Devanagri. Against this it is generally admitted that the Arabic script is in all its forms difficult and irksome to read even when written with diacritical points, and when written without them cannot be understood except by a person thoroughly conversant with the language.

The first modern Persian to voice the defects of the Arabic script was His Excellency Mirza Malkam Khan, Persian Ambassador to Great Britain, who declared in 1875 before the Royal Society of Arts in London that "it was his profound conviction that one of the principal causes of the backwardness of the Persian people as compared with the Europeans was the Arabic script. . . . With such a system of writing regeneration was impossible."* A similar protest was raised about the same time in his own country by Akhoun Zadé, an Azerbaijan Turk, who began a movement that grew, with varying fortunes, until finally in 1922 a Committee for the adoption of the Roman in place of the Arabic was formed in the Soviet republic of Azerbaijan.

The Baku Pan-Turk Conference of 1926 followed with a resolution on the same lines†—a resolution which profoundly affected opinion in Kemalist Turkey, with results that are too recent and well known to need recapitulation.‡ It is interesting that, although Mustapha Kemal effected the reform with the avowed object of curing the illiteracy of the Turkish masses, he had to beat down the opposition of the *ulema*, the schoolmasters, and other representatives of vested interests, who are as conservative in Turkey as elsewhere.

* *Journal of the Society of Arts*, vol. XXIII., p. 290.
† *Revue des études islamiques*, Paris, 1927, pp. 321 *et seq.*
‡ *Ibid.*, 1928, p. 591.

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Among the Muslims of India I may cite H.H. Sir Sultán Mahomed Shah, Aga Khan, who declared in the course of his presidential address to the All-India Muslim Conference at Delhi in December, 1928, that "both the Persian and Urdu scripts present serious difficulties in the primary stages of education, and it is a matter for deliberation how far we can improve and simplify or change our script."

Devanagri and Roman

It now remains to discuss the relative merits of the Devanagri and the Roman, but before doing so I would impress upon you that it is not a relevant objection to the latter that it is being misused in the writing of English, the European language with which educated Indians are the most familiar. If the Roman is not scientifically used for representing the sounds of English, it is not the fault of the script, because it can be, and actually is, used correctly for many languages—*e.g.*, Italian. It is, therefore, no argument against the Roman to point to such an English word as *through*: it is open to us to devise a Roman system under which this would be printed, say, ꓶ R ꓭ.

Further, the fact that the Sanskrit grammarians have devised an almost perfect system of speech sounds in no way gives preference to Devanagri. There is no reason why an alphabet based on the Roman, like the one I will suggest later in this lecture, should not be arranged in accordance with the Sanskrit system of speech sounds.

To help you to decide on the relative merits of the Devanagri and the Roman, I could not do better than reproduce the following extracts from an unpublished note recorded by a distinguished member of the Indian educational service:

A very large proportion of the literary vernaculars of India, including many not of Indo-Germanic origin, are written in scripts either identical with or closely allied to Devanagri—that is to say, in scripts which, in the present connection, may be regarded as identical with that of Sanskrit. If, therefore, it can be shown that Sanskrit itself is capable of being

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written with not less, but greater phonetical accuracy, and at the same time far more easily, clearly, and simply in Roman than in Devanagri, the same proof will in very large measure serve to establish not only the sufficiency but the superiority of Roman as compared with Devanagri or any related system in writing vernaculars possessing sound-systems similar to that of Sanskrit or capable of being written in Devanagri or a related script.

In the accepted pronunciation of Sanskrit the Devanagri alphabet recognizes no more than thirty vowel and consonant sounds, which in the transliteration generally adopted by European scholars are represented by thirty-one symbols. Of these, twenty-one occur in the English alphabet; eight are ordinary Roman letters, also in the English alphabet with diacritical marks—*e.g.*, Ṡ,Ṣ, etc.—one is the symbol "ṅ" ("ng" in "sing"); the last being the "macron," used to indicate long quantity in vowels. The eight characters with diacritics may, as I have said, easily be replaced by symbols without them.

The thirty distinct sounds will be represented by exactly thirty easily formed and clearly differentiated Roman characters, which may be used with perfect consistency and regularity, the same sound being invariably expressed by the same symbol without any modification in form, no matter in what combination. In the performance of the same task—that is to say, **IN THE REPRESENTATION IN WRITTEN CHARACTERS OF THIRTY SPOKEN SOUNDS—THE DEVANAGRI SCRIPT EMPLOYS NO FEWER THAN 280 DIFFICULT AND OFTEN HIGHLY COMPLICATED SYMBOLS.** This remarkable excess of symbols over sounds is, of course, mainly due to the employment of composite symbols to represent combined sounds—a device partly unavoidable in Devanagri, but happily unnecessary in Roman.

Let me summarize the chief points in which the Roman script is, on practical grounds, markedly superior to the Devanagri and related alphabetic systems. On no ground, practical, scientific, or æsthetic, can the latter claim any advantage. They are at every point conspicuously inferior. In justice, however, it should be noted that in some scripts based on Devanagri, such as Canarese, a partially successful striving in the direction of convenience and economy is apparent; but no Indian script, I believe, approaches, within measurable distance, the simplicity and sufficiency of the Roman.

1. The Roman symbols are simpler and clearer, hence easier to read and form.

2. The total number required is far smaller—a matter of great importance to the learner, as also to the printer.

3. In print the Roman characters can be reduced in size to a much greater degree than the Devanagri, without much sacrifice of clearness. This means greater economy in various directions.

4. The absence of confusing composite symbols. Each individual sound, no matter in what combination, is indicated invariably, without modification in form, by one and the same symbol.

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5. The sequence of symbols corresponds exactly to the sequence of sounds represented. (Contrast Devanagri, in which, amongst other anomalies in the sound sequence, a consonant or consonant-group followed by the short vowel i, the vowel-symbol precedes the consonant-symbol even when the consonant belongs in sound to a preceding syllable.)

6. Word-division is observed and syllable-division is at least not obscured, and may be clearly indicated. In Devanagri both, in defiance of practical convenience and not seldom of phonetic correctness, are in large measure ignored.

To the above remarks I need only add that there can be no more convincing proof of the defects of the Devanagri than its actual supersession for practical purposes by innumerable other scripts—*e.g.*, the Kaithi in Behar and the Landa in the Punjab—which are inferior even to the Arabic in accuracy and general efficiency. On the other hand, the inherent superiority of the Roman is proved by the fact that in his monumental work on the "Linguistic Survey of India," Sir George Grierson has represented with scientific accuracy the sounds of the 179 languages and 544 dialects of India, 743 in all, by a Roman system of transliteration which is after all only a makeshift and is capable of much improvement.

Only a small number of new symbols need to be added to the existing Roman characters in order to complete, without resorting to diacritical points, a comprehensive common script capable of transliterating adequately all the languages and dialects of India. A script so formed would in reality only be a modification—an easier form—of the English alphabet which ever-increasing numbers of Indians are eagerly learning.

A Retrospect

All this is no new discovery. The general use of the Roman script for the languages of India was first mooted a century and a half ago by Sir William Jones, the idea being revived in the thirties of last century by Mr. (later Sir Charles) Trevelyan and his friends.* The movement

* *Cf.* Monier-Williams: "History of the Application of the Roman Alphabet to the Languages of India" (1859), *passim*.

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has since been continued, chiefly by the zeal of Christian missionaries. The action of the Indian Government has been confined to the lines laid down in the 25th paragraph of the Handbook on "Educational Training in the Indian Army," which provides that "Roman Urdu is the common language and script in the Indian Army, and will be taught in all units. . . ."

I would ask you to mark this paragraph 25. It is, perhaps, the beginning of a great current in the rising tide of Indian nationalism.

Proposed Expert Committee

The proposals I submit for the consideration of the Government of India are modest and, I trust, entirely practical. I only ask them to follow the lead of the Government of the Gold Coast and appoint a small but strong committee to devise, with suitable technical help, a scientific script based on the Roman to take the place of the existing clumsy one under which the sepoy has to write ACHHCHHA instead of اچھا or [illegible]—a system that not only brings the Roman into discredit, but imposes an unnecessary burden on the learners. As now written, the Roman can never hope to make headway against competitors who are already in possession of the field with all the prestige of long usage and communal sentiment.

The Government of the Gold Coast have already found an enthusiastic imitator in that of the Sudan, and I trust that some of the distinguished experts present will be able to confirm from first-hand knowledge the statement that the reformed Roman script as now officially adopted for the native languages of British West Africa has been found to be better in every way than the unmodified English system which was previously used. A system that the West African negro has found so easy will surely not be too difficult for the Indian soldiers or their officers.

Once a really efficient form of the Roman script is

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adopted by the Indian Army, its inherent superiority will immediately make itself felt. Every Indian soldier will become a centre for its spread in the countryside.

Some Suggestions

The details of such a reformed script should, of course, be left to the Expert Committee, but I may be permitted to suggest for consideration a few points that have impressed me in the thirty odd years during which I have taken a practical interest in the subject:

1. The printed alphabet should consist of only one series of letters, capitals being indicated by larger and thicker type. There is no reason why a reader should be burdened with the knowledge of two sets, capitals and small letters, the existence of which in European alphabets is due to purely historical reasons.

2. Each distinctive sound should have a symbol of its own, separate letters being provided, as is done in the Devanagri, even for composite sounds such as those now written *phh*, *bhh*.

A series of interesting experiments conducted by M. Lamare, a French scientist, has established that the eye takes in a printed line of Roman type in instalments of about ten letters at a time.* It is therefore obvious that a language is handicapped if its common sounds are represented by more than one letter.

3. The written characters should be as near as possible to the printed, and be easy to form and to read.

4. The printed alphabet should adopt as many of the Roman capital letters as are found suitable. These are clearer than the small letters, and therefore cause less strain to the reader's eyes.

For new symbols wherever required the Devanagri and the Arabic may also be indented upon. There is no

* E. Javel: "Physiologie de la lecture et de l'écriture" (Paris, 1906), p. 127 *et seq.*

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reason why, for example, the sound *chh* should not be represented by ꞓ—a slightly modified Devanagri letter; and why the doubling of a letter should not be represented by the Arabic *teshdid* ω printed over it. We could then write ΛꞓDA for ACHHCHHĀ.

The alphabets of other civilized countries, particularly the Greek and the Slavonic, as also that of the International Phonetic Association, would also help.

5. For practical reasons it will be advisable to leave unaltered the Roman capitals adopted in the new alphabet, but new symbols should not be taken until they have been passed not only by a type founder, but also by an expert in eye optics as being easy to read by an average person at an ordinary distance. The last-named consideration is most important, as will be realized by all those who have had their eyes tested by an oculist. At a given distance certain letters on the oculist's screen are more easily read than others, so why should not all letters be made equally legible, at least as far as they can be? Think what a boon a scientific alphabet would be from the point of view of the eyesight.

Among the points to be borne in mind in this particular connection I would specially mention two:

(*a*) A line can be seen much better than a point of the same diameter.* I would, therefore, reject all diacritical points of the kind so largely used in the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association.

(*b*) The upper parts of letters are more easily distinguished than the lower,† and so no letter should project below the line. It would be permissible, however, to use the Arabic *teshdid* and the nunnation mark ~ above letters. But too many marks of this sort would be objectionable.

Generally I would suggest that the new alphabet, though prepared in the first instance only for the printing and writing of Army Urdu, should also be adapted for the

* A Bain: "The Senses and the Intellect" (1894), p. 23.

† E. Javel: *Op. cit.*, p. 199.

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scientific transliteration not only of the principal Indo-Germanic and Dravidian vernaculars of India, but also of English, Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian. It should, however, be primarily intended for Indians using it as their own, the ease and comfort of the people themselves, and not of Europeans learning the language as foreigners, being the prime consideration.

I have already said that the preparation of the new alphabet should be the task of an Expert Committee, but a few symbols are suggested for consideration:

SUGGESTED SYMBOLS

Vowels as now Transliterated into "Roman Urdu."	Proposed.	Consonants as now Transliterated into "Roman Urdu."	Proposed.
A, Ā	Λ, A	K, KH, KH	K, X, Ж
E, Ē	Ɛ, E	G, GH	G, ꝏ
I, Ī	I, †	N, Ṇ	N, ⊠
U, Ū	U, Ʉ	CH, CHH	ꞓ, ꞓ
O, Ō	O, Θ	J, JH	J, ⅃
AU, AI	Δ, Λ	Ṭ, ṬH	T, ⊥
		Ṫ, ṪH	⅂, ⊐
		D, DH	D, Φ
		Ḍ, ḌH	d, ⌽
		Ṗ, ṖH	P, Φ
		B, BH	B, ꞓ
		R, Ṛ	R, ꝏ

It now only remains for me to conclude, sir, by expressing the hope that the Departments of the Government of India will endorse on my scheme the word ΛꞓA, not ACHHCHHĀ.*

* The Hindustani equivalent for *very well.*

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DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held on Monday, May 13, 1929, at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, when a paper was read by Mr. Almá Latifi, O.B.E., I.C.S., on "A National Script for India."

The Right Hon. Sir Leslie Wilson, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., C.M.G., D.S.O., presided, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., the Right Hon. Lieut.-Colonel George Frederick Stanley, C.M.G., M.P., Governor-Designate of Madras, General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggree, K.C.I.E., Sir Patrick J. Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., Sir Herbert Holmwood, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Edward Maclagan, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Colonel Sir Malik Umar Hayat Khan Tiwana, K.C.I.E., C.B.E., M.V.O., Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir William Ovens Clark and Lady Clark, Sir Denison Ross, C.I.E., Mrs. Latifi, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. E. G. Turner, C.I.E., and Mrs. Turner, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, C.B.E., Professor L. F. Rushbrook Williams, C.B.E., Mr. E. T. Boag, C.I.E., Khan Sahib M. H. Kothawala, Baba Tarlochan Das Bedi, Mr. E. Haward, Mr. P. K. Dutt, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Major Hanns Vischer, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Miss E. L. Curteis, Miss Margaret Brown, Mr. and Mrs. E. F. Harris, Mr. F. Sausmun, Mr. W. Bennett, Mr. K. N. V. Sastri, Mr. M. C. Cohen, Mr. M. L. Worger, Mr. A. Hamdani, Mrs. Nolan, Mr. R. S. Greenshields, Miss Ogilvie, the Misses Swanson, Dr. A. Shah, Rev. Dr. W. Stanton, Maulvi Farzand Ali, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Dr. Abdul Majid, Mr. Ghulam Mohamed Khan, Mr. H. R. Divelkar, R. P. Karandikar, Rev. K. H. McMarten, Miss M. Gravatt, Major Hoopar, Mr. J. M. K. Mackenzie, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—My task this afternoon is a simple one—that is, to introduce to you Mr. Alma Latifi, who is going to give us a paper on "A National Script for India." As a matter of fact Mr. Almá Latifi does not want any introduction from anybody because he is probably well known to many of you personally, and certainly to nearly everyone here by reputation. Mr. Almá Latifi has had a very distinguished scholastic career. He is a very prominent member of the Indian Civil Service in the Punjab, he is an authority on Oriental languages, and he has the great advantage also of having been born in Bombay. I believe that Mr. Almá Latifi speaks no less than nine languages; and I do not think we could possibly have got anyone more fitted and more suitable to give us a paper on this most interesting subject, which has been of interest perhaps for many generations in the past. I will ask Mr. Latifi to read the paper.

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Mr. Almá Latifi, O.B.E., I.C.S., read the paper on "A National Script for India."

Mr. YUSUF ALI said it was difficult to make brief comments on a carefully-thought-out paper like the one Mr. Latifi had read. Comments might be made from two or three points of view. First, there were the technical suggestions. Mr. Latifi had evidently gone into many sides of the question, but he would be the first to admit that there could be no finality in his suggestions. The history, the shapes, and the merits of the letters of the alphabet would be too technical to discuss in the time available, and specially without the advantage of the ready-made blackboard such as the lecturer had had. Secondly—and this was most important—they had to consider the sentimental point of view. The lecturer did refer to it, but did not give it sufficient importance. Alphabets evolved in response to linguistic, ethnical, and historical needs, and sometimes accidents. But they soon got intertwined in far-reaching sentiments and prejudices. In India, as the lecturer well knew, the merest suggestion of any alteration in the alphabet was looked upon as an innovation so revolutionary as practically to make it impossible. He had himself dabbled in suggestions about the Urdu alphabet. He did not take such a big leap. He had suggested small modifications in order to give more accurate expression to the vowel sounds of the language and to facilitate type printing. He was sorry to say that, although his scheme was accepted by a great many who were authorities upon the subject, it was rejected altogether by the generality of people. Then, thirdly, was it really an advantage to have a modified Roman alphabet as the lecturer had suggested? The lecturer admitted that the Roman alphabet with diacritical marks, as actually used, was out of the question. It was defective and cumbersome, and was rarely written or printed accurately. But at least it used letters universally known. Mr. Latifi's letter changes were so numerous that they amounted practically to a new alphabet. Could any one alphabet satisfy the tests of a perfect alphabet for all the Indian vernaculars? The analogy of Africa did not apply to India. In Africa you had to deal with languages that had not been written before. The Indian vernaculars had a long history, and many of them had a developed body of literature. He thought perhaps the best course was to work gradually at each alphabet, simplify it, and make it more scientific, until the day came (which he was afraid was still distant) when they would have one national sentiment, if not one national language, through which they could build up national institutions, including a national alphabet.

Major HANNS VISCHER, speaking of the introduction of an alphabet for general use in Africa, said that the situation in Africa was entirely different from anything in India. The general position in Africa at the present moment was that they were dealing with about three hundred different languages, all spoken in various dialects, and the great thing was to reduce at any rate fifty of those languages to writing. In the work of reducing languages to writing there were two points of view: that of the foreign student of the language, and that of the people themselves who wanted to

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write the language for practical purposes. That involved two principles which it was good to keep apart. One was to convey all the sounds of the language by the written sign, which was a very difficult and complicated affair. The other meant providing for all the sounds in a simple, practical alphabet. He did not believe there existed any simple alphabet with sufficient signs to express a number of languages that had not yet been written, and therefore we had to find new signs. Diacritical marks were generally found impracticable. Alphabets with diacritical marks were difficult to write, difficult to read, and apt to become confusing. Therefore the International African Institute, when the Gold Coast Government asked for its assistance to reduce into writing a group of languages, decided, after consulting various leading European experts, to follow the principle of introducing new signs for sounds not represented in the Roman alphabet. On the Gold Coast there were four languages concerned. These were first reduced to writing by the missionaries who printed their religious books. Each missionary society followed its own phonetic alphabet, with the result that a member of one mission could not read a book of another mission, although it was in the same language. The Institute had to reduce the four languages of the Akan group to one system of writing, bearing in mind the vested interests of the printers and of the personal convictions of the members of the various missions. By finding an expert, Professor Westermann, who, with his knowledge of the languages concerned, was in a position to explain the advantages and the possibility of one common alphabet in the Colony, the Institute was able to render the Gold Coast Government that service, and those four languages were now all written according to one standard alphabet, a copy of which he had with him. The Sudan Government found the same difficulty, and again appealed to the Institute, and three months ago Professor Westermann rendered the same service in helping to produce one standard alphabet for a large territory, including several millions of people belonging altogether to fifteen different language groups.

Major Vischer then explained a copy of the alphabet. He said there were not many new signs, and those that had been introduced were all the result of careful study on the part of people like Professor Daniel Jones and Professor Lloyd James, who for years had gone into that question. The alphabet was not perfect, but an alphabet which could be considered perfect from every point of view had yet to be invented.

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER said he could not speak with any authority on the subject, but he could speak with some feeling, because friends had told him that he wrote a script which was absolutely different from anything else in the world, a script which was only intelligible to a favoured few; but he hoped that every time they re-read a communication of his they found new beauties in it. He understood that when he left the Punjab, a couple of aged clerks who ought to have been superannuated, having reached the age limit, had been kept on, their only qualifications being that they were able to interpret the notes that he had left on record. (Laughter.)

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Coming to the practical side, he could only say a few words from the point of view of an administrator. The great difficulty of those who went out from this country to India was in grappling with the many languages, and the difficulty was the greater because a new language generally meant a new script. In the Punjab and North-West Frontier he had to learn separate scripts for Urdu, Punjabi, Garmukei, and Pushtu. After he had learnt those scripts and languages he was sent down to Southern India, and there had to face new languages and new scripts. He could not afford to go on learning his A B C all over again, and therefore never really grappled with those in the south. A reform such as Mr. Almá Latifi had indicated would enormously simplify matters from the point of view of administration. One of the great difficulties that administrators had to contend with was the variation of scripts not only from one province to another, but in different parts of the same province. He gave the instance of a moneylender. When investigating a moneylender's accounts on a charge of forgery, he found over and over again that the only person capable of reading the moneylender's script was his brother moneylender in the same village, and therefore it was impossible to prove a case of forgery, because naturally people of the same village did not want to give evidence against one of their own kind; and if you went to more than about five miles radius you could not get anybody who understood the script at all. He mentioned that when a railway was under construction in a wild part of the West Punjab, a retail-dealer (*baniya*) established his shop in the precincts of the railway without first getting sanction or paying a fee to the railway authorities. The engineer in charge was a young Anglo-Indian, and the contractor was a Parsee, and they were very angry with the man, but he refused to budge. Ultimately the engineer and the contractor told the coolies to remove the man and his goods. They were removed, and most of the goods disappeared in the process of removal. The man went to the police station and brought charges of robbery, dacoity, and various other heinous crimes. When the case came into court, the engineer with great triumph flourished a document written in Urdu, the common script, by the moneylender which said that he had been quite properly dealt with, and that he had no ground for complaint. When this was read out, Sir Michael turned to the moneylender and said: "Now what have you to say?" The man said: "Look at the end of it." There were some hieroglyphics at the end after the signature in the man's own script which were finally translated as: "Cancelled; given under coercion"; so he had to convict the engineer and the contractor. That incident brought home to him that this variation of script had its advantages as well as its disadvantages, but that its disadvantages enormously overshadowed the advantages. He therefore strongly supported the lecturer's recommendation that the time was ripe for an investigation by an expert committee with the view of reducing and simplifying the existing tangle of scripts and if possible arriving at a common script for the diverse Indian vernaculars.

Dr. STANTON said he had been interested in this subject for some fifty

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years, and he was glad that it was an Indian administrative officer who had now taken it up. What they wanted was to get at the real reason of this movement. Why were similar efforts going on in different parts of the world, not only in India, but in Turkey, and in China, and even in Japan? It was because of the bar to learning which was created by the difficulty and the variations of script. Those who laboured for the benefit of the masses in India felt their efforts thwarted at the very entrance gate of learning. The child learning to read is held back by the complicated or defective script, and progress is so slow that when after three or four years he leaves school he easily lapses into illiteracy. The speaker was a missionary and wanted to see his community rise, but he had an interest in India as a whole and wanted to see India rise. India was in a state of change, and in this evolution the country could not prosper if the people remained illiterate. Whatever people's views might be, all alike agreed that the illiteracy of those who were supposed to be voters in the present or future constitution of India was one of its greatest bars to progress, and that was the bar that they wanted to remove. He quite agreed as to the need of an authoritative committee who would take up the question, as had been so well done in Africa. But they should consider what has been already done. In the case of Urdu, the Roman character was used wherever soldiers went. That came about because of an intolerable difficulty. One man would write in one script an order to another man who could not read that script, and therefore a common character had to be found.

Again, the missionary body in their labours for the education of the Christian community had published a very considerable body of books in Roman Urdu amounting to several hundreds. A community drawn from various sources required an easy unified script, and now a book in simple language printed in the Roman character can be understood both by Urdu and Hindu readers. We now need to get through the labours of a suitable committee a good practical alphabet which would suit India generally; it obviously could not be imposed upon the people by any kind of compulsion, but it ought to be given fair play when it came out by sanctioning its use in courts and schools. They had heard about the happy conclusion that had been come to recently regarding the water of the Nile, and were very thankful for it. It was a most remarkable thing that in Egypt, where there were such violent differences, there should be agreement upon so vital a question. It was because all parties needed the waters of the Nile. Hitherto they had been obstructed by the mass of tangled vegetation known as the sudd, which diverted the water into vast marshes, infertile and pestilential. A channel was being cut through this barrier which would liberate the current and drain the marshes. In India a tangle of scripts hindered the flow of the waters of knowledge. He welcomed the effort of Mr. Latifi and those who worked with him to cut a clear channel of suitable script which would make a way for the waters of knowledge through all India.

Sir MALIK UMAR HAYAT KHAN expressed pleasure that the paper had

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come from one of those who belonged to his community, which was considered backward. Everyone knew that the lecturer was one of the most learned authors that they had in India, and those who had heard the paper read would know how much trouble he had taken over it and how ably it was written. At the same time he thought there were always two sides to a shield, and that it was just as well to see the other before they could appreciate the one before them. Their own script, which could be called Persian Arabic, had so many books written in it that if they did not learn it they would be unable to get any benefit out of those books. The other alternative would be to translate all those books into a language which would be written in Roman Urdu, and that was absolutely impossible because it would entail thousands and thousands of rupees. They would realize why Roman Urdu was used in the army. Most of those who became graduates when they were taught were inefficient bodily, and thus could not get into the army; the others who passed up to, say, the fourth primary (that was only in the vernacular) were taken into the ranks. As heliography was one of the most important things in the army they had to be taught Roman, because when there was an English message, if it was in Roman, it did not matter what the translation was, they would be able to send it on to its destination. The second advantage of being able to write in Roman was that it was easy for their English officers to be able to read what they had written. Supposing that script was adopted, there might be in one village four or five men who had learnt to write this Roman Urdu. When they went back to their city or village it was going to be of no use to them. Another thing was that they had religious books written in their script, and they would always have to be read in that script. He thought the best way to conquer the trouble was to translate all the books from, say, English and other languages into the vernacular. One of the very great difficulties they found was that they had to begin to learn a subject in a language which they had to learn before. They spent four or five years in learning the language, and before they had learnt it properly they had to read the subjects, and it was a very great handicap. This difficulty had been solved to a great extent, and was being solved in Hyderabad, and if the lecturer had had anything to do with it they must congratulate him. He would like done what they were doing at Hyderabad, with the help of the lecturer who had written the paper.

Mr. TARLOCHAN DAS BEDI said that very regretfully and with the greatest respect he could not agree with Mr. Almá Latifi, as the scheme was too difficult and too impracticable.

Sir DENISON ROSS, who said he had the great advantage of speaking after the others, had the greatest respect for Mr. Latifi's paper and his efforts, but he could not agree with his suggestions. He spoke with recent experience. First of all taking Turkey, if there was one language in the world which had an unsuitable alphabet it was Turkish written with Arabic letters. Turkish had been written in fourteen different alphabets in the last eight hundred years, so that there was no innovation in that,

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and the present Latin one was about as good as any, but not quite so good as Armenian. With regard to the other Muslim languages, Arabic was the only alphabet for the Arabic language; there was no possible question about that. He was in favour of the improvement and reform of the existing Oriental alphabets. When on his way to Persia he found in Cairo, where there was very little chance of the alphabet being changed, there was a great deal of talk on this subject, but he found King Fuad would have nothing to do with that; all he wanted to do was to introduce capitals. In Persia he saw many children who, in spite of inefficient masters (for they could not get the good men to go to South Persia), wrote beautiful Persian; and he maintained that Persian boys learnt to write Persian as quickly as any English boys learnt the English alphabet. He considered the Latin alphabet to be one of the worst in the world. There were only two perfect alphabets—one the Arabic, and the other still more perfect one Russian. If they wanted to simplify the Indian languages they must begin by reforming the alphabets. The next stage would be to adopt Nagari as the uniform alphabet of India, and leave the Muslims their books in the Arabic characters; but if they liked these Muslims could learn a second alphabet, the Nagari, in order to communicate with the whole of India. The first stage was to reform the alphabet, the second stage to introduce Nagari; but he could not recommend an artificial English alphabet for use throughout India.

Mr. Rushbrook Williams was in sympathy with the last three speakers. He had had the advantage of giving careful study to the very able paper which Mr. Almá Latifi had read, as he had seen it in proof. Had Sir Malik Umar Haya Khan not preceded him, he would have made the same point that the analogy derived from the employment of Roman Urdu in the army was not a true one. He was with a State which had five languages, and the different branches of his office which dealt with those languages were in practice almost interchangeable. It seemed to him that the disadvantages of the various scripts had been very much exaggerated, and that in his very able paper the lecturer did not perhaps give sufficient importance to the enormous weight of tradition which was associated in India with certain particular characters. The efforts which the lecturer had made to put forward a very admirable theory seemed to him to give insufficient attention, first, to the religious sentiment, which in a country of over 300,000,000 people was an enormous weight in favour of certain particular scripts; and, secondly, to the efforts which had been made already in other ways to overcome those difficulties which his scheme of Roman Urdu was intended to circumvent.

He was glad that Sir Malik Umar Hayat Khan had mentioned the work which was being done in Hyderabad. The work of translating scientific and chemical works into an intelligible form of Urdu—an Urdu which was recognizable as such by an educated Muhammadan gentleman, but at the same time was sufficiently flexible to contain modern ideas—seemed to him to represent a far more practical approach of this problem than forcing a very unsuitable alphabet upon a whole series of Oriental

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languages. It seemed to him that we might perhaps apply the Japanese practice. The Japanese found it necessary, when they were acquiring Western learning, to simplify some of the more complicated of their characters, but they did not attempt to substitute a Roman character for their character, even though they had an opportunity of making a clean sweep. They decided, after going into the matter, that it was better to simplify rather than to revolutionize. He suggested that the problem of the Indian scripts might be approached along similar lines.

The CHAIRMAN: I think you will agree with me that not only have we had a very interesting paper from Mr. Latifi, but a most interesting discussion following it. I presume I was asked to be Chairman this afternoon because in a somewhat rash moment, when out in India, I made a speech on this subject. As a matter of fact, that speech was made with a definite purpose, in order to elicit public opinion as to what the views in the Bombay Presidency were. Opinions were forthcoming to a very large extent.

I have only a very few words to say this evening because, like Sir Denison Ross, I am speaking after everybody else. As he said, he heard what everybody else had said, and I have heard what everybody has said, and I have very little to add. In putting forward what I may call that feeler in Bombay, I did it very much with this idea at the back of my mind, of trying to help the administrators in India. Sir Michael O'Dwyer had had the advantage of being many years in India, and he had time to learn various languages, but when anybody, like myself, goes out there for five years there are great difficulties in this connection. Take the Bombay Presidency alone. There, there are four different and distinct languages, each with their own scripts. It is humanly impossible for any one individual to learn one language per annum, and I did not attempt to do so. I have been very much struck with the remarks made this afternoon, principally by Mr. Yusuf Ali and Sir Malik Umar Hayat Khan, and by Mr. Williams. With regard to what I may call the sentimental point of view, I hope everybody will look at the paper and will realize that Mr. Latifi had no idea, in approaching the question, of interfering with religious teaching written in the historical languages of the various scripts. It would be quite impossible, I think, in India, and I think anywhere else in the world, to introduce what I may call a universal language, and particularly in Indla, where language, as everywhere else, is an expression of life; and to destroy that by any sort of manufactured language would be to destroy the individuality of nations. Everyone, whatever their religion may be, have very rightly very strong feelings on the maintenance of religious books in their own historical language. I am quite certain there was no intention that there should be any interference with the religious teaching of the various scripts merely because a change of script might be useful for so many purposes which have been mentioned. Many difficulties have been put forward by many speakers, but I do fully agree myself with Mr. Latifi that something, if possible, should be done; and I cannot see any reason that can be urged against the setting up of this expert

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committee which Mr. Latifi has suggested. It is a question for experts. The question has been solved to a very large extent in East Africa, and I do not see why, if it has been solved to that extent in East Africa, we should not at any rate make efforts to do something to solve this question, which is one of such great importance for the administration of India and for the education of India. Therefore, while thanking Mr. Latifi very heartily indeed for his most interesting paper, and thanking you gentlemen who have taken part in this discussion, I do urge that this expert committee should be set up, in order that the whole question should be explored and fully examined.

Sir MANCHERJEE M. BHOWNAGGREE said it gave him great pleasure to ask the meeting to accord a hearty vote of thanks to the Lecturer and also to the Chairman. The discourse to which they had been treated, as also the discussion that had followed, were both instructive and interesting. That the acceptance of a common phonetic alphabet by peoples speaking different tongues would to some extent lead to the promotion of mutual intercourse by attracting them to the study of languages which in their original script seemed repulsive was understandable. It would also have the great advantage of making utterances by strangers accord with the original pronunciation of words in any language. That, he believed, was the object aimed at by Mr. Latifi. Part of the discussion, however, had proceeded on the assumption that he had been attempting to evolve a language capable of replacing those of Oriental nations, and transform into it their time-honoured religions and other literature. That was unthinkable; but he fully recognized that such a script as was advocated in the paper would facilitate the effort to pronounce correctly names of persons and places, and, in fact, all phraseology of a language which at present a stranger to it is unable to articulate. He (Sir Mancherjee) spoke feelingly as he had been a sufferer in England and foreign countries owing to the frightful spelling in which his name was rendered in the Roman character. (Laughter.) It would have lightened the difficulty of his electoral fights if his constituents could have learnt his name in a phonetic form. (Cheers.) But all the same, the scheme proposed would require to be threshed out by experts before it could find wide acceptance, as, indeed, the Lecturer had himself admitted in the very able address, for which he was entitled to their best thanks. (Cheers.) They had also to express their indebtedness to their Chairman for ably presiding over them. It was most gratifying that Sir Leslie Wilson, after his return from India, had seized frequent opportunities of giving to the public in England the benefit of the experience gathered during his arduous and popular career of five years as Governor of Bombay. Like most prominent politicians he had at present engrossing calls on his time, and it was most kind of him in the midst of them to preside over and favour them with his views from the more neutral platform of the East India Association. (Cheers.)

Sir Mancherjee put the proposal to the meeting, and it was carried with acclamation.

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Mr. LATIFI, in a written reply to the discussion, says:

I must express my cordial thanks to Mr. Yusuf Ali and the other speakers for their interesting contributions to this discussion, but I am afraid there is little in what they have said that is not already met by my paper.

To Sir Denison Ross I would reply that like my father I began almost simultaneously with the Arabic and Devanagri scripts, following up a little later with the Roman. From personal experience I am as emphatic as my father was that the Roman is better. This has also been the experience of my children and of hundreds of others. The analogy of the Persian boys who write beautifully in Persian is surely not relevant. How can Sir Denison tell that these same bright boys who had wasted so much valuable time on their script would not have learnt the suggested reformed system much more quickly? Besides, I am not advocating the difficult and unscientific English system, which according to Sir Denison is no better than the Persian, but a reformed script based on the Roman.

Mr. Yusuf Ali and Sir Denison Ross suggest the reform of the Arabic and Devanagri scripts respectively, and the latter would make a reformed Devanagri the national script. Both speakers apparently lost sight for the moment of the sentiments that protect these scripts from any interference. Surely my proposal, which is merely the improvement of the Roman script for a purpose for which it is already used, along lines that have been tested and found good in other parts of the Empire, is much more practicable.

Finally, to my gallant friend Sir Umar Hayat I would say that whatever the reasons, good or bad, for its introduction, the Roman script is now established for Hindustani in the Indian Army. It is there, so why should he object to its being reformed and made more acceptable for Indians and Britishers alike?

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OBITUARY

MR. W. COLDSTREAM

Lifelong Service to India

At the request of the Council *The Times* has given permission for inclusion in the Proceedings of the East India Association of the following Obituary of Mr. W. Coldstream, which appeared in the issue of April 26, 1929 :

Mr. William Coldstream, who died at his residence, 69, West Cromwell Road, Earl's Court, after a brief illness, on Wednesday, April 24, at the age of eighty-eight, had vivid memories of the India of the morrow, of the Mutiny, and of the part of the country where the flame burnt most fiercely. He was the last survivor of the considerable band of Punjab civilians who, knowing well, and following in the footsteps of, John Lawrence, were strong Evangelicals actuated by an abiding sense of religious duty. But Coldstream's convictions seemed to expand, rather than narrow, his Indian sympathies. His service to India in London after retirement was somewhat longer than that which he gave to it for thirty-four years as a member of the I.C.S. : and it was scarcely less active and devoted. Indians of every rank and condition coming to London had in him a good friend, and he was never happier than when doing something to further the interests of the Indian student, or, as in the war period, the Indian soldier. One of the great delights of his constant exercise of hospitality was to have two or three at homes each summer to meet the King's Indian orderlies.

A son of Dr. John Coldstream, of Edinburgh, he was at the High School there from 1851 to 1856, and then went to the University, where he gained the Stratton prize. Some reminiscences he wrote of his student days in the *University of Edinburgh Journal*, No. 2, 1928, showed a wider range of humanism and classical culture and a keener sense of humour than many friends of his later years credited him with, though they knew something of his love of Oriental languages and literature. In the open competition for the Indian Civil Service in 1860, Coldstream, who had originally been intended to follow his father in the medical profession, passed fourteenth out of 287 competitors. Arriving at Calcutta in the late autumn of the following year, he was posted to the Punjab, where he soon formed strong links of friendship with Sir Herbert Edwardes, Sir Robert Sandeman, Lieut.-General "Buster" Browne, and other great figures of the time, and also not long after with the

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Viceroy, Lord Lawrence.. General Reynell Taylor, a splendid soldier and swordsman, as well as the founder of a great mission, was his Commissioner in Amritsar, and had much influence in developing his religious outlook on life and zest for service.

Coldstream was Assistant Secretary of the Punjab Exhibition of 1864, one of the first ever held in India, and rose early to the grade of Deputy-Commissioner. He made a close study of the Indian vernaculars and read many of the classics of the country in their original texts. He was very proud of a complimentary address given to him as a young man by the Delhi Literary Society, the signatories including the famous poet Ghalib. After retirement he helped substantially to obtain recognition of Persian and Urdu in the London University matriculation. Nothing pleased him better than to talk with Indian visitors to this country in their own tongues. In connection with his work in the Punjab on the Indian Census of 1881, he coined the words "hypergamy" and "isogamy." The former word, at least, is now in universal use.

Some economical and botanical writings came from his pen. His monograph on the grasses of the Southern Punjab was published in Edinburgh as a folio with more than forty full-page illustrations. He reported to the Government on fruit culture in the Himalayas and on the forests of the Simla Hill States. Of these States he was Superintendent, in combination with the Deputy-Commissionership of Simla, at the time of his retirement in 1894. On the historical side he arranged and edited the correspondence, during the Mutiny period, of his friend and relative, the late Sir William Muir, as preserved in the Intelligence Department of the United Provinces, and it was brought out in two volumes in 1903. He also went through the proofs of Sir William's last edition of "The Caliphate."

To the very end of his thirty-five years of retirement, he was prominent in the London community specially interested in India. For a long time he represented that country in the administration of the Imperial Institute. The Royal Society of Arts, the East India Association, the National Indian Association, the Northbrook Society, and other bodies connected with the East had his unstinted service in committee work. His keen interest in young Indians studying in London secured him the award in 1914 of the Kaiser-i-Hind Gold Medal. When wounded Indian soldiers were brought to this country, in the earlier part of the War, he lived for some time at Barton-on-Sea, in order to be their friend and helper at the hospital there, and in Punjab, at the inauguration of a club for them, he made the opening speech. For many years Coldstream was Chairman of the London Board of the British and India Mission, and of the London Auxiliary of the Ludhiana Women's Christian Medical College. He was also on the committee of the Christian Literature Society for India, and on the Council of Reference for the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission. For the first time for many years, he was missed from its annual meeting on the day before his death. He worked for the good of India and for cordial British and Indian relations with

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unfailing devotion, and if some of his efforts were not very effective they were earnest and sustained. He remained a vigorous figure in British-Indian circles to the close of a busy life. When, in his last years, one noted his alert interest in affairs or heard him deliver an address, whether in his own or in an Indian tongue, it was difficult to believe that he was near the close of his ninth decade.

He married in 1886 the daughter of Major O. H. St. G. Anson, 9th Lancers, and she was spared to share his activities and high purposes for more than fifty-two years. They had a large family, and there are many grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Their eldest son, Col. W. M. Coldstream, R.E., C.I.E., retired in 1924 from the Indian Survey, in which he rose to be Director of Surveys and Superintendent of the Eastern Circle. The youngest son, Mr. John Coldstream, I.C.S., is a Judge of the Punjab High Court, and a nephew is Col. J. Clayton Coldstream, late Indian Army, and formerly Deputy-Commissioner of Simla.

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THE OBJECTS AND POLICY

OF THE

EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE object of the East India Association is to promote, by all legitimate means, the public interests and welfare of the inhabitants of India generally. To attain this object the Council earnestly invite the co-operation of all those who, by their position, influence, knowledge of India or administrative experience, are able to render effective assistance, and without whose active and liberal support the work of the Association cannot be adequately accomplished.

The Association specially appeals to the Ruling Princes of India, and to all classes of influential and educated Indians. It values the co-operation of the commercial and non-official community in India—British and Indian—and of retired and present members of the Government Services, civil and military, who have consistently laboured to advance the best interests of the people, and have helped to consolidate, maintain, and defend the Indian Empire.

The East India Association is essentially non-official in character, avoiding any connection with English party politics, and welcoming as members all those who are interested in the welfare and progress of India, whatever their political opinions. Its policy on Indian questions is progressive, while maintaining a due regard for the conservative traditions of the Indian Empire. It desires to encourage all wise and well-considered projects of reform, but at the same time to protect the people of India from rash and hasty experiments opposed to the customs of the country. It endeavours to regard all questions of political, administrative and social progress from the point of view of the interests of the inhabitants of India, whose wishes, sentiments and prejudices should be respected, and whose legitimate aspirations should be sympathetically upheld.

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The objects and policy of the Association are promoted—(1) by providing opportunities for the free public discussion, in a loyal and temperate spirit, of important questions affecting India; (2) by constituting a centre for the friendly meeting of Indians with Englishmen interested in India; (3) by lectures and the publication of papers or leaflets correcting erroneous or misleading statements about India and its administration; and (4), generally, by the promulgation of sound and trustworthy information regarding the many weighty problems which confront the Administrations in India, so that the public may be able to obtain in a cheap and popular form a correct knowledge of Indian affairs.

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THE CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF SARAWAK

By Charles Hose, sc.d. (cantab.)

(The author was for several years a Divisional-Resident and member of the Supreme Council of Sarawak. Since his retirement he has been appointed to the Sarawak State Advisory Council in London.)

The poet Pope no doubt has embodied much practical truth in his lines :

> "For forms of government let fools contest ;
> Whate'er is best administered is best ;
> For modes of faith let graceless zealots fight ;
> His can't be wrong whose life is in the right."

But there are different views of what is right and what is wrong, and old customs and superstitions which are undoubtedly bad become by hereditary use sancrosanct and pass unchallenged. It would be difficult to find an area in which this condition of things could be better exemplified than in Sarawak, the internally independent British State in Borneo. Since the dawn of recorded history Borneo has been on the highway of the Eastern seas, with visits from Chinese, Hindus, Malays, and numerous tribes that inhabited the neighbouring islands and States. About the twelfth century the Muhammadans obtained a footing at Brunei, an important settlement on the north-west coast of Borneo, and until a century ago the history of the island has been a medley of local strife between tribes, of raids or invasions by neighbouring States, or of squabbles and jealousies between Dutch and English. Eventually agreements were arrived at between Holland and Britain regarding their Colonies, the British by their predominance at sea obtaining India and some minor territories in the Malay States, the keyport of Singapore being selected owing to the foresight of Raffles. During this period there was not much of constitutional force in the government of the country; might was right, and he who wanted peace and security sought shelter up the rivers or in the hidden creeks of the coast. Piracy was the form in which might displayed itself most. Towards the end of the eighteenth century the Malays of Brunei, Sulu, and Mindanao, with their native followers and allies, took up piracy with renewed vigour, inspired, no doubt, by the example of their Western visitors. In 1788 the *May*, in 1803 the *Susanna*, and in 1806 the *Commerce* were destroyed and

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their crews murdered by pirates, with the result that the British Admiralty warned merchants that it was certain destruction to go up-river to Brunei. For forty years this humiliating notice remained on British charts, and was obeyed by British seamen. But the longest road has a turning, and the direst tyranny an end. James Brooke, a young Englishman who had been in the service of the East India Company and made a voyage through Malay waters to China, heard of the oppression created in the land, and of the rebellion of the southern seaboard against the nobles of Brunei. Being inspired with the idea of establishing peace, prosperity, and just government in some part of that area, Brooke visited Sarawak in August, 1839, and found it in a sad state. He made the acquaintance of Muda Hasim, the uncle and heir-presumptive of the Sultan of Brunei, who was endeavouring to restore order in that distracted area. He then visited Celebes, and returned to Sarawak a year later to find things in a worse plight. Muda Hasim besought Brooke to take command of the forces and suppress the rebellion, promising him the appointment of Rajah of the district if he succeeded. This he was successful in accomplishing, and the rebel leaders surrendered, but only on the condition that Brooke, and not any Brunei noble, should be the Governor and Rajah of Sarawak. Later Muda Hasim, relieved of his difficulties, wished to execute the leaders of the rebellion, and hesitated to implicate his promise. Brooke, feeling bound to carry out his agreement with the rebel leaders, whose lives he had difficulty in saving from the vengeance of Muda Hasim and the Brunei nobles, insisted on it with some display of force. Muda Hasim then signed, and Brooke was proclaimed Governor and Rajah of Sarawak on September 24, 1841, amid popular rejoicings. Brooke, however, felt that the Sultan's authority should be definitely obtained to his title, as Muda Hasim himself was not Rajah of Sarawak, which was hitherto ruled by Brunei governors, and in 1842 he visited the Sultan. He received the Sultan's confirmation of the action of his agent, Muda Hasim, and a copy of the document is published at the end of this article with the English translation. The country of Sarawak was made over to Brooke and his successors for ever.

The modern constitutional arrangements of Sarawak then definitely began.

Brooke was to all practical purposes an autocratic monarch, but he was brave, just, and vigilant. His authority was not allowed to become absolute without challenge: his original

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territory was confined to some 7,000 square miles, including the basins of the following rivers—the Sarawak, the Samarahan, the Sadong, and the Lundu. But to the north were other rivers, the nearest being the Batang Lupar and Saribas Rivers, and they were infested with pirates nominally under the allegiance to the Sultan of Brunei. Their depredations led Brooke to undertake several expeditions against them, and with the aid of Sir Harry Keppel of H.M.S. *Dido*, and of others, in 1849 he finally swept out these hornets' nests and put an end to piracy in those regions. In a similar manner other areas to the north were gradually ceded with the approval of the Sultan of Brunei, until the area of Sarawak extends to 60,000 square miles, or about the size of England and Wales.

There was of necessity a good deal of fighting with the pirates and their Malay chiefs, but the bulk of the population were on the Rajah's side and felt the benefit of peace, order, and good government. In fact, the first task and duty of the Rajah was to enforce peace, and he established his central administration at Kuching, the old capital in the south of the territory. He then selected strategic sites in each outlying district, and erected there a small fort with one or two white officers in charge of a garrison of ten or twelve Malays armed with rifles and a small cannon. The prime duty of these officers, who were known at first as Governors, and later as Residents, was to protect the local population from the oppression and depredations of the chiefs and pirates, and generally to discourage and punish bloodshed and disorder. The general policy followed in all these new districts was to elicit the co-operation of the local chiefs and headmen, and, when the people had begun to appreciate the benefits of peace, including the furtherance of trade by opening the rivers to Malay and Chinese pedlars and merchants, to impose a small poll-tax to defray the expenses of administration. The area of control was then gradually extended farther into the interior by securing the voluntary adhesion of communities and tribes settled on the tributaries and higher waters of each river. This policy, steadily pursued in one district after another, has invariably been successful, though of course the time required for their complete pacification has varied considerably. It was only during the early years of this century that the process seemed to reach its final stage among the Dayaks or Ibans in the interiors of the Batang Lupar and Rejang districts.

In 1857 an insurrection of Chinese goldworkers at Bau in Sarawak proper created some trouble, but was soon sup-

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pressed. Two years later, in 1859, two English officers were murdered in the lower Rejang district, and there were indications of a conspiracy of Brunei nobles and Malay chiefs in British and Dutch Borneo to rid the island of these innovators. The result, however, was the cession of the basin of the Rejang, and in the year 1882 the Baram district was transferred for an annual payment of 5,000 dollars. The establishment of the Chartered Company of British North Borneo brought with Sarawak a third of the island of Borneo under British rule, the remainder being under Dutch control. The influence of the Rajah's administration and his methods have had great influence on the other two European Governments of the island, and the success attending his work of pacification after the elimination of these nests of piracy has added to his prestige and the reputation of his Government. The success, however, has not been due to chance, but to careful forethought. It has not been obtained by the issue of proclamations to an illiterate pagan population of varied tribes, but by the personal efforts of able men who entered into the lives of the people with sympathy and tact. The interests of the natives have been made the prime object of the Government's solicitude. From the very inception of his rule, Sir James Brooke laid down and strictly adhered to the principle of associating the natives with himself and his European assistants in the government of the country, and of respecting and maintaining whatever was not positively objectionable in the laws and customs of the people. In this policy he has been followed by his successors in office. When Sir James Brooke became absolute ruler of Sarawak, the country had been for many generations governed by Malay rulers, and the only generally recognized system of law was the Muhammadan law which they had been administering. The white Rajahs, instead of introducing a hard and fast European system of laws—as they might, as benevolent despots, have done—accepted the Muhammadan law and custom in all matters affecting the Muhammadan religion; and they gradually introduced improvements when and where the defects of the system revealed themselves. The principles according to which the government was conducted were well expressed by Sir Charles Brooke, the second Rajah, in the *Sarawak Gazette* of September 2, 1872. "A Government such as that of Sarawak may," he wrote, "start from things as we find them, putting its veto on what is dangerous or unjust, and supporting what is fair and equitable in the usages of the natives, and letting system and

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legislation wait upon occasion. When new wants are felt, it examines and provides for them by measures rather made on the spot than imported from abroad; and to ensure that these shall not be contrary to native customs, the consent of the people is gained for them before they are put in force. The white man's so-called privilege of class is made little of, and the rules of government are framed with greater care for the interests of the majority who are not European, than for those of the minority of superior race." These were wise and practical words written by a man who was able to put them into effect, and was doing so. They were published the year after Livingstone died in Africa, and almost half a century before the League of Nations was called into existence, and declared that the white man held the coloured man's land in trusteeship for him. The Brooke Rajahs may well claim to have been pioneers in the just treatment of native races, and to have established precedents for good government.

The system of administration is as follows. The Rajah is the absolute authority of the State, but since 1855 he has been supported by the Supreme Council, which has consisted of three or four Malay officers and three or four of the principal European officers. The Supreme Council meets at least once a month, and the Rajah presides over its deliberations. It considers all matters referred to it by the lower tribunals, and it embodies the absolute authority of the Rajah. From its decrees there is no appeal. It decides questions of justice, administration, and legislation. It continually improves and enriches the law by creating precedents which serve to guide the local courts, by revising and repealing laws, and by adding new laws to the Statute Book. It is the sole legislative authority. The four Malay members are persons of high standing, corresponding to our Lord Mayor, Archbishop, Chief Justice, and Admiral, and they take an active part in the deliberations and decisions.

There is another Council called the Council *Negri*, or State Council, which meets at Kuching every three years. It is presided over by the Rajah and embraces the members of the Supreme Council, the Residents and District Officers in charge of the more important districts, and the principal native officers and *penghulus*, about a hundred members in all. The Rajah reviews the state of public affairs since last meeting, and subjects of general interest come under discussion. But the principal purpose of the institution is of a social nature—to bring together the principal men of the country for friendly intercourse. The new members take the oath

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of loyalty to the Rajah and his Government, and the native members return to their homes with a feeling of the enhanced importance and dignity of their office and a better knowledge of their relations to the general administration of the country.

Let us now see how the localities are administered. The whole territory of Sarawak is divided into five divisions, and each division into two or more districts. A white officer is in charge of each division, and he is called the Resident, being of the highest class. The districts are administered by District Officers, and as they come more directly into touch with the people, their staff embraces all the officers necessary for local administration—assistant, education, forestry, treasury, public works, engineer, customs and medical officers, as well as magistrates of the Police and Debtors' Courts. There are, of course, the usual clerical staff of Malays, Chinese, and natives, and the system is liable to the usual contraction and expansion due to the needs of the districts. The white European officers are carefully selected, and are encouraged to keep in close touch with the natives of their areas. The natives, on the other hand, have their own direct representatives in the way of their chiefs and *penghulus*, who know the districts and their inhabitants, and keep the white officers in touch with local feeling. As the white officers generally enter the Service as cadets, they soon get acquainted with the spirit of the Service, learn Malay and the local language, and become on friendly terms with the people.

The government of the territory is run practically without force. The Sarawak Rangers are a body of some 400 men trained to the use of fire-arms and under military discipline. They are mainly Dayaks or Ibans, the remainder being Malays and Sikhs. The Commandant and Gunnery Instructor are white men, and the non-commissioned officers natives. They garrison the forts, and form the nucleus of any force that may be required for punitive expeditions.

There is a similar body of policemen who are distributed over the territory, but the native chiefs and *penghulus*, as a rule, keep all the order that is necessary.

It is of interest to note that the policy of pacification did not meet with universal support. I remember a conversation I had with the Sultan of Brunei, Mumin, then a veteran of more than ninety years of age, and he told me emphatically that we were making a mistake in pacifying the native tribes who lived in the interior of the Baram district. "They are not Muhammadans," he said, "and what does it matter how many of them get killed?" He believed that the more

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they slew of each other in their internal feuds, the easier it was to govern them and the less danger they were to the civilized community. *Divide et impera* was a policy not confined to the Romans alone.

Though it is now twenty-two years since I retired on pension from the Sarawak public service, I have revisited the State on two occasions, and kept in touch with its development, as indeed my duties on the State Advisory Council in London made it incumbent upon me. The State has made rapid progress in this period, its trade and prosperity having grown. The discovery of oil at Miri, which is such an asset to the territory and the Empire, has been of great benefit to the resources of the territory, and the machinery of governance has been readily adapted to the new industry. But the principles of government have not deviated from those laid down by Sir James Brooke; new decisions have been given to meet new needs, and new precedents have been laid down for local guidance, but the spirit of governance has been rigidly maintained.

In matters of religion the State does not interfere. The Muhammadans are the predominating element, but Christian missionaries receive full authority to propagate their beliefs. The Government provides a system of schools, and so do the Missions, each school receiving a proportion of the funds available on a capitation basis. Strict impartial administration and non-interference with harmless superstitions and customs, which vary greatly among the tribes, have had their reward in a peaceful régime. Head-hunting and slavery were at one time common, but are now practically non-existent. In the "Pagan Tribes of Borneo," "Natural Man," and my "Memories" recently published, I have given a detailed account of these customs and superstitions, and the methods adopted of providing substitutes. Head-hunting was in reality a religious rite to help the prosperity of the crops, and to aid a departed hero's soul across the bourne of death, and of course strong discouragement had much to do with its cessation, but the production of an old skull in place of a new one helped to assuage the feelings of the mourners, and to prevent a raid which ended in murder. The institution of boat-racing also had its advantages in providing a good holiday, and in blowing off the surplus energy that formerly found its vent in a bloodthirsty foray. The rivers are the roads of Sarawak: they and their tributaries play an important part in the life of the people, and the need for boats is more urgent than that for carts.

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They also guard the ingress and egress of the districts, and serve to show the tribes who are moving about in the area. Customs are often merely the accepted expression of prolonged experience, and though the experience may have been narrow though prolonged, and its expression often modified in the course of time, the custom should be carefully considered before being discarded. It was here that the wisdom of the military pacificator showed itself in peace. It was no part of his policy to break up the old forms of society and recast it after any foreign model. He took things as they were, and supplied the elements that were lacking to the system, so as to enable the people to live at peace, to prosper and to multiply, and enjoy the fruit of their labour. The Government of Sarawak is a living organization. The people have their local chiefs and their local officers, who see them any time they wish. Small disputes are settled on the spot according to local usage; the more serious cases, requiring greater care or knowledge, are dealt with in the districts or divisions, or may reach the Supreme Council, whose decision is final. There is no undue formality or delay of justice, no endless red-tape or bureaucracy, and the poorest man has a ready entrance to the courts which can remedy his wrongs. Such is the development of the Constitution of Sarawak.

Let us now see how it stands in relation to the British Crown, and to the British Empire. When Sir James Brooke acquired in 1841 his cession of territory from the Sultan of Brunei, Dominion status did not exist. It came into operation in 1867 with the federation of the Canadian States, and since then there have been many constitutional changes in the Empire. In 1842 the question arose whether any British recognition could be accorded to Sir James Brooke, seeing that any territory acquired by a British subject must, on the strict legal theory, be acquired for the Crown. This condition of things lasted until June 14, 1888, when an agreement placed Sarawak under British protection. The Crown undertakes not to interfere in any of the internal affairs of the State, but, in return for its protection, has the right to determine any question arising as to the succession, to control the foreign relations of the State, and to appoint Consular Officers. British subjects are assured of most favoured nation treatment, and no part of the State may be alienated without the consent of the Crown. In this way were determined the internal freedom of Sarawak and the external control of the British Government. That its acquisition has been beneficial to the Empire in a manner

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not then understood will be realized when it is stated that the Miri oilfields hold the first place in the Empire in the way of oil-production. This should be remembered as an important factor in connection with the Singapore base.

Sarawak was, in the manner of its acquisition, a romantic interlude in the growth of our Imperial domain. As one connected with the Service, I feel diffident in testifying to the good work that has been done from the suppression of piracy and the establishment of the principles of government down to the present time, but there have been many encomiums of praise from foreign countries. The work of the Dutch in the south-east of the island and of the Americans in the neighbouring Philippines aroused interest in native administration, and the latter, with their characteristic energy and methods, instituted an expert enquiry into tropical colonization. The University of Chicago appointed a Colonial Commissioner in Mr. Alleyne Ireland, who published a series of studies on various phases of British, American, French, and Dutch Colonial administration and policy. In this book, "The Far Eastern Tropics," 1905, he writes, amid much congratulatory matter, the following: "I had occasion some years ago to write for the *Atlantic Monthly* an article on 'European Experience with Tropical Colonies.' At its conclusion are to be found the following lines from Froude, quoted in support of the argument in favour of personal rule in the tropics: 'Find a Raja Brooke if you can. . . . Send him out with no more instructions than the Knight of the Mancha gave Sancho—to fear God and do his duty. . . . The leading of the wise few, the willing obedience of the many, is the beginning and end of all right action. Secure this and you secure everything. Fail to secure it, and, be your liberties as wide as you can make them, no success is possible. For the past two months I have been in Sarawak, travelling up and down the coast and into the interior, and working in Kuching, the capital. At the end of it I find myself unable to express the high opinion I have formed of the administration of the country without a fear that I shall lay myself open to the charge of exaggeration. With such knowledge of administrative systems in the tropics as may be gained by actual observation in almost every part of the British Empire except the African Colonies, I can say that in no country which I have ever visited are there to be observed so many signs of a wise and generous rule, such abundant indications of good government, as are to be seen on every hand in Sarawak.'"

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Translation of the document appearing on the opposite page. The document and translation appear in the author's book, "Natural Man," published by Messrs. Macmillan and Co., Ltd., by whose courtesy they are here reproduced.

SARAWAK TREATIES

SARAWAK, 1841

TRANSFER BY PANGERAN MUDA HASIM OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SARAWAK

(Translation)

This Agreement made in the year of the Prophet one thousand two hundred and fifty-seven at twelve o'clock on Wednesday the thirtieth day of the month of Rejab showeth that with a pure heart and high integrity PANGERAN MUDA HASIM son of the late Sultan Muhammad hereby transfers to JAMES BROOKE Esquire the Government of Sarawak together with the dependencies thereof its revenues and all its future responsibilities. Moreover he James Brooke Esquire shall be the sole owner of its revenues and will be alone responsible for the public expenditure necessary for the good of Sarawak.

Moreover James Brooke Esquire acting with the same integrity and pureness of heart accepts this Agreement as set forth and further undertakes from the date hereof to pay to the Sultan of Brunei one thousand dollars to Pangeran Muda one thousand dollars to the Pettinggi three hundred dollars to the Bandar one hundred and fifty dollars and to the Temenggong one hundred dollars.

Moreover James Brooke Esquire undertakes that the laws and customs of the Malays of Sarawak shall for ever be respected since the country of Sarawak has hitherto been subject to the government of the Sultan of Brunei the Pangeran Muda and Malayan rajas.

Moreover should intrigues arise either within or without the State of Sarawak detrimental to its interests whether caused by peoples or princes or rulers who may be inimical to Sarawak the Sultan and his brother the Pangeran Muda shall uphold James Brooke Esquire as the lawfully appointed Ruler of Sarawak subject to no interference by any other person.

Moreover the Pangeran Muda and James Brooke Esquire do themselves make this Contract and the Pangeran agrees to relinquish all further activities in the Government of Sarawak except such as may be carried out by the consent of James Brooke Esquire and anything which they may severally or individually do in regard to the Government of Sarawak must be in accordance with the terms of this Agreement.

Written in Sarawak on the night of Friday the second day of Shaaban 1257 at ten o'clock.

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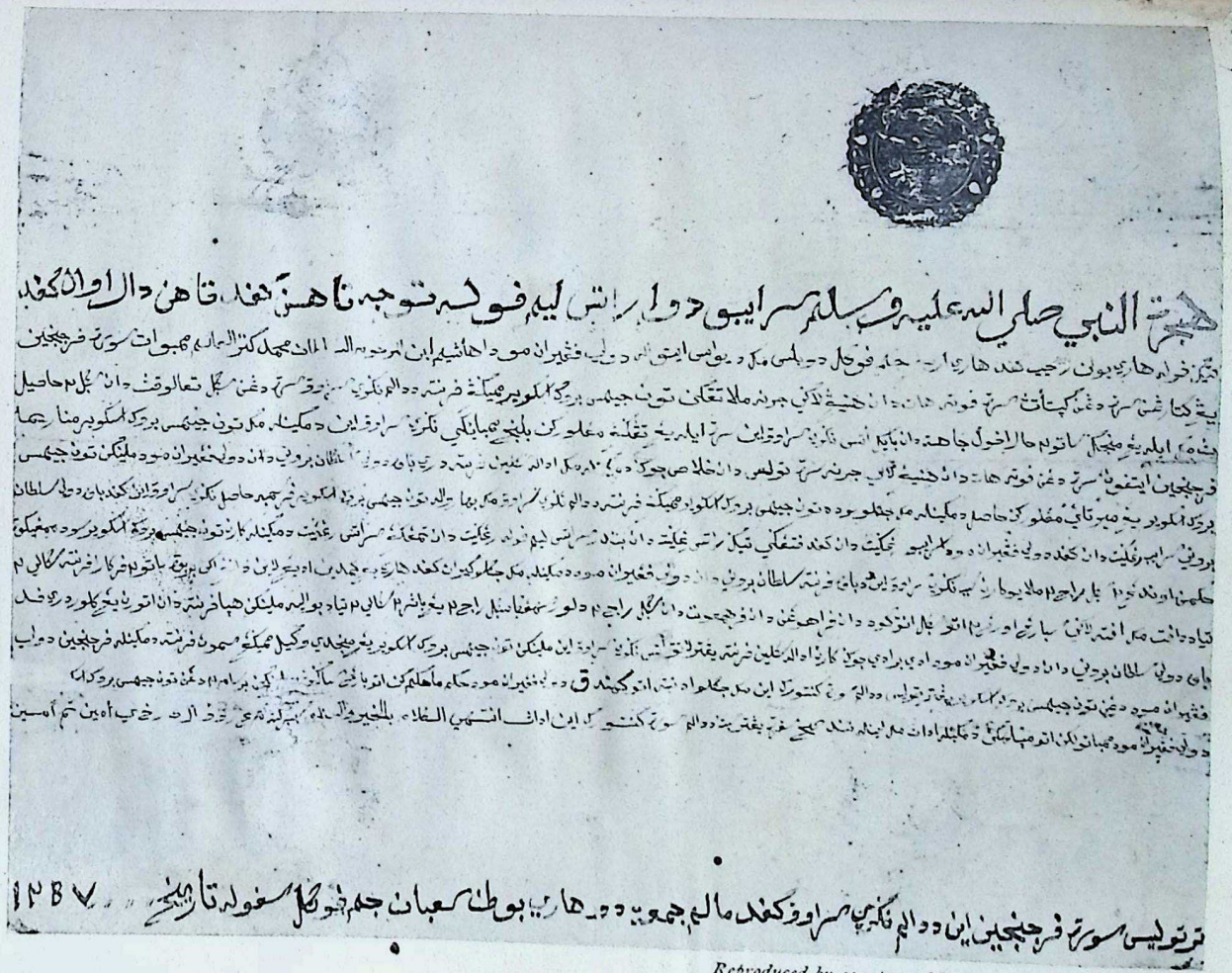
DOCUMENT GRANTED TO SIR JAMES BROOKE BY H.H. THE SULTAN OF BRUNEI IN 1841, WHEREBY THE COUNTRY OF SARAWAK WAS MADE OVER TO HIM AND HIS SUCCESSORS FOR EVER



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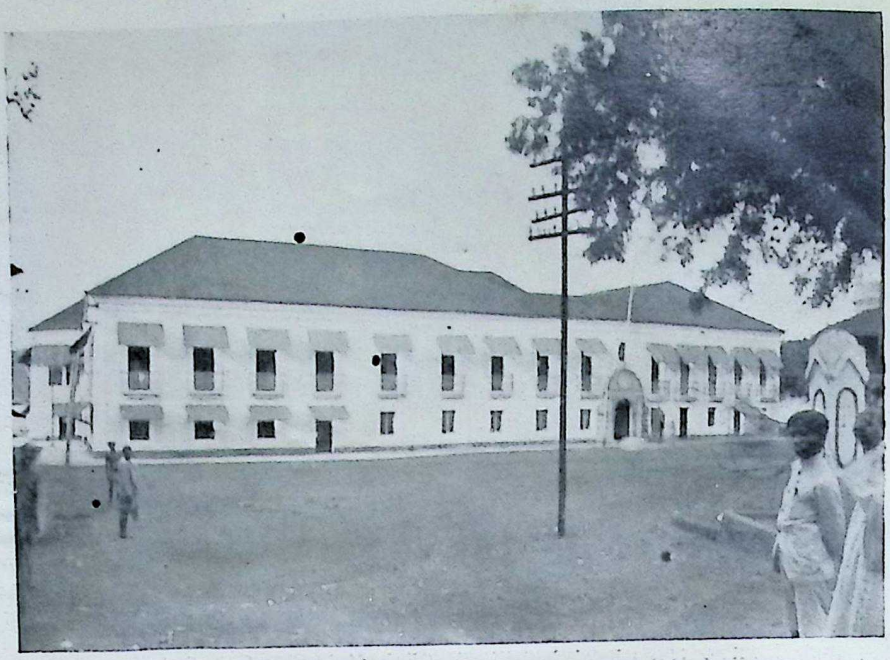

GOVERNOR'S PALACE, PANJIM

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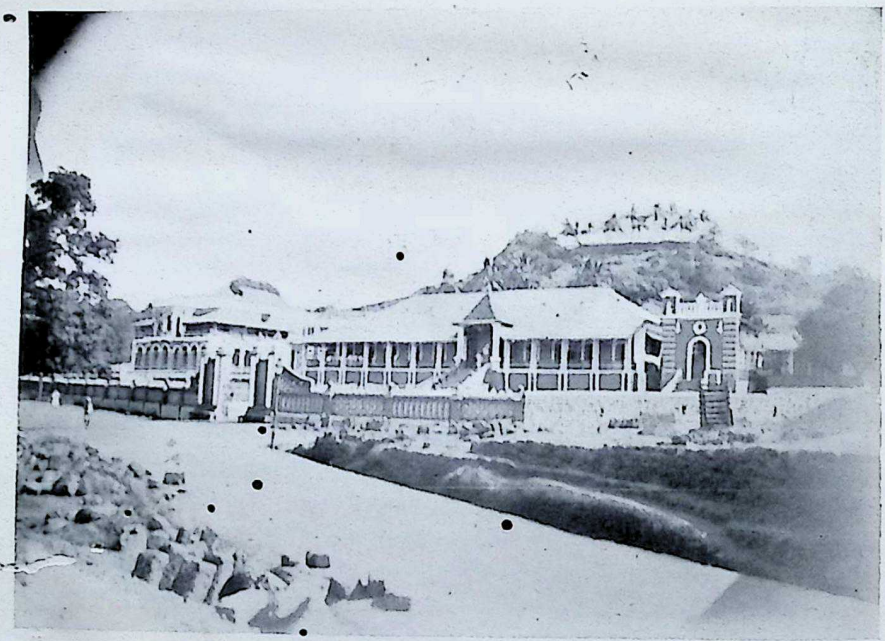

HOSPITAL MARGÃO

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PORTUGUESE RULE IN GOA

By E. Rosenthal, F.R.G.S.

The study of Portuguese rule in Goa presents many interesting features, and is a story of success and failure of meteoric character. When Albuquerque set foot on Goanese territory in the spring of 1510 he was fired with ambition to acquire for his king what he considered would be the most valuable gem in the circlet of Portuguese overseas territories. He was quick to grasp the possibilities of Goa, and to realize what an important weapon it would become in the hands of the Portuguese for the development of empire and the extension of trade.

In its initial stages Portuguese enterprise in Asia was crowned with brilliant success, for Albuquerque was singularly fortunate in selecting the opportune moment in which to embark upon his attack on Goa, and his first landing was in the nature of a triumphal entry. The Goanese, weary of the Mussulman rule of Bijapur, under which they had smarted since 1469, hailed Albuquerque with joy. To them he was the saviour whose advent had been prophesied by a *jogi*, and they regarded the Portuguese as their rescuers from the Muhammadan yoke. Albuquerque issued various declarations likely to encourage the confidence and win the sympathy of the Hindus, who viewed with disfavour the encroachments of the Moplas. These Arabs, as foreign to the Hindus of Southern India as the Portuguese themselves, had entirely monopolized the coast trade, and, from the outset, Albuquerque made it a feature of his policy to pose as the liberator of the Hindus and the destroyer of the Muhammadans. In furtherance of this policy he adopted a paternal attitude towards the former.

Despite this auspicious commencement, however, Albuquerque's career in Goa was destined to be a stormy one, beset with grave perils from within and without. Firstly, he was interrupted in the congenial task of establishing himself root and branch in his new territory by the advance of the ruler of Bijapur, Yusuf Adil Shah, with sixty thousand men. The Portuguese general would have stayed to face the enemy, despite overwhelming odds, but for the unwillingness of his captains, who considered trading to be

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a more profitable and pleasant occupation than fighting. Much against the grain, therefore, Albuquerque withdrew to his ships, after setting fire to the arsenal at Goa, and beheading a hundred and fifty Muhammadan prisoners. It was only an instance of *reculer pour mieux sauter*, however, for after the monsoon was spent, Albuquerque returned to the attack with renewed vigour, and recaptured Goa on November 25, 1510. On this occasion the Portuguese proved their mettle as warriors and accomplished many heroic feats. A forecast of Albuquerque's Christian propaganda may be glimpsed in his first deed after reaching *terra firma*. He offered up thanksgiving, and vowed that he would build a church in honour of St. Catherine of Alexandria, for it was on her feast day that he planted the Portuguese flag on Goanese territory for the second time. Albuquerque's next act has left an indelible stain on the record of his achievements, for it consisted in the wholesale slaughter of the Muhammadan population, an act notable for its cruelty, even in a semi-barbarous age.

Good fortune again declared for Albuquerque, for Yusuf Adil Shah, a man with as much backbone as Albuquerque himself, died shortly after the Portuguese victory, and Ismail, a mere stripling, reigned in his father's stead. From Ismail's vassals Albuquerque obtained all the concessions he required without any particular difficulty, and in return he promised to assist the youthful ruler of Bijapur "against the King of Deccan, and against your enemies." In a burst of persuasiveness Albuquerque continued his communication by offering to make Ismail "a great Lord among the Moors," provided that the Muhammadan sultan agreed to accept Albuquerque as a guide, philosopher, and friend, and concluded his effusion by promising to be a father to the Bijapur sultan and to bring him up like a son.

Albuquerque has been likened to Alexander the Great, although the conditions in which the two warriors warred and won were vastly different.* Land formed the base of Alexander's operations, and he was compelled, therefore, to secure his rear by establishing fortified posts as he advanced. The sea was the stage of Albuquerque's operations, and, consequently, he was relieved of anxiety respecting his rearguard. He was strongly opposed, however, to overmuch reliance being placed on the navy, and lost no opportunity of advocating emphatically the imperative necessity for building fortresses, and of advising the King of Portugal

* See remarks in "The Portuguese in India," by F. C. Danvers (W. H. Allen and Co., 1894), vol. i., pp. xxx and 328.

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not to pin his faith on "ships as rotten as cork, only kept afloat by four pumps in each of them."

A much criticized feature of Albuquerque's policy was his encouragement of mixed marriages. He climbed the fence of race in his endeavour to kill two birds with one stone, for by the wholesale conversion of Indian women, and their marriage to Portuguese men, he proposed to establish a stable Christian population in Goa. Artisans would be required permanently in this new country, and Albuquerque reasoned that the most powerful inducement for men to settle on foreign shores would be family ties. Mixed marriages featured in all Portuguese colonization policy, and there was nothing particularly repugnant about the idea from the Portuguese angle of vision. In Goa special privileges were accorded to married men, certain posts were reserved for them, and, in 1518, all the crown estates were divided amongst them. Towards the end of the sixteenth century well-born orphans were dowered by the King of Portugal and sent to India, but Goa rejoiced in unenviable fame so far as morality or, rather, the absence of morality was concerned. Matrimony in bulk, as encouraged by Albuquerque, was responsible for much physical and moral deterioration, for in many instances the women were no better than slaves. The promoter of the scheme was far too shrewd an administrator not to visualize the perils in store. True, it was imperative that there should be a prolific younger generation. The quality of that younger generation, however, was just as important as quantity, for its members would be required to fill the ranks of the army and navy. Albuquerque knew right well that in a new colony there is no place for weaklings, and he proposed that all children between the ages of twelve and twenty-five should be educated in Portugal by order of the King.

The hothouse climate of Goa soon made its influence felt on the men as well as on the children. The husbands whom Albuquerque had established as armourers and cobblers left work to their servants, and preferred lazing to labouring while the wives replenished the family exchequer with the immoral earnings of their slave girls.

Albuquerque was quick to appreciate the talents of the people with whom he had to deal, and he encouraged the training and employment of Indian clerks and troops. In a letter addressed to his sovereign in 1512, Albuquerque requested that a competent schoolmaster should be sent out to instruct men in Western languages and customs. He

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also wrote to the King of Portugal urging the retention of Goa, and the arguments which he adduced in face of opposition were sufficiently cogent to convince Emmanuel "the Fortunate" of their truth.

It was in 1515 that Albuquerque passed away, and his most distinguished successor was Vasco da Gama, the discoverer of the sea route to the Indies. Da Gama stood at the helm for too short a time, however, to steer the ship of State clear of the many shoals which surrounded it, for he died in 1524, after ruling over Goa for a period of three months only.

Missionary zeal had been a conspicuous trait of Albuquerque's policy, and the idea that they should encourage Christianity was impressed upon all viceroys. The influence of that remarkable man St. Francis Xavier still serves as a generator of spiritual enthusiasm, as evidenced by the scenes of religious fervour which are enacted at the present day during the expositions of the Saint's remains in the Church of Bom Jesus at Old Goa. St. Francis Xavier arrived at Goa in 1542, and, with a marvellous admixture of tact and shrewdness, the Saint commenced his mission in the East by endeavouring to regenerate the Christians before embarking upon the conversion of Hindus and Muhammadans, for he was well aware of the need of Europeans in Goa for moral uplift. Before leaving Europe St. Francis had assisted his friend and master St. Ignatius Loyola to found the order of Jesuit fathers, and his teaching and preaching paved the way for their activities in Asia. By a grant made about the middle of the sixteenth century, all funds formerly employed for the unkeep of Hindu temples were transferred to the Jesuits for the furtherance of education, and, within the space of a few years, their College of St. Paul in Goa became the leading educational institution in the Orient.

A series of disasters rendered Goa in a comparatively short time a drain on the vitality of Portugal. The downfall of Goa was due to a variety of causes, amongst which the sixty years' Spanish dominion from 1580 to 1640, the Portuguese love of ease, and the incursions of the Dutch take pride of place. The shrewd old Frenchman Tavernier, who visited Goa twice during the course of the seventeenth century, was struck very forcibly by the degeneration which had set in between his first and second visits. He noted that on his first visit he "met with people of fashion that had above two thousand crowns revenue; at my second voyage the same persons came privately to me in the

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evening to beg an alms; yet abating nothing for all that of their inherent pride and haughtiness. Tavernier's compatriot Thevenot hit the nail on the head when he remarked, "Few nations in the world were so rich in the Indies as the Portuguese were before their commerce was ruined by the Dutch, but their vanity is the cause of their loss, and if they had feared the Dutch more than they did, they might have still been in a position to give them the law there."

One ill led to another in Goa. To raise sufficient funds to oppose the Dutch, the Viceroy, Pedro da Silva, put up for auction all public positions and knocked them down to the highest bidder. True, this legalized bribery brought in certain ready cash, but failed lamentably to cast out the Hollanders, whose power increased and multiplied at a rate exceedingly disconcerting to the Portuguese.

Another blow dealt to Portuguese power in India was the cession of Bombay to the British in 1665, in accordance with the marriage treaty drawn up between Charles II. of England and the Infanta of Portugal. The then Viceroy of Goa, Antonio de Mello e Castro, did not relinquish Bombay without many a pang, as proved by the correspondence which passed between him and the King of Portugal, Alfonso VI. In one letter in which he endeavoured to justify himself for having ignored the royal commands to deliver Bombay to the English Ambassador, Sir Abraham Shipham, the Viceroy described it as "the best port Your Majesty possesses in India, with which that of Lisbon is not to be compared."

In 1755 the Government rescinded the law passed in 1540, forbidding the erection of temples in the Velhas Conquistas, "Old Conquests," and religious liberty was accorded to the inhabitants of the Novas Conquistas, the "New Conquests." The "Old Conquests," comprising the ten islands of Goa, Bardez Province and Tiracol District, Salcete Province and the Island of Anjediva, were annexed soon after Albuquerque's conquest of Goa proper, and, consequently, for nearly four hundred years Christianity has held sway over this region. As in Roman Catholic countries in Europe, the churches are the principal buildings in each town, and they lend a queerly non-Oriental aspect to the Velhas Conquistas. These sanctuaries are a curious contrast to the sumptuous temples in the nine provinces of the Novas Conquistas, which territory did not come into the possession of Portugal until the second half

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of the eighteenth century, and still retains many of its Hindu characteristics.

During the Napoleonic wars Goa was garrisoned by English troops, "with every demonstration on the part of His Excellency the Governor and Captain General of the most perfect cordiality and the most distinguished attention," as Wellesley put it, in a letter written in October, 1799, to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors of the East India Company. The British Auxiliary Force continued to occupy Goa until the general peace in 1815, when Portuguese territory was evacuated.

In 1881 extensive works were undertaken at Mormugao for the accommodation of important ocean-going vessels. Coupled with the opening of the West of India Portuguese Railway from Castle Rock station to Mormugao, this enterprise has been productive of satisfactory results. The seventy-mile line is worked by the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway, and a considerable amount of goods traffic is conveyed by this route to the coast. Near Vasco da Gama station the Burma Oil Company and New York Petroleum Company have established reservoirs, and several English shipping firms have agencies at Mormugao, which is the headquarters of a railway district engineer, to whom usually the duties are entrusted of British consul.

Owing to the unhealthy condition of Old Goa, the seat of government was transferred to Panjim in 1764. Panjim, therefore, is now the centre of commerce, industry, and education, and possesses, incidentally, a noted medical college, whilst Margao, the capital of the Salcete District, boasts a hospital which would do credit to any large European city. This institution was erected recently by private enterprise, and is furnished with every modern hygienic convenience.

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THE INNER EAST

THE BOLSHEVIKS AND AFGHANISTAN

[The author of this article has already contributed an article to the ASIATIC REVIEW in April of last year on the "Basmaji Movement in Turkestan." Mr. Chokaiev was President of the Provisional Government of Autonomous Turkestan which was elected by the Extraordinary Congress of Turkestan Mussulmans in November, 1917, and which was suppressed as a result of the bombardment of Kokand by troops of the Tashkent Sovnarkom on January 31, 1918. The Inner East Section is conducted in consultation with Mr. W. E. D. Allen, M.P., the distinguished Eastern traveller and author, who arranged with Mr. Mustapha Chokaiev for the following article, which, it will be noted, was written before King Amanullah's departure from Afghanistan.]

I

WHENEVER one has to speak of the feeling of the Bolsheviks for the peoples of the East, I recollect the words of Kirov, the one-time Minister of the Soviet Government in Georgia. Having returned from the famous "First Congress of the Peoples of the East," held in Baku (September 1-7, 1920), he granted an interview to a member of the staff of the Tiflis paper *Slovo*. Speaking of the "Eastern peoples," with the representatives of which the Bolsheviks were engaged in concluding "a sacred union for struggling against British Imperialism," Kirov expressed himself as follows:

> "I am not an expert on the East, but I do know that the Orientals will willingly attend any Congresses, especially if they are given *pilaff*" (a dish with rice).

If it be taken into consideration that Kirov was introduced as a representative of the Communist Internationale into the so-called "Soviet of Action and Propaganda in the East"—*i.e.*, into the body which was to lead the peoples of the East in a "holy war against the Imperialism of the World, and in particular against that of Great Britain"—it is easy to understand the true feeling of the Bolsheviks towards their "Eastern Allies." The Bolsheviks regarded and continue to regard them as peoples "ready to agree to anything as long as they are given *pilaff*."

I do not here use *pilaff* in that cynical, gastronomic sense in which it was used by Kirov, but in the sense of those unrealizable promises and declarations of love towards the "Eastern peoples" which are made by the Bolsheviks.

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It is sufficient to read what the Bolsheviks say of the Chinese and Turkish Nationalists to understand what the "flavouring" of Soviet *pilaff* is. I follow events in Turkestan fairly accurately, and can say that the most terrible word—a real bugbear for intimidating our Nationalists (the partisans of the National Independence of Turkestan)—in the mouths of the Bolsheviks is "Kemalist." I recall that in the spring of 1927, at the Conference of Workers of National Education in Uzbegistan, the Bolshevik orator, in trying to slander the writer of these lines in the eyes of the teachers and students of Turkestan, and make him appear the most malicious enemy of the people, said:

> "Do you know, Comrades, what would have happened in Turkestan if the plans of Mustapha Chokaev had succeeded in 1918? We should now be living in conditions similar to those of Turkey, under Mustapha Kemal."

Kemalism, which Bolshevik diplomacy is continually praising, appears in reality to be a terrible nightmare, from which the inhabitants of Turkestan must be saved at all costs. Even in the "Boy Scout" movement, which is entirely non-political, and has no connection with either the revolutionary or counter-revolutionary party, the Bolshevik Press of Turkestan saw criminal designs on the part of the Kemalists. According to the Tashkent feminine journal *Yangi Yul*, by training "Scouts" the "Kemalists are training future hangmen of the Turkish people. . . ." I could quote many similar examples of the Bolshevik "sympathy" towards the Kemalists. The ones I have mentioned are sufficient for us to see that the true feelings of the Soviets towards Kemalist Turkey are widely different from those "assurances" of "sincere friendship" with which the diplomatic notes and telegrams of the Moscow People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs are full.

When, two years ago, in China, a conflict arose between the leaders of the left (in sympathy with the Bolsheviks) and right (with Chiang Kai-Shek at the head) wings of the "Kuomintang," the Soviet Press discussed at length: whether the Chinese National Revolutionary movement had become similar to the Turkish Kemalist movement or not? If it had (Trotsky's view), the traitor Chiang Kai-Shek, who had taken upon himself the "criminal part" of a Chinese Kemal, was to be "annihilated" without delay.

If it had not (Stalin's view), events were to be awaited,

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but all measures were to be taken to prevent Chiang Kai-Shek from becoming a Kemal. . . .

The feeling of the Bolsheviks for Amanullah, before whom the Red banners of the world socialist revolution were lowered in Moscow, differs but little from their feeling for Kemal and Chiang Kai-Shek. One condition, however, puts the Afghan King into a more privileged position as compared with the Turkish President: that is, the geographical position of Afghanistan between Soviet Turkestan and British India. The desire to keep Afghanistan, as long as possible, within the sphere of its "Eastern Policy"—which is in reality the policy of promoting the "downfall of British Imperialism" and the "Liberation of India"—forces the Bolsheviks to make promises to Afghanistan which go far beyond the possibilities of realization.

II

It is essential for the Bolsheviks to demonstrate their "friendship" before Afghanistan, and to produce the right "impression" at the "Gates of India." For Soviet Russia the Afghan national movement and the reforms of King Amanullah Khan were important in so far as they could be used against "British Imperialism," at the most vulnerable point of the British Empire—*i.e.*, at the "Gates of India." A revolution in India is the most important—I should say the last—card of the Russian Bolsheviks. Without this revolution they cannot visualize "the fall of the Imperialism of the West." The Bolsheviks promised a revolution in India in the first "Appeal of the Soviet of People's Commissaries to the Mussulmans of the East" (November, 1917).

"Without the liberation of India," the Bolsheviks wrote in the so-called Blue Book, "there can be no social catastrophe in the West."

"We Russian revolutionaries and international Socialists," we read further on in the Blue Book,* "must not only hail the revolution in India, but directly and indirectly support it with all our power; we must unite our forces in the name of a struggle with imperialism, and help India to set herself free from the detestable yoke of Great Britain."

This idea of a "revolution in India," without which there can be no "social catastrophe in the West," permeates all

* "The Blue Book." Collection of secret documents, obtained from the archives of the former Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Published by the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. Moscow, 1918.

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the activities of the Bolsheviks: the work of the Soviet of People's Commissaries and that of the "Comintern." The more convinced the Bolsheviks become of the "stabilization of capital," and the less hopeful they become of the "revolutionary productivity" of the Western proletariat (British in particular), the more the Soviet Government turns in hope to the East. The defeat of the Soviets at Warsaw may be regarded as a turning-point which defined the "weakening of the revolutionary movement in the West" and increased attention on the East. For Stalin, the present-day powerful dictator of the Kremlin, the defeat at Warsaw was not so much a military defeat as a defeat of the hopes of the revolutionary strength of the proletariat of the West.

I shall refer to Stalin's speech at the Twelfth Congress of the Party (April, 1923).

> "We could not go further, after we had suffered defeat at Warsaw. . . . We undertook a new policy within our country—we introduced the N.E.P., and in foreign lands (in the West) we decided to decrease the advance movement and carry out further work among the Eastern reserves of the revolution, which form the backbone of world capitalism. . . .
>
> "Either," continues Stalin, "we shall arouse the back areas of imperialism—*i.e.*, Eastern Colonies or Mandated States—and thereby accelerate the fall of imperialism, or we shall fail there, and thus strengthen imperialism and weaken the power of our movement. That is the position of the question at present."

It was in the name of "arousing and revolutionizing the Eastern countries," and in the sole hope of, if not making him an ally, at least of engaging his sympathies in the Soviet anti-British policy—*i.e.*, in the so-called "colonial-liberating revolution"—that the Soviet Government lowered the Red banners of the world social revolution before the Eastern monarch.

I do not personally think that Amanullah Khan could have given any guarantees in the matter of strengthening Soviet hopes in this direction. But the Bolsheviks did not require these guarantees. They merely hoped to make use of the Afghan's "fear of England" in the most profitable manner for themselves. . . .

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III

I recollect my short conversation with the late Djemal-Pasha, during the latter's visit to Europe, in the spring of 1922.

Djemal-Pasha was then the organizer of the Afghan Army. He arrived in Afghanistan after a fairly long visit to Moscow and Tashkent. He believed (or perhaps wanted to appear as though he believed) in the early "expulsion of the British from India" by the Soviet Red Army. He made the impression on me that he was carrying out his mission of organizing the Afghan Army with this possibility in his mind.

At this time Enver, who had already a fair knowledge of Bolshevik policy, was in Eastern Bokhara (now Tadjikstan), and was struggling against the Red Army. When I pointed this out to Djemal-Pasha, and drew his attention to his equivocal position in relation to the Soviets, Djemal-Pasha called Enver an "extremely impulsive man," and asked me to "write to my friends in Turkestan and ask them to influence the 'Basmajis' to stop their activities against the Soviet Authority, and even join forces with the Bolsheviks, in view of forthcoming events of enormous importance in India."*

I tried to warn Djemal-Pasha of the danger to which he might subject Afghanistan—the country which had only just entered the path of European culture. The danger seemed to me to be the definite desire of Djemal-Pasha to keep Afghanistan and her young monarch in the fairway of Soviet policy, with a sympathy towards Soviet Russia. I did not succeed in convincing Djemal-Pasha; he appeared to be over-obsessed by the idea of "expelling the British from India." He hoped that this would be realized, and believed that Soviet Russia would help in the affair. The Afghan Army, according to the unexpressed idea of its organizer—was also to participate in the "revolutionary liberation of India." I was forced to put the question: "Will the Afghan Government consent to this?" Djemal-Pasha refrained from giving a direct answer, but . . . I remembered the history of the *Goeben* and *Breslau*, which, without the clearly expressed consent of the Turkish Government, began military operations in the Black Sea. . . .

* It is probable that Djemal-Pasha also believed in the rumours spread by the Turkestan Bolsheviks that I was the instigator of the "Basmaji" rising.—M. Ch.

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IV

The true feeling of Soviet circles—if they were free from the desire for the "social catastrophe in Europe"—towards the King-reformer Amanullah, was very different from that which might be supposed to have existed, judging from the "Moscow review of the Red Army" held before the Afghan monarch.

While the Soviet diplomats were praising the reforms of Amanullah Khan, the *Ogonek*, an extremely popular weekly, published the following (May 15, 1928):

> "Not the padishah Amanullah Khan, with his State Council of the wisest men, will bring about radical reforms in the country, but the working masses. There is no doubt about this. . . ."

We shall see later what reforms the *Ogonek* hinted at, and also that it was precisely this journal which expressed the true feeling of Soviet circles towards Afghanistan and her King. Let us look back. In an appeal to the Mussulmans of the world, published in 1924, by the Tashkent Department for Affairs concerned with the Mussulman Faith, we read that:

> "Great Britain . . . through the mediation of mercenary reactionary leaders has raised a revolt against the young Emir Amanullah Khan, which has led to the shedding of innocent blood. . . ."

Reference is here made to the Khost rising in 1924, which, as is known, was led by a certain pretender to the throne named Abdul-Kerim.

Looking through Turkestan papers, I came across some back numbers of the most important local paper, the *Kzil Uzbegstan* (written in the Uzbeg language), in which a totally different explanation of the Khost rising is given (numbers of papers for August, 1925). The author of these explanations is the prominent Uzbeg Communist Mannan Ramzi, who not only knows and understands the line of Soviet "foreign policy," but is initiated into her secrets. His explanations of the Khost rising are therefore of interest as a Bolshevik interpretation of Afghan events. In a long article especially devoted to the Khost rising (see *Kzil Uzbegstan*, dated August 20, 1925) Mannan Ramzi writes:

> "The activities of the Afghan administration are responsible for the people going over to Abdul-Kerim. . . ."

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Further, we read :

> "The risings against the Government show that the entire administration of Afghanistan, from top to bottom, is organized on a system of violence and robbery. . . ."

Nowhere in the articles of Ramzi in the pages of the *Kzil Uzbegstan* will you see England blamed for the Khost rising, as she is in the "Appeal to all the Mussulmans of the World." On the contrary, the rising is described in such a way that its "legality," as well as that of other risings, leaves no doubt in the reader's mind. Kamzi proposes a method whereby Afghanistan could be freed from risings, and to hear this friendly advice to the Afghan people is not without interest :

> "Conditions in all places in which the Soviet system has not been introduced are bad," writes Ramzi in an article entitled "Rayat Talashi" (*i.e.*, "The Robbery of the Poor"). "The working masses of countries adjoining those in which the Soviet system is working are eagerly awaiting its introduction into their countries. The masses have awakened not only in Afghanistan. The new desire for freedom" (*i.e.*, "Soviet freedom") "is ever growing, and will increase and gain strength with time. . . ."

And after describing his sojourn in the Afghan fortress of Kala-i-Byarpanaj, Mannan Ramzi concludes :

> "The future revolution in Afghanistan lies deep in our hearts. . . ."

Can we doubt that he is not referring to the revolution which was being brought about by Amanullah Khan through his reforms, but to the class, proletarian revolution of the "Afghan Rayats" against Amanullah Khan and his loyal "Sirdars"?

"The future Afghan revolution" is not only "in the hearts" of the Bolsheviks in Turkestan. They are carrying on propaganda among the Afghan refugees in the Pamir and the Afghans working in Turkestan. For example, members of the special Afghan Government Commission who had been sent to the Pamir for the purpose of elaborating the conditions under which certain Afghan refugees could return to their native land, were met by the Soviet delegates and representatives of the refugees.

Turning to the old Kazia, who gave the refugees the

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paternal wishes of Amanullah Khan and his request that they should return to their native land, a certain refugee delegate—according to the above-mentioned article, "Rayat Talashi," in the *Kzil Uzbegstan*—interrupted the words of Amanullah's representative and shouted :

"This Kazia, along with others, drank the people's blood" . . . thereupon the Soviet delegate, who was present, commented : "If this Kazia is a blood-sucker, then, following the rule of 'blood for blood,' we should kill this man today."

If these remarks are openly made to the head of the Royal Commission, it is not difficult to imagine what is said by the Bolsheviks, "who nurse in their hearts the idea of the future Afghan revolution," to the Afghan refugees in private.

I can imagine what the Bolsheviks would have said in the "Revolutionary East" if this attitude towards the Afghan Government Commission had been adopted by the British.

V

The receptions held in London in honour of King Amanullah were regarded by Soviet Moscow as "insincere flattery by the Imperialists" to the head of independent Afghanistan, which in the event of a conflict between England and the Soviet Union might prove to be a dangerous neighbour. To counterbalance "British wickedness" the Russian Bolsheviks tried to emphasize their "absolute sincerity," and were loud in their praises of the reforms of Amanullah at all official gatherings.

In these reforms the official Bolshevik speakers tried to trace a "kinship of souls," between the Afghan people and the "revolutionary proletariat of the great proletarian Republic of Soviets." The symbolical review of Red troops, with banners lowered before the Eastern monarch, had to be justified before the Soviet proletariat in some way. The Bolsheviks, however, did not take into account the results of their "sincere praise" of the Afghan reforms. They did not foresee that in Turkestan, for instance, their attitude might result in totally undesired and open signs of sympathy towards Afghanistan, and even sow amidst the population the seed of "counter-revolutionary" desire to "form a national independent Turkestan on the lines of Afghanistan. . . ."

Some time ago the Soviet Press drew attention to the fact that among Turkestan students (for instance, in the

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Higher Pedagogical Institute in Samarkand) there appeared groups of active agitators, prepared to demand "the right for Turkestan to develop independently on the lines followed by Afghanistan and Egypt. . . ." The entire party machine was immediately put into operation to nip this in the bud. The principal culprit was discovered, and proved to be a student—an Uzbeg—a member of the Communist Party, Mirza Rakhimi. Enquiries proved that he was not alone in his demands, but that he enjoyed the full support of a portion of students and teachers. The authorities then restricted their activities to expelling Rakhimi only from the party and from the Institute for attempting to "put into practice the nationalist ideas . . . of Mustapha Chokaev," the author of these lines. The authorities, however, felt they could not stop here. In Turkestan Amanullah Khan enjoyed great popularity and respect, which was certainly not based on his "Soviet sympathies." In Amanullah Khan the natives of Turkestan saw a man who embodied the idea of an independent Afghanistan together with the keen desire for progress.

The fact that among that section of Turkestan youths who have passed through Soviet schools there has sprung up an active group demanding "Afghan and even Egyptian conditions" for the national development of Turkestan is clear evidence that neither Amanullah's "pro-Soviet" nor "anti-British" policy—if such terms could honestly be applied to his policy—played any part in the popularity he enjoyed in Turkestan. The sympathies of the Turkestan people for Amanullah Khan were upheld by the longing for the independence of their country, over which the Red standard "of Red Colonial Imperialism" has been raised for the last twelve years. The Bolsheviks understand the situation very well. It was for this reason—*i.e.*, in order to discredit Amanullah and his word in the eyes of the Turkestan population—that on the eve of recent events in Afghanistan they intended to open a "revolutionary" campaign against the King and his reforms.

Perhaps it is not without interest to relate this fact now when the Soviet Press, while "protecting Amanullah Khan and his reforms from British Imperialism," was trying to remove all traces of its own attack on the foundations of Afghan national statesmanship.

I have before me several numbers of the Tashkent paper *Pravda Vostoka*—the official organ of the so-called Central Asiatic Bureau of the Central Committee of the

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All-Russian Communist Party, which is at the head of all party and Government activities of the Soviets in Turkestan. Zelenski, the responsible secretary of the Bureau, writes (see *Pravda Vostoka* of November 2, 1928) :

> "The reforms of Amanullah are capable of misleading many, especially owing to the one-sided non-Marxian inaccurate information received of those reforms.
>
> "From the point of view of class, the measures outlined or enforced by Amanullah Khan tend to create most favourable conditions for the development of a bourgeois state, for the normal development of trade and industrial capital. Compared to feudalism, capitalism is of course a sign of cultural and economic development. . . . Yet capitalism in Afghanistan will be fed by blood, by toil, by the exploitation of the workpeople and by the ruin of the village.
>
> "A misunderstanding of these questions" (*i.e.*, the class significance of Amanullah's reforms), continues Zelenski, "only assists the spreading of Rakhimi's (or similar) ideas" (*i.e.*, those supporting Turkestan nationalism).
>
> "This (wrong) attitude," concludes Zelenski, "merely misleads the workmen and peasants of our (Central Asian) republics. . . ."

And so we see a true Soviet representation of Amanullah Khan and his New State, a representation which should serve as a "true guide for the workpeople and peasants of Central Asia." We see what this Soviet conception is :

> "Amanullah Khan is building up his State on the blood of Afghan workpeople and upon the ruin of Afghan peasants. . . ."

VI

The true reasons of the present-day events in Afghanistan would appear to be as follows. I am not in a position to arrive at a thorough estimate of the tragedy of the Afghan people, and I shall only here refer to the explanations derived from Soviet sources. It is quite clear that the Bolsheviks accuse the British. The rising in Afghanistan, according to them, is in the interests of England only in so far as it affords a pretext for an "attack on the Soviet Union." A proof of the intention of England to attack Soviet Russia is seen—among other things—in the

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visit of the French General Gouraud to India, which "coincides suspiciously" with the reactionary rising against Amanullah Khan.* Thus the editor of the *Bulletin of the Press of the Central East*, in dealing with Afghan affairs, "discloses the cards of the Imperialists." However, not England alone was to be blamed for the rising. The lion's share in the whole affair was attributed to Amanullah Khan himself. The following is what can be read in the Tashkent paper *Pravda Vostoka* of January 1, 1929:

> "The development of capitalism in Afghanistan is accompanied by mass ruin and impoverishment of the peasantry. Yet the chief part of the yearly increasing taxes, required for the development of industry and the maintenance of the centralized State Departments and the Army, is borne by the peasantry. The discontented peasants, unable to formulate their demands, follow the feudal and clerical elements—who incite them to act against the Government."

Thus, according to Soviet explanations, the peasants, who form the bulk of the Afghan population, appear to be against the Government.

An article entitled "The Reactionary Rising is being Prolonged," in the *Bulletin of the Press of the Central East*,† is devoted to this subject. Owing to the great interest that is taken in the Soviet explanation of Afghan affairs, I venture to quote fairly long extracts from this article. The article is also interesting in that it gives us a comparatively simple idea of the distribution of Government and anti-Government forces.

From the point of view of territory, it is stated that the rising has affected two districts—Kukhistan and the Eastern Province, excluding Jelalabad. Soviet data give us an idea of the state of affairs in these districts. Let me turn to the article:

> "The greater part of those participating in the rising in the Kukhistan district," as we read in the article, "belong to the peasantry of Afghan tribes."

It proceeds to indicate that the Afghan peasants have full reason to be discontented with the present state of affairs.

> "The progressive trade reforms of the Afghan

* "The Reactionary Rising in Afghanistan," second edition, p. 22.

† The title of the special editions published by the "Press Bureau of the Central East" attached to the Central Asiatic Bureau of the Central Committee of the All-Russian Communist Party in Tashkent. Two editions are so far to hand—December, 1928, and January, 1929.

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bourgeoisie have not benefited the Afghan peasants. On the contrary, as a result of the reforms, the position of the Afghan peasants—the principal taxpayers of the country—has become considerably worse owing to the increased taxation and the substitution of the former taxation in kind by taxation in money. For instance, the tax on the land has increased three to four times since 1919; the tax on small-horned cattle, formerly equal to 7 puls (a rupee=60 puls), has increased to ½ rupee; the tax on long-horned cattle has increased from 20 puls to 1 rupee; that on horses is now four times higher, and that on donkeys five times higher than before.

"No less have the peasants been affected by the substitution of tax in money for tax in kind.* Under prevailing conditions, in which the Afghan peasants have little connection with the market, the substitution leads to the enslavement of the peasants by money-lenders and opens a large field for possible abuses by officials.

"To this must be added widespread bribery, illegal collections by local authorities, and the absence of any incentives to raise the production of peasant labour (by means of technical appliances) and of peasant households.

"This difficult position of the Afghan peasantry is one of the reasons for the ever-present bandits in the country. Thus, after the partial failure of the harvest of 1925 in Afghanistan, the bandits increased to an alarming degree. It is characteristic that even after the failure of the crops in 1925 the Government did not lower taxation."

And so, from the point of view of class interests, it is alleged that the power of the Sirdars, the present-day commercial bourgeoisie, has only brought more misery into the lives of the Afghan peasants; further, that bribery and corruption have not only been unchecked, but the reforms themselves have served frequently as a means for new oppression of the population.

The peasants began to believe that the restoration of Islam and of the old Commune (the remains of which still exist) might relieve their sad fate, and that the wretchedness of their position was due, chiefly, to the fact that the padishah had become an "infidel" and was introducing

* Taxes in money are, of course, more progressive than the old taxes in kind.

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"heretical" reforms against the will of Allah. The hard fate of the peasants was also taken to be the cause of the rising in the Eastern Province (tribe known as "Shinwari"). The Bolsheviks regarded the "refusal of the Durrani tribe" —the tribe of King Amanullah—to act against the "Shinwari" as significant.

"The Durrani tribal chiefs," says the article from which I have quoted, "were evidently in agreement with the demands put forward by the 'Shinwari' leader during the negotiations (the abolition of reforms, the cancellation of obligatory military service, and the retention of the right of local self-government in the provinces)." Thus the Bolsheviks held that the greater part of the population was opposed to the reforms of Amanullah Khan. Who, then, supported the reforms of the Government? The *Bulletin of the Press of the Central East* gives a reply to this question, which I shall now examine: "An insignificant portion of the population," we read, "is in favour of the reforms and of the Government." The supporters consist of the ruling class of Afghanistan, part of the Sirdars, the aristocracy, which has now become the commercial bourgeoisie. The Sirdars, who are placing their capital (derived from the robbery of the peasants under the hitherto prevailing feudal conditions) into trade, are interested in the capitalist development of Afghanistan.

The small town bourgeoisie (craftsmen, tradesmen, etc.), for whom the capitalist development of Afghanistan is more advantageous than the feudal conditions, also support the Sirdars. Finally, the small group of the Afghan "intelligentsia," the officers and young bureaucrats, are on the side of the Government.

Other weak points of the Government—*i.e.*, of those in favour of reforms—are pointed out in the *Bulletin* as follows:

> "The seriousness of the position in Afghanistan is explained by the fact that this backward country—under conditions of imperialism and capitalism—is trying in a short time to cover the ground of development which it has taken European countries many hundreds of years to traverse."

From the above the conclusion could be arrived at that "too hasty a breaking up of the foundations of the religious and national life of the country has made Amanullah unpopular among the greater part of his subjects."

This idea, which is a logical outcome of Soviet explana-

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tions of the Afghan events, the Bolsheviks regard as an invention of the "British bourgeois Press" (see *Pravda Vostoka*, January 1, 1929).

VII

If these causes, then, for events in Afghanistan be accepted, what is the deduction? Certainly not the one demanded by the insurgents—*i.e.*, the cancellation of all reforms. Nor the one recommended to the Afghan King by the Bolsheviks, who promised him the "sympathy of the working masses of the Soviet Union."

To sum up, the Bolsheviks' advice to Amanullah was to: (*a*) disregard the compromise made; and (*b*) show more courage in carrying on the interrupted struggle. In other words, they advised him to "support with bolder methods" than those practised hitherto the "attempt to catch up Europe in a short time"—*i.e.*, to enforce those very innovations which, according to the Bolshevik assertion, "have aggravated the position in Afghanistan." What this means is clearly explained in the Soviet source, the *Bulletin*, from which I shall quote:

> ". . . All political reforms intended to modify the mediæval feudal system in colonial and mandated countries, although they mark progress, are in themselves a *Utopian* attempt to overcome imperialism without national colonial revolutions; *i.e.*, by 'peaceful' methods and without an *agrarian revolution*. . . ." (See p. 3.)

On the other hand, such political reforms as "the emancipation of women," the substitution of "religious" by "secular" schools, and "Shariat" by civil courts, are unsound if they cannot be supported by united social forces interested in maintaining and capable of defending the new institutions (see p. 5). In other words, the Bolsheviks advised Amanullah Khan to follow the basis of their own national policy, which has been operated in Turkestan. In Turkestan can be seen the effects of the real (not the "Utopian") "attempt to overcome Imperialism," by means of "national colonial revolution," based on the "agrarian revolution." There is, in my opinion, the grandest, the only experiment, in the history of the world of "building a foundation of united social forces" for such reforms as "the emancipation of women," the establishment of "secular" in the place of "religious" schools, and civil in place of "Shariat" courts. There I can point to the grandest ex-

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periment of a merciless struggle against "religious and national foundations." It may be added that in Turkestan this experiment is being enforced by the proletarian dictatorship, supported by alien armed forces, who are not interested in maintaining the "religious and national foundations" of our people.

If I end by pointing out that Turkestan, having for half a century been under the power of Russia, can be considered more receptive to "European culture" than Afghanistan, where "religious and national foundations" have not been interfered with by any other nation and are therefore stronger than they were in our case, the Bolshevik advice to Amanullah Khan to follow their example should be considered with great caution, even though "the sympathies of the working masses of the Soviet Union" are promised him.

I hope my readers will not object if I give a short account of the Soviet experiment of a "revolutionary struggle with religious and national foundations" and of the "agrarian revolution" in Turkestan. I shall quote for accuracy from Soviet sources.

The Bolshevik author Skalov asserts that after five years' Bolshevik experiment in Turkestan he notices the "ideology of retreat" in the policy of the Soviet Authority, which has taken the form of "political concessions" of the following nature:

> "The return of Vakufs to the clergy; the restoration of the courts of the Kazias; the call to power of so-called 'influential persons,' the partial restoration of former feudal laws (?), and the temporary suspension of the land reforms."*

Thus the "firman" of Amanullah Khan (January 9, 1929) cancelling the reforms was preceded by a Soviet decree of a similar nature. It is true that later the Bolsheviks disregarded the concession made with the religious and national foundations. But by what means? As an illustration I shall quote a document of great historical importance for understanding the revolutionary experiments in the Mussalman East. The subject of this document, translated from the Uzbeg, is as follows:

Question: If large landowners possess much land and are not in a position to cultivate it personally, has the State the right, from the point of view of the "Shariat," to hand over the uncultivated lands to such *dekhans* (landowners)

* G. Skalov, "The Experiment of Class Division in Turkestan," published in the journal *The Life of Nationalities*. Moscow, 1923, vol. ii., p. 41.

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who are able to cultivate them personally, and does not this contradict the "Shariat"?

Answer: According to the teaching of Imam Agzam, landowners are definitely prohibited from handing over their lands to other persons for cultivation with the idea of obtaining benefit for themselves, without personally taking part in cultivation.

In the book "Sakhin-ul-Bukhari"—vol. v., p. 719—it is said that one of the great followers of Muhammad, a rich landowner from Medina, named Rafia, let sections of land to other men for cultivation on the understanding that he would obtain a certain portion of the harvest. On hearing of this, Muhammad forbade Rafia to accept the above-mentioned part of the harvest. In the book "Fatvo-i-Alim-Kari"—vol ii., p. 240—it is said: "If a landowner is unable to cultivate all his land, the authorities can take away his land and give it to the poor."

According to this view, the State has the right to take the land from large landowners and give it to the poor *dekhans* for cultivation. This is not in contradiction to the "Shariat."

The document just quoted is the "Rivoyat"* of the Mussalman clergy in Turkestan. It was printed in the Soviet State Publishing Office and distributed throughout the country by the State Departments at the time of the introduction of the so-called "land reform (1925)" in the Tashkent, Samarkand, and Fergana districts.

In order to settle any doubts as to the authenticity of this document, I have taken the text from the Tashkent paper *Pravda Vostoka* of December 24, 1928, in which it was published as a reminder of the various stages of the Bolshevik struggle for the "agrarian revolution" in Turkestan. My notes on the "agrarian revolution" in Turkestan would not be complete if I failed to quote yet another document—the order of the People's Commissar of Agriculture of Uzbegstan (published in the *Pravda Vostoka* of January 11, 1928), from which we learn of the frequent refusals of the *dekhans* to hold a stranger's lands and of the voluntary return of the land to the former owner. In some places the Soviet Authority was forced to protect the land reform from violation by those in favour of whom it had been introduced, with the consent of the "Shariat."

I must now just say a few words on the "emancipation" of women in Turkestan. No other "revolutionary" reform

*"Rivoyat"—explanation given by Mussalman mullahs in doubtful cases.

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of the Soviet Authority has encountered such opposition as the one bearing upon the "emancipation" of women (unveiling the face). Not a week passes without the murder of a woman who has unveiled her face, or of her nearest kinsman who is known to have encouraged the reform, or of a Soviet worker who has advocated the reform. I shall not speak of the opposition to the "woman's reform," shown even by members of the Communist Party, but I cannot refrain from the "sad pleasure" of quoting the extreme regret of the official organ of the Central Asian Bureau of the Central Committee of the All-Russian Communist Party—the Tashkent journal *Za Partiyu*—"that no one has attempted to make use of *quotations from and references to the Koran* (the most powerful weapons) to uphold the reform of the unveiling of a woman's face" (see *Za Partiyu* of January 1, 1928, p. 93).

VIII

It is necessary, then, to suggest that the "compromise with the religious and national foundations," which "the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat" (which at the same time denies religion and nationality) was forced to make, becomes an undisputed necessity for the head of a State (in this case Amanullah Khan) who begins all his most important actions with the words of the prayer: "In the name of Allah, the gracious and merciful . . ."

There are, of course, compromises and compromises. The nature of the compromise depends on the relation of the forces of the supporters and opposers of reforms in a country. To imagine that any modest land reform, without mentioning an "agrarian revolution," can be carried out with one stroke of the pen would be madness (especially after the evidence of the Bolshevik experiment in Turkestan).

No reforms are possible without the "existence of united social forces" to support them. There is and can be no such force while the "tribal system," which in effect is supreme in present-day Afghanistan, is in existence. The Government, however generous its intentions, cannot count on any success of its progressive reforms until the Afghan tribes have been consolidated into one whole State nation. Under the tribal system there can be no reliable army—the support of any Government and State. Has Afghanistan this reliable force at her disposal? The answer can be found in the article "Reactionary Rising in Afghanistan," published in the Afghan paper *Anis*, first edition, Septem-

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ber 13, 1928, reprinted in the *Bulletin of the Press of the Central East*, in which we read:

> "It is not possible to count on the obedience of troops and their submission to the orders of their chiefs if they are not in sympathy with the intentions of the Government or are uncertain of their own convictions. . . ."

The experiment of the Soviet régime gives some valuable lessons in this connection. Tribes with less marked influence on the affairs of State than that enjoyed by the tribes of Afghanistan exist in Soviet Kaizakistan. In spite of all measures of the Soviet Authority, the tribal differences are keenly felt in all spheres of life in Kaizakistan. After a number of reforms, of a most revolutionary nature, the Bolsheviks were finally—at the end of last year—forced to resort to measures which neither Afghanistan nor any other national Government could employ.

The Soviet Authority requisitioned all cattle and property of tribal chiefs, and banished a number of them to various outlying districts. This measure could only have been carried out by an authority supported by an outside armed force alien to the local population. There were many among the Kaizak and Kirghiz Communists who were definitely opposed to those "anti-tribal" requisitions in Kaizakistan. After the ruin of the tribal chiefs new elections were carried out for the local Soviets and party organizations of Kaizakistan, and the remarkable thing was that in a number of districts members of the same tribe were elected even to party nuclei (not mentioning local Soviets)—*i.e.*, the head of the party nuclei invited only members of his own tribe to join the party. . . .

If such was the case in the Soviet State, what can one expect in Afghanistan, where the tribal system is recognized to be the basis of the State?

I have tried to show the total unsuitability of the Soviet advice given to Amanullah Khan (in spite of the assurances that he will enjoy the "sympathy of the working masses of the Soviet Union") to the conditions and State problems facing Afghanistan at the moment.

The Bolsheviks, who themselves were forced to "retreat" owing to the pressure of religious and national feelings, who themselves have given up the idea of an "agrarian revolution" in favour of "land reform" (supported by the authority of Mussulman mullahs and the authority of the "sacred books"), advised Amanullah Khan to break sud-

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denly with all "religious and national foundations" and begin a "colonial revolution against the imperialists of the West." Why encourage Afghanistan—a country which has only just entered upon the path of national progress, and one that occupies a most "sensitive" (I cannot find a better word) geographical position—to enter upon the blood-stained path of "colonial revolution"?

IX

The attitude of local Turkestan Communists towards Afghan affairs and towards Bolshevik advice to Afghanistan is worthy of note. They dare not, of course, express their own ideas openly, and are forced merely to repeat the words and writings of their Moscow teachers. . . .

Yet the Askhabad paper, the *Turkmenskaya Iskra* of December 27, 1928, had the courage to say that the salvation of Afghanistan would be to "follow the footsteps of Turkey"; that means, to ignore the Bolshevik advice relating to "colonial revolution," and to refrain from breaking up the national basis of the State.

The Bolsheviks took the paper at its word, and on January 29, 1929, the organ of the Central Asian Bureau of the Central Committee of the All-Russian Communist Party, the Tashkent paper *Pravda Vostoka*, expressed its extreme indignation at the behaviour of these Turkestan Communists.

"To follow the footsteps of Turkey," in the conception of the inhabitants of Turkestan, means to throw off the "guardianship" of the Bolsheviks, the Soviet idea of the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat," and the influence of the Moscow Internationale.

When the inhabitants of Turkestan speak of the "lines of development of Kemalist Turkey" they have in their minds, and they long for, not the Bolshevik idea of a "social catastrophe in the West," but a political catastrophe in Soviet Russia, after which Turkestan would be able to follow the lines of its own national development. In Turkestan, if it were nationally free, the foreign policy of suspicion towards the West, which is at times characteristic of the policy of Turkey, would be replaced by a policy of suspicion towards Russia. For this reason the Bolsheviks do all they can to discredit "Kemalism" (and the reforms of Amanullah Khan) in the eyes of the local Turkestan population. . . .*

* The *Pravda Vostoka* of January 29, 1929, rebukes the *Kzil Uzbegstan* for its sympathetic reference to the attempt of Amanullah Khan

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My own sympathy towards Afghanistan is at the same time the expression of a desire that the country should turn the imaginary difficulties of its geographical position into a favourable factor in its truly national State life.

I should like to conclude this article with words of warning taken from Bolshevik papers:

> "The future Afghan revolution lies deeply rooted in our hearts," wrote the Bolshevik Mannan Ramzi in the Tashkent paper the *Kzil Uzbegstan*.

And:

> "Not the padishah Amanullah Khan, with his State Council of the wisest men, will carry out the true radical reforms in the country, but the Afghan working masses," wrote the Moscow journal *Ogonek* during Amanullah Khan's visit to Moscow.

MUSTAPHA CHOKAIEV.

March 16, 1929.

Mr. W. E. D. Allen contributes the following footnote to the above article: "Without entering into the question as to whether the resumption of diplomatic relations with the Bolsheviks is advisable, which is a matter upon which opinions are divided, it may well be suggested, especially after the perusal of some of the press extracts to which Mr. Chokaiev makes reference, that a modification in their tone in the future should be a fitting prelude to a change of policy by ourselves."

RECENT SOVIET PUBLICATIONS

(*Reviewed by* W. E. D. ALLEN, M.P.)

Publications by the Soviet State Publishing Department, and on the part of various learned societies and universities, are growing in volume, and during the last few years there have appeared many original contributions to a scientific knowledge of the history and cultures of the Asiatic territories which lie within the borders of the Soviet Union.

The following summary of publications is by no means complete, but it may give some indication of the mass of material which has appeared of recent years, and which is available for, if difficult of access to, European students of Inner Asia.

CAUCASIA

1. *Georgian Dictionary*, of Sulkhan Orbeliani, a valuable edition of the work of the eighteenth-century Georgian lexicographer, by Professor Kipshide and Professor Shanidze. Tiflis, 1928 (Georgian text).

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to retain the national basis in the country while carrying out his State reforms, as this was in opposition to the instructions of Moscow, which was trying to influence Amanullah Khan to enter into a period of open struggle against "British Imperialism."

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2. *History of Abkhazia*, by D. Goulia. Vol. i., Tiflis, 1925 (in Russian). The value of this work is not increased by Professor Goulia's somewhat imaginative interpretation of the linguistic and mythical materials relating to Abkhazia. His later chapters, however, contain a useful summary of the accounts of Byzantine chroniclers and mediæval and later European travellers, of conditions in the Western Caucasus.

His notes on the religion of the Abkhaz, and particularly on the cult of the sacred tree—although mostly culled from earlier authorities—should prove of interest to anthropologists.

3. *Album d'Architecture Géorgienne*, comprenant 80 tableaux des Dessins Executés d'après les mesurages. Par le Professor E. Takaishvili (French and Georgian text). Tiflis, 1929.

In view of the interest aroused in Georgian and Armenian architecture by the works of Strzygowski, this volume should prove of great interest and use to archæologists. Of particular value are the plans made by Professor Takaishvili, during the years 1911 and 1912, of ruins in Turkish Georgia, such as Taos-Kari, Kalmakh, Panaskert, Bana, Olti, and others, which are not available in the works of Brosset, Ouvarov, and earlier writers. It is to be hoped that at a later date Professor Takaishvili will make available to archæologists the results of his explorations in 1916 at Ispir and Tortum.

4. *Bulletin of the Caucasian Historical-Archæological Society of Tiflis* (A publication of the Academy of Sciences of U.S.S.R., 1923). In Russian.

This is an important publication of which only volumes i., iii. and iv. are available for review. Volume i. contains the valuable work of Messrs. Jordeev and Taranushenko on the historic monasteries of Chule, Zarzma, and Safara, all three of which are in the neighbourhood of Akhaltzikhe. In view of the fact that the magnificent frescoes of Safara are in process of suffering irreparable damage from their present neglect by the authorities, it is to be regretted that the authors publish only two photographic plates, and these are badly reproduced.

In volume iii. Professor Chubinashvili publishes plates of the gold and silver objects attributed to the early Sassanian period, found in 1918 at Sargweshi, near Kutais, and amongst other interesting papers are two by Mr. Melikset-bekov on the mediæval history of Georgia.

Volume iv. contains a suggestive paper by the well-known Professor Bartold on the historical relations between the regions of Turkestan, the Volga, and the Caucasus; Professor Chursin the geographer has some valuable notes on the Talyshes of the Lenkoran region; Professor Ter-Avitissian writes on the excavations at Hassan-Kala, east of Erzerum, in 1917, when important finds of the Hellenistic period were made; and Mr. Jordeev continues the publication of his researches in Georgian architecture.

5. *Bulletin of the Society for the Exploration and Study of Azerbaijan.* Baku, 1926. In Russian. The first three volumes only are available for review.

Volume i. contains a somewhat adventurous paper by Professor Mestchaninov on "Prehistoric Azerbaijan and the Culture of the Urartu"; there are two papers on the languages of Daghestan, which indicate that the serious study of these—which has never really advanced since the fundamental researches of Uslar—will be resumed; and there are two interesting papers on the economic and social history of Azerbaijan.

Volume ii. contains a paper on Osmanli literature, some archæological notes of great interest, and a paper containing some original research on the Tartars of the Baltic Provinces.

Volume iii. is a mixed grill of economic, linguistic, archæological and historical articles. They include two attractive little studies on "Old Crimean Patterns" and "Modern Kuba Rugs."

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This publication is interesting as indicative of the development of new and wider interests among the younger generation of Caucasian Mussalmans. The Georgians have behind them an ancient tradition of intellectual activity, and Tiflis University, in spite of its meagre resources, is making valuable contributions to learning; the Armenians are making real progress, particularly in the natural sciences, mathematics and archæology; the Tartars of Azerbaijan already have the example of Kazan University before them, and there is no reason why they should not make substantial contributions to the intellectual renaissance of the Turkish world.

6. *Southern Ossetia*, Series i., Part i., of the Publications of the Trans-Caucasian Scientific Association, Tiflis, 1924 (in Russian).

Southern Ossetia is an Autonomous Region of the Georgian S.S.R., and includes the districts inhabited by an Ossetian-speaking majority, to the south-west of the Daryal Pass and to the south-east of the Hamison, and to the north of the Trans-Caucasian Railway. The book is a composite work of 278 pages, dealing with the geology, the natural resources, the history and the archæology of the region. The book, like so many Bolshevist official publications, is a re-hash of the works of earlier authorities. The statistics given are open to question, and remarks on political conditions must be taken "with a pinch of salt." Nevertheless, it is to be remembered that the Ossetins were the one people in the Caucasus who never seriously opposed the Russian conquest, and the repression of the Ossetin villagers by the Georgian Socialist Government during the period 1918-21 predisposed them to a tranquil acceptance of the Bolshevik régime. The most valuable parts of the present work are the "Ethnographical Sketch," by Professor Chursin, and Mr. Melikset-bekov's paper on "The Archæology and Ethnology of Tualian Ossetia."

7. *Soviet Adigea*, Part i. (in Russian). Krasnodar (formerly Ekaterinodar), 1925.

Soviet Adigea is an Autonomous Region of small extent, along the banks of the Laba and middle Kuban, inhabited by Adighé (Circassians), the survivors of the mountaineers of the Western Caucasus, who were conquered by the Russians in the 60's of last century. This volume of 146 pages appears to be the first volume of a Bulletin, issued at Krasnodar. It is largely devoted to economic questions. It is interesting to note the influence of women on the development of Soviet organizations in this Region, which arises perhaps naturally from the peculiar position of women under the old partly matriarchal social system of the Cherkesses.

8. *Bulletin of the Ingush Scientific-Research Institute of Native Studies*, vol. i. Vladikavkaz, 1928 (in Russian).

This volume of 444 pages deals entirely with the Ingush, an important sub-tribe of the Chechens, who inhabit the north-east Caucasus and the middle valley of the Terek. A short introduction by Professor Borozdin is followed by a valuable essay (152 pages) in "Mountain Ingushetia," by G. K. Martviosian. There are papers on the art and folklore of the people, and by L. Semenov on "Archæological and Ethnographical Researches in Ingushetia in the years 1925-27." The present authors are to be congratulated on their intelligent continuation of the researches published in the years before the war by the Caucasian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, and by the editors of "Materials for the Description of the Tribes and Localities of the Caucasus."

9. *Embassy of Tolochanov and Yevlev to Imeretia*, 1650-1652. Russian and Georgian text, vol. i. Tiflis, 1926.

Embassy of Mishetzky and Klyucharev to Kakhetia, 1640-1643. Russian and Georgian text, vol. ii. Tiflis, 1928.

Both the above volumes are edited by Mr. Polievktov, and published by the Tiflis University.

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In publishing the reports to the Moscow Court of Russian Ambassadors to the Georgian Kings, Mr. Polievktov has made an important and original contribution to the study of a little-known period of Russian and Caucasian history. His researches into the Russian State archives go a long way to fill the gaps left by the earlier works of Byelokurov, Marie-Felicité Brosset, Tsagareli, and Mr. J. F. Baddeley, which deal with the difficult period of the Russian approach to and conquest of the Caucasus. It is hoped at a later date to review these works at a length adequate to their importance. Unquestionably Mr. Polievktov's work is the most valuable contribution to the political history of the Caucasus since Mr. J. F. Baddeley's "Russian Conquest"; and in regard not only to the light it throws on the methods whereby the Russian Empire was built up, but also in respect of its human and literary interest, it can bear some comparison with Mr. Baddeley's masterly work, "Russia, Mongolia, and China." The seventeenth century, in many ways the most vital in the history of Russian Imperial expansion in the East, has been entirely neglected by English historians, and it is to be hoped that the mass of original material contained in Polievktov and Byelokurov, and above all in Baddeley's massive work, may one day be made available to the general history-reading public of the country.

Central Asia

10. *History of the Cultural Life of Turkestan*, by V. V. Bartold. Publishing Department of the Academy of Science (in Russian). Leningrad, 1927.

More than one of Professor Bartold's works have appeared in English, and he is widely recognized as an authority on Central Asia. In the space of 254 pages Professor Bartold here sets out to combine both history and economics in a picture of "the cultural life" of Turkestan. His wide knowledge, not only of archæology and history but of modern political economics, enables him to give a picture which is at once succinct and vivid.

After surveying the pre-Mussalman period, the periods of the expansion of Islam and the Mongol domination, Professor Bartold passes through the centuries of the Uzbeg hegemony to modern times. His chapters on "Settled and Nomad Life under the Russian Régime," on the Russian colonization policy, and on "European Rule and the Natives," give much new information which has not hitherto been available in this clear and concentrated form; and the Professor artfully sets the stage for the events of the last few years, about the history of which the Soviet allow us to have as little information as the Imperial Government did of their régime in the pre-war years. It is to be regretted that the book lacks both maps and an index.

11. *Sketches in the History of the Kazak-Kirghiz Nation in Relation to the Common Historical Destinies of the other Turkish Peoples.* Part I.: "Ancient Times and the Middle Ages," by A. P. Chuloshnikov. Kirghiz State Publishing Department. Orenburg, 1924 (in Russian).

Mr. Chuloshnikov's work is useful as an attempt to treat the mass of material collected by travellers and anthropologists in a strictly historical background. The extensive bibliography at the end of the book, referring as it does to a mass of scattered researches in rare Russian scientific periodicals, should be of real value to future historians who may concern themselves with this obscure subject.

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Siberia

12. *In the Unknown Mountains of Yakutia*, by S. Obruchev. State Publishing Department. Moscow, 1928.

The author led an expedition with the twin objects of exploration and prospecting, which in the summer of 1926 penetrated the unknown country in the region of the River Indigirka, several hundred miles to the north-east of Yakutsk in north-east Siberia. The expedition had important results in the discovery of a chain of mountains, which have been named Cherski, in memory of an earlier Siberian explorer. The book is well written, and there are a number of interesting, although badly reproduced, photographs.

General

13. *Vostok* (*The East*). State Publishing Department. Leningrad (in Russian), 1922.

Vols. i., ii., iv., and v., which are available for review, are devoted to the literature and ancient culture of the Islamic and Buddhist countries. Not a few of these papers are really attempts to make available to Russian reading students the latest researches of European and Indian scholars.

In vol. iv. Joseph Orbeli has an interesting paper on "Sasanian Art," with photographic plates of some of the fine pieces in the Hermitage Museum.

Vol. v. contains a paper on "Kirghiz Ornament," in which the author, Mr. Dudin, indicates the importance of Chinese influences.

14. *Vostochnie Sbornik* (*Eastern Collection*). Issued by the State Public Library in Leningrad. Series v., Orientalia. Vol. i., 1926.

The only volume of this series available indicates that it is of much the same character as the above. Professor Marr contributes two interesting, although somewhat involved, papers in which he writes on "The Origin of the Abkhaz and the Ethnology of Eastern Europe" and "The Origin of American Man and Japhetic Linguistic Studies." It is to be regretted that Professor Marr does not make some attempt to make his work available to European students. His theories have never been clearly defined, and his literary treatment of his subjects, whether in Russian, Georgian, or French, is always involved, but there is, undoubtedly, much valuable and original material for linguistic and anthropological science to be extracted from his prolific writings.

15. *Novie Vostok* (*New East*). Published by the Scientific Association for Eastern Studies, Moscow. Vols. xx.-xxi., xxii., xxiii., xxiv. (in Russian).

This series has appeared intermittently since 1921, and it is undoubtedly the most informative of all the Soviet publications devoted to the East. The scope is extremely wide, since papers, generally very ably written, are published on every country lying between Morocco and Japan.

In the Political and Economic Section of the volumes under review are papers on "The Modern Economic Problems of Japan," "The Dutch East Indies," "Railway Construction and the Railway War in Manchuria," and "Ten Years of Afghan Foreign Policy" (by the well-known Soviet agent, Reisner). Much attention is devoted, particularly in vols. xxiii.-xxiv., to the "problems" of the world revolution in India. In vols. xx.-xxi., H. Sventitsky, who has already in previous numbers written on the communication systems of Trans-Caucasia and Persia, contributes a well-informed paper on "Ways of Communication in Modern Turkey." In vols. xx.-xxi. B. Dantzig discusses the "Foreign Trade of Persia in 1925-26," and emphasizes the progress of British enterprise, a state of affairs which is perhaps minimized in this country. In the same volume Makhtajir Sindjabi writes a long and rather venomous paper on the activities of the Anglo-Persian Oil Co.

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There are instructive papers on the situation in the Asiatic territories of the Soviet Union: the well-known writer Gurko-Kriajin has a paper on the Khevsurs, and Professor Borozdin writes on the Ingush; there are also articles on the Ajars, on Turkoman poetry, on family-right among the Cherkess, on the excavations at Termiz in Central Asia, and on the new Siberia-Turkestan railway. In vols. xx.-xxi., two short but interesting papers deal with the conditions of the artisans of Stamboul and of Tartar workmen in France.

The Historical-Ethnological Section of vol. xxii. is devoted to an appreciation of the work of Professor Marr in papers by well-known Russian scholars. V. Aptekar, in "The Japhetic Theory of N. Marr and Marxian Ideals," attempts to associate the scientific study of the "submerged languages" with Bolshevist championship of the interests of "submerged races." It is an interesting corollary to the political use of the Turanian theory, which was made years ago by Vambéry and other Hungarian writers, and of the "Indo-Germanic" theory by the protagonists of pan-Teutonism.

The extensive Bibliography, which is published with each number, and Chronicle of Scientific Authorities, form a useful summary of the condition, from year to year, of Eastern studies in the Soviet Union. No less interesting are the reviews of English books, such as Lawrence's "Revolt in the Desert" and A. Carthill's "Lost Dominion."

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ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY

EXPLORING ROYAL NINEVEH

By Warren R. Dawson, F.R.S.E.

"We, in the ages lying,
In the buried past of the earth,
Built Nineveh with our sighing,
And Babel itself in our mirth;
And o'erthrew them with prophesying
To the old of the new world's worth;
For each is a dream that is dying,
Or one that is coming to birth."

Arthur O'Shaughnessy.

On the left bank of the River Tigris, about a mile from its bed and facing Mosul, there lies an area of some 1,800 acres enclosed by an ancient rampart. Within this boundary rise two mounds, one greater, the other lesser: mounds that were once adorned with palaces and temples. This rampart-encircled area with its mounds marks the site of the ancient city of Nineveh, once the capital of the Assyrian kingdom, that after centuries of proud supremacy was finally overwhelmed, and in the year 612 B.C. fell after a siege of two months to the united forces of the Babylonians, Medes, and Scythians.

The city of Nineveh, and the other dead cities of Mesopotamia, unlike those of Egypt, are not marked by massive pylons, towering obelisks, avenues of sphinxes, and colossal statues of kings. They are seen today as a series of mounds of insignificant height, rising from the vast and level plains through which the two great rivers wend their way. The two mounds of Nineveh are those of Kouyunjik and Nebi Yunus: the former has been much explored, the latter hardly at all, for it is covered by a mosque, a village, and a graveyard that make excavating difficult or impossible. Nebi Yunus, "the tomb of Jonah," is the place where, according to tradition, Jonah preached repentance to the Ninevites, and there seems to be a local belief that, just as the mound of Nebi Yunus contained the prophet, so did that of Kouyunjik contain the whale.

Dr. R. Campbell Thompson, whose works have often

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been discussed in this journal,* has carried out extensive explorations in the great mound of Kouyunjik, and in collaboration with his assistant, Mr. R. W. Hutchinson, has just published a deeply interesting and well-illustrated account of the ancient city and of the explorations of its ruins that have been carried out since Claudius James Rich described and mapped the site in 1820.† Rich had an adventurous career. He was born in France in 1786, and having from boyhood a passion for Arabic and other Oriental languages, he made such progress therein that in 1804 he was appointed to the Bombay establishment of the Honourable East India Company, in the service of which he travelled much in the Near East. He was afterwards the first British Consul-General of Baghdad, and he has left many valuable records of the places he visited, including Kouyunjik. Dr. Campbell Thompson has truly said: "To the great Oriental knowledge of Rich, to his power of observation, and, not least, to his capacity for making a good map, Assyriology properly owes its beginnings." He fell a victim to cholera in helping the people of Isfahan to overcome the ravages of the plague, and died in 1821 at the early age of thirty-four.

The next name associated with Nineveh is that of Sir Austen Henry Layard (1817-1894). Layard was a traveller and a man of great energy, but he was neither a scholar nor an Assyriologist. In 1840 he travelled in Mesopotamia, and later explored and excavated the palaces of Calah and Nineveh. His greatest work was the excavation of the mound of Nimrud, which he at the time believed to be the site of Nineveh. The famous sculptures that he sent home are well known to visitors at the British Museum. During his excavations at Nimrud (Calah) and Khorsabad, he returned from time to time to Kouyunjik, where in the meantime Emil Botta, French Consul at Mosul, had been working without much success. Layard's principal quest had been sculptures and bas-reliefs, colossal winged bulls and portraits of kings, but in 1847 he found, without at the time realizing the immense significance of his discovery, "small oblong tablets of dark unbaked clay having a cuneiform inscription over the sides." The tablets were the first indications of the royal library of Ashurbanipal. Sir

* ASIATIC REVIEW, July, 1924, vol. xx., pp. 522-526; October, 1925, vol. xxi., pp. 669-671; October, 1927, vol. xxiii., pp. 665-667; October, 1928, vol. xxiv., pp. 673-674.

† "A Century of Exploration at Nineveh," by R. Campbell Thompson, M.A., D.Litt., F.S.A., and R. W. Hutchinson, M.A. 7 plates and 9 maps and plans. London: Luzac and Co. 1929. Price 7s. 6d. net.

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Ernest Budge has related an interesting episode in connection with this "find." He says: "Birch* told me that Layard thought the writing on the tablets was a species of ornament, and hardly deemed them worth the carriage to England. They were shovelled without any packing into old digging baskets, which were tied up and put on rafts, and in this way they arrived with the larger objects at Basrah, where they were shipped to England. They suffered more from their voyage from Mosûl to London than from the fury of the Medes when they sacked and burned Nineveh."† Vast numbers of clay tablets were sent to London, and subsequent excavations added many more.

In 1851 Layard abandoned Assyriology for a political career, but his discoveries had greatly stirred public interest. The effect has been well expressed by Dr. Campbell Thompson in the following passage of his book (p. 41): "Much, of course, of the interest taken in Assyrian history was due to its connection with the Old Testament. Contemporary pictures of kings, hitherto only names, were to be seen on the new sculptures in the British Museum. But one cannot help thinking that these enormous Assyrian bulls had something very much in common with the ponderous, conservative philosophy of the Mid-Victorian period, with its unshakable faith in this best of all possible worlds, with its definite social castes duly prescribed by the Catechism, all doubtless to be maintained *in sæcula sæculorum*. The 'Great Exhibition' of 1851 came opportunely to spread the knowledge of these wonders, and a contemporary poet burst into song with a refrain in the irritating form so popular at the time, the first verse ending, 'A winged beast from Nineveh.' Even in schools the 'Discoveries at Nineveh' were the theme for prizes in Latin verse. Nineveh, in point of fact, was no longer a waste, and its ruins over which the Hebrew prophet so exulted were known to far more inhabitants of the globe in the middle of the last century than was the teeming, living city itself in the very heyday of its imperial dominance."

After the retirement of Layard a successor had to be found to carry on excavations at Nineveh, for which the Trustees of the British Museum had obtained the concession. All eyes naturally turned to Sir Henry Rawlinson (1810-1895), to whose researches the decipherment of the cuneiform script was mainly due. Rawlinson, then British

* Samuel Birch (1813-1885), the well-known Orientalist, and Keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities at the British Museum.

† "By Nile and Tigris," vol. i., p. 46.

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Resident in Baghdad, could not, by reason of his official duties, do more than undertake a general supervision, and another man had to be found to take charge of the digging. The choice fell on Hormuzd Rassam, a native of Mosul, who had been Layard's right-hand man, and who had proved himself to be an excavator of great energy and skill. He began operations for the British Museum in 1852 on the north-east of the Palace of Sennacherib, where he soon found pottery and sculptures. A French excavator, M. Place, was working near by, and Rassam, who had eagerly desired to attack the northern corner of the mound of Kouyunjik, was faced with the difficulty of carrying out his project "without getting into hot water with M. Place." By a series of adventures that came very near to poaching, Rassam discovered the Palace of Ashurbanipal, and thus staked his claim to the site. Fortunately Place accepted the position, and congratulated Rassam on his good fortune.

Rassam discovered a fine series of sculptures, but a "find" of still greater scientific importance awaited him. Layard had already found two chambers strewn with inscribed tablets, and now Rassam, in the great "lion-hunt" room, came upon some thousands more.

In 1854 the funds at Rassam's disposal were running short, and he left the digging in order to take up a political appointment at Aden. The work was carried on by Kennet Loftus and William Boutcher. The collections of the British Museum had been enormously enriched by the discoveries of Rassam and his successors, and enough epigraphic material had been accumulated to occupy many years of intensive research at home; consequently no more active explorations were carried out for another twenty years.

The next phase in Assyrian exploration is associated with the name of George Smith (1840-1876). Smith began life as bank-note engraver, but from his earliest youth he was interested in Old Testament history and Oriental research, and spent much of his leisure time in the British Museum. He came under the notice of Samuel Birch, on whose recommendation he was appointed in 1866 Assistant in the Department of Oriental Antiquities (as it was then called). Smith had studied cuneiform with avidity, and his capacity for reading texts amounted to genius. His principal official duty was the congenial task of sorting and classifying the tablets from the royal library of Ashurbanipal. He was a man of the greatest modesty, but he was soon destined to leap into fame by his announcement that he had discovered amongst the texts in his charge the now world-

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famous Deluge Tablet. Fired with the importance of his discovery, he ransacked the vast collection for further fragments of the legendary texts of which the Deluge Tablet formed a part, and by discovering other fragments and duplicate texts he was able to complete the greater part of the story now widely known as the Epic of Gilgamesh.*

George Smith communicated his wonderful discovery to the Society of Biblical Archæology in 1872, and its effect was to arouse popular interest to a high pitch of enthusiasm. Interest was shifted in a moment from winged bulls and sculptured palaces to clay tablets: a new era in Assyrian studies had begun, Noah's Ark sailed boldly across the popular imagination, and the *Daily Telegraph*, with great public spirit, offered to provide five thousand pounds if Smith were sent out to Kouyunjik to seek for the missing fragments of the Deluge story. The Trustees of the British Museum fell in at once with the proposal, and Smith made three expeditions to Kouyunjik, in 1873, 1874, and 1876. After only five days' work, "I sat down," said Smith, "to examine the store of fragments of cuneiform inscriptions from the day's digging, taking out and brushing off the earth from the fragments to read their contents. On cleaning one of them, I found to my surprise and gratification that it contained the greater portion of the seventeen lines of inscription belonging to the first column of the Chaldean account of the Deluge, and fitting into the only place where there was a serious break in the story." Seldom has an archæologist been rewarded with such astounding good luck. Whilst on his third expedition Smith fell ill, and died on August 13, 1876. His grave is in the Christian cemetery at Aleppo.

Excavations were recommenced in 1878 by Rassam, who obtained further tablets from Kouyunjik, where he worked until 1882.

Of the more recent excavations at Nineveh, little need be said here, as they are within living memory and have been fully recorded. Sir Ernest Budge worked at Kouyunjik in the seasons 1888-9 and 1890-1, and after an interval of twelve years, operations were resumed in 1903 by the late Dr. Leonard King (died 1919), who was joined in 1905 by Dr. Campbell Thompson. Once more, excavations at Kouyunjik were abandoned for several years: the British Museum had in 1911 begun explorations at Carcemish

* The most recent edition of this remarkable text is that of Dr. Campbell Thompson. See ASIATIC REVIEW, October, 1928, vol. xxiv., p. 673.

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under the late Dr. Hogarth, and these were stopped by the Great War. In 1918 Dr. Campbell Thompson undertook excavations for the Museum at Abu Shahrain, but it was not until 1927 that work at Nineveh could be resumed. Dr. Campbell Thompson and his colleague, Mr. R. W. Hutchinson, had a fruitful season in 1927-8, and it is greatly to be hoped that it will be possible for them to resume their labours next winter. One of the objects of the book under notice is to arouse interest in the excavations: it is much to be hoped that this fascinating and interesting account of a century's work at Nineveh will result in someone coming forward with financial help, for, as the authors truly say, "Nineveh is not yet by any means a squeezed lemon, and no site in Iraq can claim to be of more importance."

In the foregoing paragraphs we have run briefly over the principal explorations of Assyria's ancient capital. For the details and for the innumerable difficulties, official and unofficial, with which past excavators have had to contend, the reader must refer to the full account in this interesting and engrossing book. The final chapter sketches the history of Nineveh from the earliest point at which it can be detected to the present day, and it is a masterly journey, performed in Mr. H. G. Wells's "Time Machine" over many centuries.

In conclusion, a few words may be said concerning the royal library of Ashurbanipal, in an attempt to convey some notion of its contents. About 26,000 tablets or fragments of tablets have been registered, and the printed catalogue of them fills five stout volumes. Of these fragments some 2,000, or rather less, are "joins"—*i.e.*, pieces that have since been recognized as belonging to other fragments, to which they have now been attached. Sometimes an entire tablet has been pieced together with a dozen or more "joins." One tablet in particular has been reconstituted from eleven fragments that have been recovered from six different expeditions—a good indication of the scattered state of the *débris* of the library. The Kouyunjik collection of tablets may be divided into five classes: (i.) the Historical, not properly included in the library; (ii.) the Royal Library; (iii.) the library of the Temple of Nabu; (iv.) the Royal Letters; and (v.) Contracts, or business documents. Of these sections, (ii.) is by far the most important; after subtracting about 5,000 for the other classes, about 19,000 tablets and fragments remain from the great literary collection of Ashurbanipal, who was a real patron of learning. Amongst the mythological texts, the

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most important are the seven tablets of the Creation, and the twelve containing the Epic of Gilgamesh, with the story of the Deluge. There are many religious texts, ritual texts, and magical incantations, as well as oracles given during periods of national anxiety. Science is well represented: some five hundred tablets are inscribed with medical prescriptions, and many more deal with plants and their properties, with minerals, and with the manufacture of glass and glazes for pottery. Astronomical texts reveal a considerable acquaintance with the movements of the sun, moon, and stars, and with the observation of the heavenly bodies in reading omens. Finally, it may be mentioned that glossaries and syllabaries reveal the ancient study of philology. This great mass of texts is wellnigh inexhaustible in the material it provides for Assyrian scholars: apart from the publication of special texts in technical journals, reference may be made to translations of the medical texts, chemical texts, and the Epic of Gilgamesh by Dr. Campbell Thomson,* and of most of the historical tablets by the late Dr. D. D. Luckenbill.†

Let us hope that funds will be forthcoming to enable Dr. Campbell Thompson and his collêagues to continue the explorations that have been so fruitful in the past, and to resume their diggings to extract the treasure from a land where "there is nought but an earthy mantle to cover everything, spread by the callousness of one generation who cast aside the remnants of its fathers, just as its own children would tumble their predecessors' walls in their search for easy material, and so finally, when death, foes or plague had left none to build, kindly Nature would bury their works with a shroud of windblown dust" (p. 15).

* See ASIATIC REVIEW, July, 1924, vol. xx., pp. 522-526; October, 1925, vol. xxi., pp. 669-671; October, 1928, vol. xxiv., pp. 673-674.

† See ASIATIC REVIEW, April, 1928, vol. xxiv., pp. 305-308.

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BRITAIN AND FRANCE AS COLONIZING POWERS*

By Count de Nalèche
(Managing Director, *Journal des Débats*, Paris)

It may be recalled that upon the occasion of the festival in honour of Jeanne d'Arc, celebrated jointly by the two nations that were opponents during the Hundred Years War, M. Hanotaux, the French historian, laid emphasis upon the importance of the victory which put an end to the conflict. The result (the triumph of Jeanne) saved France, and decided the fate of the Continent. The stake was the independence of France and of the rest of Europe, whether its civilization was to remain Latin and Roman or become maritime and northern, whether the colonization of the new worlds that lay at hand was to be a free and a joint effort or formed on one pattern. The latter idea calls for some further study. Owing to the state of balance brought about at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the colonization of the new worlds became a joint undertaking in which the western nations, and especially England and France, were associated. At one time it was a grim fight, but was continued in a spirit of friendly rivalry and close co-operation, revealing thereby the community of interests that united the two countries in every part of the world where they have carried on the work of civilization.

Their common task, however, is faced with two formidable obstacles :

1. The growing spirit of nationalism in the colonies, a spirit which is impatient, in a hurry, unreasonably passionate and anti-foreign in tendency.

2. Propaganda fostered by the jealousy and self-interest of the rivals and enemies of England and France, who are more concerned with the satisfaction of their own ambitions than the liberation of subject peoples.

Indeed, both our countries are menaced by the activities of these "apostles" and "philanthropists" who, while condemning our work, are hoping to reap where we have sown. Their denunciation of our colonizing methods are at the same time directed against capital and property.

* Published, by permission, as a translation from the author's recent address to the Anglo-French Luncheon Club.

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No effort has been spared to come to terms. An offer has been made to Moscow in the following terms :

Cease your propaganda in Asia and Africa, and we will give you in Europe the economic and financial aid of which you stand in need. These terms have, however, not been accepted.

From another quarter there comes the proposal of a system planned on a new basis, which reserves for an organization which is without a real mandate, and will not shoulder the responsibilities connected with the charge, the economic exploitation of our overseas possessions. The offer amounts to this : that *they* should have all the benefits accruing and leave to *us* the onerous task of administration and the risks that are inseparable from the work of colonization. This offer is specious enough, but it is full of insidious dangers.

In reality the great colonial powers are quite capable of developing their charges unaided. Henceforth, however, the maintenance of their power and the success of their enterprises are dependent upon two conditions :

The first is that they should openly make common cause, and act in association with each other instead of in opposition. There is no question here of their abandoning their specific methods which are based on national character, or of unifying their methods, which would indeed be a Utopian conception. What is needed is an alignment of policies and the co-ordination of effort. And the success of this combination depends not on the two governments only but also on the public opinion in both countries. Every Frenchman should remember that he is also harming his own country if he feels and expresses a malign pleasure whenever the British meet with difficulties in India or elsewhere. In the same way laying stress on or even exaggerating French failures in Syria or Morocco runs contrary to British interests.

The non-European peoples are only too ready to exploit the real or supposed jealousies in order to weaken us, and neutralize any action we may wish to take outside its borders. Is it not wisest to deprive our opponents of the pretext for such a course, and make any such plan a manifest illusion ?

The second condition of progress and success is the spirit of confidence in ourselves and in each other. Our colonizing efforts have been useful and beneficial. We have no right to abandon them.

Those politicians and writers who envisage or even go so

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far as to recommend to the public and to their respective governments voluntary abandonment of overseas possessions and a retirement are indeed badly informed, and that is their only excuse. To abandon those countries that have been saved from chaos, organized and modernized, not only runs counter to very obvious laws of an economic order, but is a course that defies the teachings of history and common sense. A great country worthy of being so described does not sign her own capitulation, she does not abandon, through fear of the dangers involved, or on account of the effort needed, undertakings which have been built up during centuries without counting the toil and risk. England and France are convinced that their colonial work has been planned aright, that it will be constantly improved, and that it must be carried to its proper conclusion.

But, in order to carry through these improvements, and apply them correctly to the present needs, and make them harmonize with the wishes of the governed, there is no better way than for England and France to profit directly by their mutual experiences, to inspire one another, and be guided by a feeling of generous emulation. The efforts and the progress of the one should be responded to by similar efforts and desire for progress by the other country. What more inspiring spectacle can be conceived than that of the two nations running parallel while pursuing their task of colonial development and civilization? If our colonial policies can be coalesced, it will mean that the Entente Cordiale, which is the corner-stone of peace in Europe, will make its pacific influence felt in every corner of the world.

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DEBATES IN THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES

THE CHAMBER OF INDIAN PRINCES AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS ON FEBRUARY 12, 1929

H.E. THE VICEROY: I call upon H.H. the Nawab of Palanpur to present the statement regarding his work as a representative of India at the meeting of the League of Nations, 1928.

H.H. THE NAWAB OF PALANPUR: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses,—It was with feelings of extreme diffidence that I accepted the very generous and pressing invitation of Your Excellency in April last to proceed to Europe as a delegate to the Ninth Assembly of the League of Nations. I was oppressed by the thought that the responsibility was too great, that my experience of international affairs was nil, while there were several members of my Order far better fitted for the task. I had never been to Europe before, and it was the temptation, if I may so call it, of proceeding on an official mission and combining business with experience of the progressive countries of the West, that determined my choice.

I was expected to reach London by the beginning of August, but as I did not wish to face the monsoon, I decided to sail from Bombay towards the end of May. After a week's stay in Egypt, I arrived in London towards the middle of June.

I had received no papers or instructions in India, and on making enquiries on arrival in London, I was informed that the India Office would begin to send briefs on each subject included in the Agenda of the forthcoming session of the League, which would contain all the necessary papers, together with instructions from the Secretary of State and the Government of India for the guidance of the Delegation. These came in due course, and the wide range of subjects and the voluminous nature of the papers relating to each offered plenty of material for study.

My colleagues were Lord Lytton and Mr. S. N. Mallik, neither of whom I had the pleasure of knowing before, and whose acquaintance I was very glad to make, as also of the substitute delegates, Sir Edward Chamier, Sir K. V. Reddi, and Mr. A. Yusuf Ali. Both officially and socially we saw a great deal of each other, and I value deeply the friendships that I formed with them, and the assistance and co-operation I received from them throughout, both in London and at Geneva.

We had several informal talks before August 25, when we first met as a delegation at the India Office. Sir Arthur Hirtzel, the Permanent Under-Secretary of State for India, was present and explained the India Office point of view on several matters, in the absence of the Secretary of State. He laid stress on the fact that we were all "Delegates of India," and that none of us was a particular representative of either the Indian States or British India.

We were told that within our instructions we were free to vote at the League as we liked, except in such matters in regard to which the whole of the British Empire Delegates (including the self-governing Dominions) decided by common agreement to act together. I might add here that,

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during my stay in Geneva, we had several meetings with the British Delegation and other Empire Delegations, and in every case that came up there was no suggestion of the British Delegation exerting compulsion regarding the way the Indian Delegation should vote. In one or two instances the Indian Delegation did decide to vote independently of the British Delegation.

I arrived in Geneva on September 1, and a meeting of the Indian Delegation was held at the Beau Rivage Hotel on the following day at 6.30 p.m. It was at this meeting that the distribution of business was explained, and I was asked to serve on the Fourth Committee (which dealt with the Budget) and on the Sixth Committee (which dealt with Political Questions, such as slavery, etc.).

The Assembly meets every year on the first Monday in September, and consequently the Ninth Session opened on September 3. It lasted till the 26th. The place of meeting is the Hall of the Reformation, which is the largest in Geneva. There is no pomp or ceremony at the opening of the session, nor is there any but the plainest furniture in the Hall. There are no rules or restrictions regarding dress to be worn at the meetings, and delegates attend in any dress they choose. The whole atmosphere is one of stern simplicity.

Out of fifty-four States Members of the League, fifty States were represented at the last session, including Spain, which attended for the first time since 1926. As a sign of the increasing importance of the League, the fact might be mentioned that among the list of delegates there were seven present and seven former Prime Ministers, and ten present and seven former Foreign Ministers of the States represented at the League. It is sometimes said that the gathering of the League is a huge mockery, and we occasionally hear it described by certain sections of the press as "the Comedy of Geneva." I have no desire to enter into a discussion of what the League has accomplished and what it has failed to accomplish, but the very fact that so many Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs and Prime Ministers should attend it seems to me of great significance. As Lord Grey said in his speech at the Albert Hall in London on October 26, 1928:

> "The League has provided a place where, every year, the Foreign Secretaries of Europe can meet on neutral ground. Formerly they could only meet in each other's capitals, and each meeting of the kind was looked upon with jealous curiosity and suspicion. That has all been cleared away by the League of Nations. They are now able to discuss things frankly without exciting suspicion, and the League of Nations, by providing such a meeting place, has done a great deal to prevent the growth again in Europe of the condition of things which led to the war in 1914."

In fact, speaking so recently as November 13, 1928, the Prime Minister of Great Britain attributed the lack of understanding between Europe and the United States of America to the fact that America was not a Member of the League. To quote his own words:

> "American Statesmen do not known European Statesmen, European Statesmen do not know American Statesmen, and there is no personal intercourse. The only intercourse that takes place is the written dispatch that goes across 3,000 miles of ocean. It is a far more difficult thing to get a mutual understanding in those circumstances."

As this Chamber has many points of similarity with the League of Nations, the remarks quoted above should be of peculiar interest to Your

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Highnesses. We occasionally hear it said of the Chamber that it has not achieved anything. This may or may not be so, but it does furnish a meeting place for a large number of our Order, and this in itself has a great moral and political value.

Though each State Member of the League may have three delegates, it has only one vote, and the rule is that every resolution of substance, whether in the Council or the Assembly, must be passed without any dissentient vote, otherwise it can have no effect. This is necessary because all States are equal under the Covenant, and the League works on the basis that each Member State retains its sovereignty unimpaired. No Sovereign State can agree to be bound by the views of others which it is not prepared to endorse. But where vital interests are not involved, there is a commendable tendency on the part of dissentients to withdraw their objections in order that unanimity may be achieved and progress made. To this extent the views of the majority often prevail in practice.

The similarity of the above with the Constitution of this Chamber will at once be apparent to Your Highnesses.

There is a feeling in India that though she is an original signatory to the Treaty of Versailles, and pays a very handsome amount annually to the expenses of the League of Nations (being sixth in order of contributing States), there are not half a dozen Indians employed in the entire Secretariat establishment. This seems all the more surprising when a country like the United States, which is not even a Member of the League, has more than a dozen members on the League Secretariat. I referred to this subject in my speech in the Assembly as follows:

> "Public opinion in India also looks forward to the time when some of my fellow-countrymen will rise to high office in the League, worthy of the great country of our birth. We are particularly gratified that within the last twelve months India has acquired a seat on the Economic Committee, and has been honoured by the appointment of one of her most distinguished countrymen as Vice-President of the Economic Consultative Committee."

Since the termination of the last session it has become understood that an Indian will be appointed in the Information Section of the Secretariat.

The social side of the activities at Geneva is no less important than the official side. It is easier to remove misunderstandings that may exist, and also to ventilate one's point of view informally, when one meets at social functions. In addition to the dinners and luncheons given by the Indian Delegation, I entertained several Delegations to lunch or dinner in my personal capacity. I had the honour of being entertained by several Delegations, and we had a frank interchange of views on several points concerning the Princes and States. I also entertained some Press representatives, European and Indian, in Geneva. I am happy to say that these social functions had the inestimable advantage of enabling me to come to a better understanding of the point of view of other nations, and I can only hope that they also appreciated our point of view a little better as a result of such discussions as I was able to have with them.

The Indian community in Geneva is very small, but there are a few Indian Officers in the Secretariat and the Labour Organization, and I invited them one afternoon to lunch. I was very happy to feel that they intensely appreciated meeting me in a foreign country, and from such talks as I had with them, I formed a strong conviction that it is of the greatest advantage to our country that the representative of Your Highnesses who goes to Geneva should entertain his fellow-countrymen resident in Geneva, and particularly the Indian Officers of the Secretariat and the International Labour Office.

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It is chiefly through the social welfare and public health activities of the League that India comes into direct contact with that body. In this branch the League has been most successful in giving its work a world-wide extension. The Eastern Bureau at Singapore has continued its work of collection and dissemination of information about epidemics which is of special interest to India. The interchange of Public Health Officers, which took place in India last year, was found very useful, and acceptance of the invitation of the Government of India by the Malaria Commission of the League will also prove of great value to this country. Considering the high rate of infant mortality in India, any practical suggestions for lowering it that may result from the deliberations of the Infant Welfare Commission of the League will be received, as I said in the Assembly, "with the greatest degree of relief and interest" by us all.

The subject of Opium is raised every year before the League. The International Opium Convention of 1925 has now received the necessary number of ratifications. The Permanent Central Board which is to watch the execution of this Convention by the States Members of the League has also been formed. I was very glad to read in the newspapers the other day that Sir Basanta Kumar Mullick represents India on this Board. Speaking on the question of opium, I made the following remarks in the Assembly:

> "India has for a very long time pursued an altruistic policy, and imposed upon herself obligations conceived in a spirit of the highest humanitarian ideals, even when she could least afford to bear the heavy financial burden involved in such a policy.
>
> "India has accordingly every reason to hope that she will receive the support and co-operation of the States Members of the League in suppressing the illicit traffic in cocaine in India, which is stated to be as much as forty times the legitimate imports, and which, on account of the large gains of such a traffic, flourishes in spite of vigorous administrative efforts to suppress it."

Another question of interest to India discussed during the last session of the League was the legal age of marriage. The Child Welfare Committee of the League had urged the necessity of fixing the age of marriage and the age of consent sufficiently high to ensure effective protection, and this resolution was forwarded to Governments. While referring to this question in the Assembly, I spoke as follows:

> "With regard to the Child Welfare activities of the League, my two distinguished predecessors, H.H. the Maharaja of Patiala and H.H. the Maharaja of Kapurthala, expressed apprehension in the Assembly regarding the danger which might attend international action in these matters owing to vast differences which exist between different communities and nations, differences which are deeply rooted in religion, national customs, and conventions. In spite of these difficulties and drawbacks it would be of interest to the Assembly to learn that the Government of India have recently appointed a strong committee of non-officials to undertake a comprehensive survey of the question of raising the age of consent. I may also mention in passing that Infant Marriage Prevention Laws have been adopted already in some Indian States."

The major portion of the work of the League is, as is well known, done in the Committees of the Assembly. The debates on the Budget at the last session in the Fourth Committee (on which I represented the Indian Delegation) and the Assembly were of a most interesting character. Some account of these debates has already appeared in the press and I will therefore try to be as brief as possible.

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For some time past, it is being felt that the expenses of the League are increasing unduly from year to year. With every increase over the previous year's figure, the contribution of each Member-State increases proportionately. The Indian contribution is already much too high. When we looked at the Budget of the League for 1929, we found that it provided for an increase of very nearly two million francs. This would have meant an appreciable increase in the Indian contribution. The British Delegation agreed with us that a big cut in the estimates was required, and at a meeting of all the Empire delegates serving on the Fourth Committee a common line of action was decided upon.

In accordance with this course, the British delegate moved a resolution in the Fourth Committee suggesting that the estimates be returned to the Supervisory Commission for further scrutiny with a view to ascertaining the possibility of a cut of a million francs. I supported him in a speech in which I put forward the Indian point of view. To put it briefly, I said that India ranks sixth in the list of contributing countries, and that she thus contributes more to the expenses of the League than any country which does not permanently occupy a seat on the Council of the League. On the other hand, India is one of those countries which are least directly interested in most of the activities of the League. We can indeed point to details of the League's work, such as the Bureau at Singapore and other activities of the Health Organization, but it is hard by appeal to such secondary aspects of the work of the League to justify to our fellow-countrymen the large contribution which they are called upon to make. I added that I was far from wishing to take an unreasonable view, and that I should be prepared to agree that in an organization so comparatively young as the League we must be ready to allow, on good cause being shown, for increases of modest dimensions. But where should we be, say, in ten years' time, if the Fourth Committee accepted an increase of one and a half million francs or more every year?

This proposal did not, however, find favour with the Committee. When the estimates were discussed in detail, the Indian Delegation proposed several cuts, but was outvoted. The Budget as finally adopted was for a slightly higher figure than that originally proposed.

The Budget, as thus approved by the Fourth Committee, went to the Assembly, where Lord Lytton made a strong protest on behalf of the Indian Delegation against the increase in the estimates. A vote was taken on one point—namely, the creation of a new high post in the International Labour Office. Eighteen Members voted for the creation of the post, six, including India and New Zealand, voted against it, and eleven Members remained neutral. Not wishing, however, on this occasion to create a deadlock by preventing unanimity, India and the other abstainers later withdrew their opposition, and the Budget was passed by the Assembly without a single dissentient vote, as required by the Rules of Procedure.

The contribution of India for the year 1929 will, I am sorry to say, be about £57,080, or about £5,180 more than it was for 1928.

The main task of the League, however, is the maintenance of the peace of the world. At every session attention is focussed on this all-absorbing question. It is increasingly felt that before the world's peace can be assured three things must be achieved. First, the existing level of armaments must be cut down; secondly, there must be adequate machinery for the peaceful settlement of international disputes; and thirdly, there must be a reasonable guarantee of security to the nations before they can agree to cut down their armaments to the lowest possible figure. The question of reduction of armaments is being considered in the Preparatory Commission on Disarmament, which after the lapse of some years is

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meeting again, as I see from the newspapers, in April this year. The question of security and arbitration is also being simultaneously considered in a committee appointed in September, 1927, and known as the Committee on Arbitration and Security.

The Committee on Arbitration and Security has undoubtedly made a valuable contribution to the means of counteracting the forces which produce insecurity. It has addressed itself to the practical problems which immediately confront the Western world. But to my mind there is a possible cause of insecurity lying even deeper, and capable of producing results even more disastrous than those which we now earnestly hope to avert. I refer particularly to those sentiments of racial inequality which may, unless appeased, again divide the world into hostile camps. As what I said on the subject has not been correctly reported in the Indian newspapers, I give below an extract from my speech in the Assembly:

> "The League itself is based on the conception of universal equality, and I think that the words in the message just addressed by the Council to the Government of *Costa Rica*, 'equal obligation and equal rights,' should be welcomed and appreciated in other continents besides that of America. Great possibilities for the continuance of the beneficent work of the League will, I am sure, come into view as soon as a general conviction exists in the Orient that the League is, in the fullest sense, an association of equal peoples, with equal obligations and equal rights, affording equal opportunities to all its members, irrespective of racial origin, to work harmoniously together for the great humane objects laid down in the Covenant."

In conclusion, I wish to apologize for the length of this statement and to tender my warmest thanks for the courtesy shown in listening to a somewhat uninteresting narration of facts. But, in doing so, I am constrained to say that there are several matters I have omitted to mention for fear of taxing the patience of Your Excellency and Your Highnesses.

H.H. THE MAHARAJA OF PATIALA (Chancellor): Your Excellency, Your Highnesses,—We have listened with interest to the illuminating report of the last League of Nations Assembly by my friend and brother Prince, H.H. the Nawab of Palanpur. The report clearly proves, what His Excellency was pleased to refer to in his opening speech to the Chamber, that by his work at the League of Nations His Highness of Palanpur has added to the reputation both of India and the Indian States. I am sure that all of us heartily endorse that statement, and will unanimously welcome and support the vote of thanks which I have the privilege to move.

Your Excellency, the existence of the League of Nations has given rise to strong differences of opinion. Its advocates have seen in it the panacea of all the ills of human society; its opponents have denounced it as nothing more than a glorified debating society. We of this Chamber belong to neither of these groups. We judge the League by its results. As such we welcome it as a constructive step towards international peace, and towards that federation of world States to which the best of humanity has always aspired. We are aware of the shortcomings of the League; we recognize its limitations. But we feel that, with the present mentality of peoples of the earth, no very much better League of Nations could be established than the one which functions at Geneva. It has the germs of right development, and its constitution is flexible and admits of healthy growth. As such we welcome the League for what it is, and we look forward to the time when it will approach more closely to the high ideals of those who created it. Thus we always follow with keen interest the work of our representative at the League of Nations Assembly.

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Your Excellency, His Highness of Palanpur has explained to us the valuable social welfare work advanced during the year at the League. This we all welcome, and I am confident that it will receive our earnest and immediate consideration for application to our territories. It gives me personal gratification, however, to see that the last Assembly of the League has made commendable progress in some of the problems of social welfare which I was privileged to discuss as Your Highnesses' representative at an earlier session of the League. We particularly welcome the inclusion in this year's activities of rural hygiene and anti-malaria work. India, including the Indian States, is primarily an agricultural country, and over 75 per cent. of our subjects are agriculturists and live in rural areas. Rightly, then, the improvement of rural conditions and the development of agriculture and Co-operative Societies has always formed an important plank in our programme of beneficent activities in our States. I am confident that any further improvement in the conditions of our rural population, to ensure for them "better agriculture, better business, and better living," will have our willing support.

Your Excellency, we have also listened with interest to the conclusions arrived at by the last Assembly of the League to reduce armaments. We welcome that as a step in the right direction. But it appears to us that *we cannot stop war* merely by reducing machine-guns in Europe and warships in the Pacific. In order to achieve that ideal we must attack not only the instruments of war but also the causes of war. These involve—as Lord Balfour once remarked—moral disarmament, adjustment of relations between capital and labour, and better understanding between the Eastern and Western nations. We hope and trust that continual attention to these aspects of the problem, along with the limitations of armaments, will effectively ensure world peace.

Your Excellency, I am sure our friends of British India will join us in congratulating His Highness the Nawab of Palanpur for the manner he pressed the claim of India's sons for participation in the Executive Staff of the League, and for his graceful and dignified reference to the suspicion which now exists, even though unfounded, that "the League is an instrument for perpetuating the hegemony of the races which are of European origin over the other races." And I repeat what I was privileged to remark elsewhere, that India, like other great Oriental countries, is a mother-country, and would ultimately judge the utility of the League by its contribution towards equitably solving the problem of Immigration. The treatment of our countrymen abroad is a matter of common concern both to British India and the Indian States, and we have watched with appreciation Your Excellency's efforts to secure an equitable solution of this knotty problem. We hope and trust that the League will find it possible to address itself effectively to this matter.

Your Excellency, the statesmanship of my gifted friend and brother, His Highness of Palanpur, richly entitled him, as our representative, to sit with the rest of the world's representatives. By his dignified, graceful, and courageous expression of our view-point he has justified his selection. We all appreciate and thank him for his good work at Geneva, and for contributing towards that better understanding between the best of the East and the best of the West which is our cherished ideal. With these remarks I have great pleasure in proposing a vote of thanks to His Highness of Palanpur.

His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Senior Branch): Your Excellency, Your Highnesses,—It gives me great pleasure to second the Resolution of thanks to His Highness the Nawab of Palanpur which has been so ably moved by His Highness the Chancellor. We in this Chamber are grateful for the opportunity which the association of one of our Order

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with the Indian Delegation to the League of Nations offered us of making known to the world the existence of the Indian States as a politically separate part of India. The Ruling Prince who is called upon to discharge this responsible duty is in a very real sense the representative of our Order, and the eyes of the delegates of many nations are fixed upon him. From the interesting report which we have heard, we know well that His Highness the Nawab of Palanpur has worthily upheld the excellent traditions handed over by his great predecessors. The Indian Princes have year by year been privileged to take a prominent part in the deliberations of the Assembly of the League of Nations: and I think we all of us owe a debt of gratitude to His Highness of Palanpur for the work he has done. With these words I have much pleasure in seconding the Resolution.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY: Your Highness would perhaps permit me to say a word or two, by way of identifying myself with the mover and the seconder, of an expression of gratitude to His Highness the Nawab of Palanpur, who has given us, I think, a valuable and detailed report, not only of his activities but also of those of the Assembly in which he took part on behalf of India. Those of us who have had an opportunity of reading his speeches will, I think, agree that in those speeches he worthily maintained the standard of contribution to which the representatives drawn from Your Highnesses' Order who preceded him have accustomed the Assembly of the League of Nations, and I am particularly grateful to him for having in his own way pressed the claim that has been constantly pressed from other quarters that, as time goes on, the representation of India in the Secretariat of the League should, as His Highness the Chancellor said, gradually approximate more closely to the size of the contribution that India makes to the League's finance. But, as anyone who has been to Geneva knows, speeches are not everything, and I have no doubt that His Highness will agree with me that a great deal of the most valuable work in Geneva is done both in informal consultations on committees and in the day-to-day social intercourse between representatives of different nations. All that I have heard of the manner in which His Highness has discharged his responsibility as our representative leads me to congratulate myself that I was able to overcome his original reluctance to allow himself to be nominated. I will now finally put to Your Highnesses the vote of thanks that has been proposed by the Chancellor and seconded by His Highness of Dewas (Senior).

(The Chamber signified its approval.)

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY: The resolution is carried unanimously.

HIS HIGHNESS THE NAWAB OF PALANPUR: I feel deeply grateful to Your Excellency for the kind words in which my work has been appreciated. I had all along felt myself handicapped for the proper discharge of the responsibilities and duties connected with this mission. In the face of this fact I highly value such a kind reference by Your Excellency, which gives me great encouragement. I am equally grateful and express my deep thanks and sincere gratitude to Your Highnesses for your generous recognition of what little I was able to do at the meetings of the League of Nations.

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LITERARY SECTION

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

INDIA

A. RECENT WORKS ON POLITICAL PROBLEMS

(*Reviewed by* A. L. SAUNDERS, C.S.I.)

1. THE BRITISH CROWN AND THE INDIAN STATES. (*P. S. King and Son.*) 10s. 6d. net.

THIS statement of the case of the Indian Princes prepared by the Directorate of their Chamber for submission to Sir Harcourt Butler's Committee should be read by all anxious to appreciate the circumstances that have called forth the appointment of that Committee. The enquiry in question, though necessarily intersecting with, is independent of the matters falling to be examined by the Indian Statutory Commission. Its genesis is fully explained in the very able foreword prefaced by Mr. Rushbrook Williams to the general argument, which we were able to publish in July, 1928. The Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes first put forward a request for an impartial enquiry into the whole relationship between the Princes of India and the Paramount Power. That Committee represents more than three-fourths of the States who are members of the Chamber in their own right, and an equal proportion of the States not individually represented. Even the States outside the Standing Committee have expressed general agreement with its diagnosis of the situation. This book, therefore, speaks with practically complete authority on behalf of the rulers of the seventy millions of the Indian States.

This case comprises two main headings: firstly, the States have no voice in the determination of All-India policy; thus they are taxed, sometimes rather heavily taxed, by import duties and otherwise; they may be closely affected by railway, irrigation, or other schemes in which they have no voice. Secondly, there is no impartial tribunal to decide disputes between themselves and British India, so that the Government of India is sometimes both party and judge; there is a tendency for Political Officers to override not only the wishes of Princes but even rights asserted under treaty. This case is brought out with great force and clearness, and the statement is never overloaded with irrelevant matter. It is a masterly argument.

The constitutional problem may be looked upon from another point of view. Do the chiefs negotiate with the British Government as equal contracting powers? Have they full powers of sovereignty except in so far as they have ceded rights to their overlord, or do they merely exercise the powers the latter has delegated or relinquished to them? Their case rests,

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generally speaking, on the former hypothesis. But the latter was affirmed with great emphasis by that distinguished lawyer and Viceroy, Lord Reading, in his correspondence with the Nizam in 1925 and 1926. "The Sovereignty of the British Crown," he wrote, "is supreme in India, and therefore no ruler of an Indian State can justifiably claim to negotiate with the British Government on an equal footing. Its supremacy is not based only upon treaties and engagements, but exists independently of them." This is very different from the attitude taken up by the Standing Committee of the Chamber.

These things lie on the knees of the gods—that is, of Sir Harcourt Butler's Committee. But we must not omit to note that a meeting in Bombay in March, 1928, of rulers and representatives of States carried unanimously a series of resolutions expressive of the highest governing ideals, of zeal for the interests of their people and of India, and of loyalty to the Crown and attachment to the Empire. No differences of political opinion can weaken the public confidence that such is the aim of the Princes.

2. MEMORANDUM OF THE INDIAN STATES PEOPLE. (Poona: *Arya Bhushan Press.*) Rs. 10.

3. PROBLEMS OF INDIAN STATES. By G. R. Abhyankar. (Poona: *Arya Bhushan Press.*) Rs. 5.

Whatever the merits of the first-named memorandum, it must not be estimated on the same plane as the book published on behalf of the Chamber of Princes. The "demands" of the Indian States people are stated as eleven in number, and amount to this—that the rulers of such States should forthwith be induced or constrained by the Paramount Power to establish "responsible government." Considerable labour has gone to the composition of this volume, and ideas not without merit may be gleaned here and there. From letters from and to the Butler Committee it may be gathered that the "General Secretary of the All-India States Peoples Conference" is Professor G. R. Abhyankar of Poona. Professor Abhyankar is a copious journalistic writer, and in the second of these books, "Problems of Indian States," he has collected and reprinted a mass of his contributions to the Indian Press for some years back. Except that they all deal with Indian States, there is no special connection or line of argument.

4. INDIA IN THE CRUCIBLE. By C. S. Ranga Iyer, M.L.A. (*Selwyn and Blount.*)

Mr. Ranga Iyer holds a very high place among Indian political writers of the present day for ability, insight and literary expression. His reply to Miss Mayo's "Mother India" was much the most effective, largely because he managed to keep his temper. In this review of the Indian political situation he is at his best. It would be hard to improve on his ironical treatment of the exclusion of Indians from Sir John Simon's Commission. A Commission appointed to consider how to reconcile the growing Indian spirit of nationality with administrative efficiency and the British connection should obviously have consisted largely, if not principally, of leading Indians, with a European representation of official, military and commercial

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experience and an infusion of the Colonial Governor type. It had not a single one of these elements. The reasons offered do not bear examination. They are, that as the Commission has to report to Parliament it must be composed of Members of Parliament, that there are so many kinds of Indians that they cannot all be represented, that they will be represented in an indirect and subsidiary way, and, finally, that it matters very little who the Commission are or what they say. The last was, in the upshot, the real reason. Mr. Baldwin's words, quoted on pp. 80, 81, are, as usual with him, lofty and eloquent, but when analyzed that is all they amount to. Mr. Ranga Iyer is a trenchant critic, but his task is almost too easy.

His examination of the differences between Moderates and Extremists is a good one, and worthy of study by European readers who are apt to regard such parties as all tarred with the same brush. He is fairer to the British authorities than most Indian writers of his way of thinking, though even he is not absolutely fair. In his Chapter XIV., headed "Communal Glasses" (*sic*), he treats the Hindu-Mussalman feud as largely the fault of the British Government, an imputation entirely without justification. It is true that such disputes are markedly less in the Indian States, but that is not because their governments are Indian, but because they are despotic. If the Mussalmans of Kashmir or the Hindus of Hyderabad were granted a measure of political power, there would be plenty of such disputes. Mr. Ranga Iyer says communal electorates are no remedy. That may be true, but an ineffective remedy is not the source of the disease.

Mr. Ranga Iyer rightly puts his finger on racial estrangement, the growing anti-British feeling, as the danger in the path. Here he writes generously as well as truly. It is a matter on which Parliamentary Commissions can do little. It is the responsibility of every man and woman in the communities concerned.

An index would have been useful. There is one other defect in the otherwise excellent production of the book—that is, that it is sometimes hard to tell what is the author's own and what is quotation.

5. INDIA ON TRIAL. By J. E. Woolacott. (*Macmillan.*) 10s. net.

Mr. Woolacott gives us the other side of the shield. His is an excellent presentment of a somewhat familiar case. The people of India were always steeped in misery before the rise of the British power. That people consists in the mass of peaceful, contented peasants and workers who prefer British rule to any other, while the upper classes can be divided between aristocratic warriors devoted to the British throne and talkers who appear only to want power. To the latter classes foolish British politicians persist in surrendering power. The book is a useful contribution on its own lines. The author's final conclusion that India's association with the British Empire must be maintained is one which no responsible politician can dispute.

6. INDIA: THE NEW PHASE. By Sir Stanley Reed, Kt., K.B.E., LL.D., and P. R. Cadell, C.S.I., C.I.E. (*Philip Allan and Co.*) 3s. 6d. net.

This review of the present political and economic situation in India is, as might be expected from the standing and distinction of its authors, an

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admirable study marked by deep thought and clear expression. The limitations imposed by the frame of the series, the Westminster Library, of which this book forms a part, have prevented them, they explain, from setting forth their statements and conclusions as fully as might have been desirable. On the whole, it is hardly a matter for regret; undue concise ness is seldom a fault in present-day writers about India.

The authors begin by outlining the constitutional system, called "Reformed," enacted in 1919 on the advice of the then Viceroy and Secretary of State. It does not speak well for the general knowledge of political history in this country that dyarchy should so often be regarded as a novel and doctrinaire experiment. It is the oldest form of government after that of sheer force; it has often mastered and replaced the latter with at least temporary success, as in the Holy Roman Empire and in the case of our own Parliament. The British rule in India started as a dyarchy when the Mogul ruler conceded to the East India Company the *diwani* or "transferred subjects," retaining for himself the *faujdari*, the equivalent of our "reserved subjects." It would be a strange coincidence if it ended with the rôles reversed.

The new constitution met with misfortunes from the first, the financial crisis of 1919, the Afghan war and the unrest in the Muhammadan world, for none of which were India or its Government responsible. It has even been suggested that dyarchy suffered in the eyes of the less-instructed Indian public by the identification of the name with that of a distinguished but unpopular soldier. But our authors do not, like Balbus, consider that it is all up with the Commonwealth. They profess a sturdy hopefulness, to which one is glad to respond. Their criticism of the new legislators is well founded. These seem to have no idea of consulting or representing their constituents or of judging measures on their merits. Indeed, they are sometimes found advancing proposals to which the opinion of their public is violently opposed, so as to place Government in the dilemma of being unprogressive or unpopular, as in the cases of the age of consent or the elevation of the untouchables. The authors have some hankering after a system of secondary election which, like all schemes of the kind, never works in times of stress. One mistake, and that a serious one, in connection with the new constitution, was the promise of revision, now being things [illegible] lemented by Sir John Simon. An undertaking to alter what is not are about 115 b bound to call forth expressions of disapproval.
about 40 wome n of the Indian States has, perhaps somewhat illogically,
Then in Dec d to an independent commission. If the position of
th ot to be es is an argument against Indian *Swaraj*, it is also an
argument in favour of provincial autonomy, at least on non-representative lines. The authors rightly insist on treating this question as an integral part of the general Indian problem. It is also interwoven with the question of defence. An army partly British in *personnel* and wholly British in control and organization is indispensable, especially in view of the attitude of the present rulers of Russia, but it cannot be subordinated to an Indian representative assembly. But the problem is not insoluble. If the Indian

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States, many of which are of great warlike capacity, can fit into an Indian army system, still more could an Indian province.

The internal questions of agriculture, manufactures, education and the like, are reviewed by the authors in the light of Indian political development. They enumerate four objects as specially to be kept in view—universal primary education, self-defence, economic improvement, and "the more courageous use of legislation for the assistance of social reform"; with the first three, at any rate, no one need quarrel. Their concluding words are worth quoting: "We have a hard thing to do; it will be made easier if we try to understand it and to understand the standpoint of our Indian fellow-citizens." To that end they have made a valuable contribution.

B. INDIAN HISTORY

1. A Calendar of the Court Minutes, etc., of the East India Company, 1668-1670. By Ethel Bruce Sainsbury, with an Introduction and Notes by Sir William Foster, C.I.E. Published under the patronage of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India. (*Clarendon Press.*)

(*Reviewed by* Sir Richard Temple, Bart.)

A Calendar of Court Minutes of the East India Company is, like a dictionary, fine confined reading, and yet it can be made in skilled hands to throw a peculiarly vivid light on the life of bygone days. Sir William Foster's introduction to these instalments, compiled with exceptional skill by Miss E. B. Sainsbury, regularly published by the India Office at intervals, is a strong instance in point. The latest of these handsome volumes, that for 1929, covers only three years of the mid-seventeenth century—three years, too, with nothing particularly spectacular or exciting in them—just quiet progress without the war or rebellion or plague or fire, which so greatly disturbed other triennial periods about that time. And yet, by diving into the carefully arranged matter with the guidance of Sir William's remarks the student can see how very much alive the actors were and how seriously they took the troubles of their day according to their lights.

Thus, in July, 1669, the Company's Accountant-General, Jeremy Sambrooke, who had been in their service sixty years, committed suicide. This was not an event of general importance, but it must have caused a great sensation in a considerable society: so old a public servant, so responsible a position. There is naturally much reference to him in the Court Minutes, for such an official would require the Court's orders constantly on many matters, but there is nothing to show directly why he should have committed suicide, and, moreover, his salary was high for the period, £220. He must, however, have been lax with his balances—as such officials frequently were at that period—for he was hauled over the coals for it in April, 1668, and again in May, 1669. On July 1 he hanged himself, and all the notice we find in the Minutes of such an event is on July 2: "John Harbert is chosen Accountant in the room of Jeremy Sambrooke, deceased, his salary to be according to his deserts." It may

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be that the cause of the apparent callousness was a general desire to hush the matter up, as suicide was then a serious offence, and it must be remembered that it is still a legal crime in England.

To return to public matters. As usual at that time, there were many negotiations in these three years, 1668-1670, between the English and the Dutch in regard to their respective East India Companies. The Dutch were rapidly acquiring a monopoly of Eastern commerce, and this naturally did not suit the English traders. The East India Company accordingly made a strong effort to get the Dutch authorities to allow them to compete, using the English Ambassador, Sir William Temple, for the purpose. The negotiations came to nothing because Charles II. in 1670 threw in his lot with the French and concluded with Louis XIV. the Secret Treaty of Dover, and this caused the withdrawal of Sir William Temple from the Netherlands. But the interesting point for the student in these protracted proceedings is to note that the East India Company were using, with the Dutch in their own behalf for leave to "interlope," the very arguments which they steadily rejected, when applied against themselves by the Scotch and many other "free-traders" at that period in England. The whole situation therefore becomes an illuminating study in human nature.

Though the Company was carrying on negotiations with the Dutch, advantage was taken of Lord Sandwich's successful treaty with Spain to improve its trade in the East and with the Portuguese at Macao. Further, the Company also took special steps to push the trade in silk in Bengal, and we thus see that in all such matters the Directors were wide awake. All the while, too, there was the aftermath of the disturbance caused by the rebel Governor of Madras, Sir Edward Winter, who had imprisoned the man sent to succeed him, practically in the end with impunity to himself. This settlement of so violent a quarrel naturally gave much trouble, leading to at least one very human incident, when one of Winter's chief supporters, the Rev. Simon Smythe, turned up at a Court meeting to explain matters.

Bombay was then a new possession, and its affairs occupied a great deal of the East India Company's attention in a manner that is of the highest interest to those concerned in learning all that is to be known regarding the beginnings of administration and business there. Among many other things it is casually remarked in a Minute dated January, 1668: "There are about 115 Englishmen on the island, and it would be convenient if about 40 women were sent by the Company's first ships to live there." Then in December we read: "Women or maidservants going to Bombay are not to be obliged to remain with their employers over a year from the time of their arrival, and if they marry an Englishman within the said year, with the consent of the Governor and Council, they are to have their liberty, and their husband is not to give their employer any consideration for their time." In the same month there is a report by a Committee about Bombay, suggesting that "twenty women c-maids related to soldiers or others, of sober and civil lives, might be sent at the Company's expense," but they were not to marry Portuguese or any other foreigner or anyone

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but a Protestant. In February, 1669, it was ordained that they were to have proper cabin room on the way out. But these women were not always fortunate, for two widows of soldiers applied as paupers for help in 1669. In these formal entries we see the beginnings of the supply of wives to the men serving in India, a system that was so prominent a feature in the life of succeeding years.

St. Helena was then under the East India Company's control, and in December, 1669, it appointed a new Governor, Captain Richard Cony; but there was no ship going there directly, so he had to go to Bantam and disembark at St. Helena on the ship's way home. The story is a lesson in communication, but in November, 1670, a new chaplain, the Rev. William Nokes, was luckier, for he got a direct ship.

"Lastly, there is a good deal in these Minutes about the great case, which so troubled the two Houses of Parliament at that period—Skinner *versus* the East India Company. Skinner, in March, 1670, won his case in the House of Lords, which had taken it up *ab initio*, and got damages. The Company immediately appealed to the Commons, and a great fight as to privilege turned on the right of the Lords to determine a cause that had not been before the ordinary courts. This was fought out with extraordinary acrimony on both sides, and some queer things happened. The fight had been going on for about two years when in February, 1670, Charles II. intervened with effect, and both sides agreed to drop their disputes and erase all records of them in their Journals. Thus ended a very notable disagreement between the two Houses with a victory for the Commons, for the Lords have never since asserted a claim to original jurisdiction. Poor Skinner was left out in the cold, though he repeatedly made efforts to recover his money till he died.

Such in the merest outline is an account of three "uneventful" years of the East India Company's life as recorded in the work under notice, and readers must turn to the work itself for detailed information on hundreds of points of interest. But he will not find it easy to get exactly what he wants quickly in spite of the extraordinary accuracy of the printing and the proof reading bestowed on it, and the ample and again extraordinarily accurate index.

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2. HISTORY OF THE PALLAVAS OF KANCHI. By R. Gopalan. Edited with introduction and notes by S. Khrishnaswarmy Aiyangar. (*Madras University.*) Rs. 5 net.

The author has compiled a very able book on the Pallavas, and has undoubtedly added considerably to our knowledge of this South Indian race. He has made himself familiar with previous research, both in English and in Tamil, and enters into the theories regarding the origin of these people by V. A. Smith, L. Rice, Jouveau-Dubreuil, A. Rea, and some Indian scholars. References in Prakrit and Sanskrit have been carefully checked and used. Hereafter comes the history proper. A long appendix contains a chronological index of Pallava inscription. Professor Krishnaswarmy Aiyangar has contributed a very learned introduction and some valuable notes at the end.

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3. Some Documents Relating to the Rise of the Dutch Power in Ceylon, 1602-1670, from the Translations of the Indian Office. By P. E. Pieris. (Colombo: *Luzac.*) 17s. 6d. net.

Dr. Pieris is a well-known writer of historic books on Ceylon, especially the Portuguese and Dutch periods. The present volume consists of a collection of documents pertaining to the early period of the Dutch occupation of Ceylon, with appropriate notes by the editor, who is a serious and able student. Dr. Pieris reminds us in his introduction of twenty-five pages that the Dutch arrived in that island with the purpose of driving the Portuguese out of that sphere of trade and to substitute their own. The trade concessions, which they easily obtained from the King of Ceylon, soon gave rise to a desire for wider political power, and the Dutch were, after the first struggle, accepted as the protectors against the Portuguese. Gradually they became the masters of the island. Dr. Pieris has told his story well in the small space at his disposal, and the documents produced should be of great service to the historian of colonial and Asiatic affairs.

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4. The Commerce Beween the Roman Empire and India. By E. H. Warmington. (*Cambridge University Press.*) 15s. net.
(*Reviewed by* M. E. R. Martin.)

This book throws strong and concentrated light on a subject of great interest. The story of early travel to and from the East along well-defined trade-routes has been dealt with by other writers, but the author of the book under review describes in much greater detail than any previons writer the sea and land routes between Europe and India, while he also displays a considerably greater acquaintance with the subject. Adequate proof of this is afforded by the excellent map inserted in the volume which gives both the main land-routes to India and the main routes followed by the silk traffic to China, while it further shows clearly how greatly the sea-borne traffic developed as a result of the discovery of the monsoons. Both the ancient and modern names of countries and towns are given in the map. The first part of the book deals with the commerce between Rome and India from the reign of Augustus to the death of Marcus Aurelius. The author has wisely limited his work to the description of the trade to that period. A complete history of the commerce between the East and West could not have been compressed into one volume, and this the author has purposely avoided attempting to do. Mr. Warmington makes an interesting statement which he considers still applies to trade conditions with India. He says that even in Roman times the flow of commerce from the East always exceeded that from Europe eastwards. The value of the goods received by the Romans was paid in coin not in products, and this accounts for the large amount of Roman money found in many parts of India. The discovery of the monsoons and the important part they played in the development of the trade-routes are now buried in the past; whether history will repeat itself and the air-services find valuable assistance from the trade-winds only the future will reveal.

In Part II. the author describes in detail the nature of the goods exported

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from Rome to India, as well as of those received in exchange—the latter including animal and plant products, minerals, and precious stones. The export trade from Rome was entirely sea-borne, and it is curious to find that in part it consisted of slaves, who were imported into Italy from India. The slaves taken from Rome were intended as presents to the Indian princes, or were considered "specially selected merchandize."

The very full notes in Part II. prove how carefully Mr. Warmington has verified his facts. They afford most valuable data to those desirous of pursuing their researches along the same lines. He has also added a list of the abbreviations employed in the notes, by the use of which he has avoided much unnecessary repetition.

C. RELIGIONS OF INDIA

5. CHRISTIANITY AND THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA. By Arthur Mayhew, C.I.E. (*Faber and Gwyer.*) 12s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* F. H. BROWN, C.I.E.)

Mr. Arthur Mayhew, formerly Director of Public Instruction in the Central Provinces, and now a Master at Eton, here follows his valuable study of "British Educational Policy in India," published in 1926, by what is described in the subtitle as "an examination of the Christian forces at work in the administration of India, and of the mutual relations of the British Government and Christian missions" from 1600 to our own day. The work goes a good way to fill a notable gap in the critical literature of British administration in India, for it traces the mutations through which the policy of neutrality in matters of religion, accompanied by fairness toward missionary enterprise, was at last shaped. While not sufficiently documented and complete to leave no room for a more thorough and systematic investigation, the book well serves its purpose of providing material for some broad general conclusions. The note of irony here and there lapses into flippancy, and now and again a striving after brilliance leaves a sentence with little or no meaning. But in general Mr. Mayhew writes with a grace of style and a mastery of facts which are most attractive.

Throughout the story Mr. Mayhew duly recognizes the remarkable contribution made to the social, intellectual and moral progress of India by missionary enterprise and devotion. Carey, Heber, Wilson and Duff are depicted not only as great missionaries but as men of vision and statesmanship. Mr. Mayhew condemns the timidity of the East India Company in excluding missionaries from their territories until compelled by the pressure of public opinion at Home to admit them, and the reluctance with which any substantial provision was made for the spiritual needs of the British services, civil and military. The Hindu and Muhammadan communities, as he writes, were accustomed to rulers who took care that there should be no misunderstanding of their own religious beliefs. Indians found it easier to respect the Government when it made decent provision for its own religion from 1833 onwards. Such provision showed the British administrators to be not only strong and resolute, but also human and generous,

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"and these are characteristics dear to the Indian world." Mr. Mayhew has scant patience with the irreligious outlook of the British community in India at certain periods. It encouraged the carrying of the policy of neutrality to such extreme lengths as to blur the distinction between what might be done by a supporter of missionary enterprise in his official and in his private capacity.

Mr. Mayhew shares the opinion of John Lawrence, quoted on the title-page, that "Christian things done in a Christian way will never alienate the heathen." It was concealment of, or an apologetic attitude regarding, a Christian outlook which, in old days, aroused Indian suspicions of overt designs. Mr. Mayhew does not hesitate to formulate the conclusion that the British Government of India has earned the title of Christian by the character of its activities, "which have progressively displayed qualities emphasized by the Christian faith, and still more by the essentially Christian vigour and hopefulness that have inspired them." Though he says little of the noteworthy absorption by the educated classes of Christian ethics, he shows due recognition of this feature of the Indian situation by the remark that there is not the smallest reason to anticipate any antagonism to Christian mission work or interference therewith as an outcome of constitutional changes. The Indian Christian has established his position in Indian society. "Thanks largely to his firmness and the wisdom of our missionaries, Christianity is no longer viewed as a Western and exotic plant." Mr. Mayhew's study is the more valuable since it is inspired by that hope for, and confidence in, moral and spiritual progress in India, as elsewhere, which is of the essence of the Christian faith.

2. THE PATH OF PURITY. Being a translation of Buddhaghosa's "Visuddhimagga." By Maung Tin. (Oxford: *University Press.*) 10s. net.

It is indeed a pleasure to note that the translation of the Buddhist Scriptures makes steady progress, and the present volume forms No. 17 of the Translation Series of the Pali Text Society. The original has been edited several times and in 1920 was issued the text by Mrs. Rhys Davids. Professor Maung Tin of Rangoon, a well-known scholar of Pali, has now translated the second volume on Concentration, and continued therein his conscientious work. All students of Buddhism, including those in Ceylon and Japan where Buddhaghosa is greatly revered and read, will be grateful to Professor Maung Tin for the completion of this difficult piece of work.

3. BRIEF SKETCH OF THE ZOROASTRIAN RELIGION AND CUSTOMS. By S. D. Bharucha. Third edition revised and enlarged. (Bombay: *Taraporevala.*)

The firm of Taraporevala is in the front rank of the large Indian publishing firms, and most of the books issued by them have gained a wide reputation. The fact that the volume before us is the third edition (since 1893) speaks highly of the importance of the subject. Dr. J. J. Modi, the great Parsee scholar, has contributed an introduction. The book is beautifully printed, and is certainly one of the best that we have seen from any Indian Press. The "Brief Sketch" is rather short, containing eighty-three pages only, but the valuable Appendices comprise another

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hundred pages. This is a short but at the same time a very clear account of the chief elements of the religion of Zoroaster which can be strongly recommended to all students.

D. INDIAN ECONOMICS

1. PUNJAB VILLAGE SURVEYS. I.—GAGGAR BHANA. (Lahore: *Civil and Military Press.*)

(*Reviewed by* SIR RICHARD BURN, C.S.I.)

This economic survey of a village in the Amritsar District, made by Mr. S. Gian Singh under the supervision of Mr. C. M. King, C.S.I., C.I.E., Financial Commissioner of the Punjab, is a valuable product of the Board of Economic Enquiry. In its detail and wealth of corroborating statistics it shows a great advance on the studies of South Indian villages published ten years earlier by the University of Madras. While no single village can be taken as typical of more than a particular tract, the student of economics can learn here much of the strength and weakness of the Indian peasant, and especially how the Hindu Jat of the Punjab maintains a sturdy independence. Methods of agriculture, the system of land tenures, the land revenue, debt, sales of land and prices obtained, marketing of produce, yields and expenses of cultivation, and consumption of foodstuffs are all adequately examined.

The pessimist who believes that British rule is ruining India will find it hard to explain away the facts that in this village at any rate debt is decreasing and the value of land is rising. The first effect of the Punjab Alienation of Land Act was to reduce prices, but when new conditions were understood substantial rises occurred, helped in this village by an extension of irrigation. An examination of the incidence of land revenue shows that in a certain year the crop of sugar-cane would have been sufficient to meet the whole of the land revenue and cesses, the cotton would have met this with a margin of 60 per cent., and the wheat with a margin of 80 per cent.

Of the sturdy uprightness of the peasant two examples may be quoted. One is the honesty of dealings with water, the internal distribution of which within the village is left to the cultivators. The second is that though a substantial area is cultivated by tenants, none of whom has any written lease, litigation is almost unknown.

The village is purely agricultural, and spinning, weaving, tanning and leather work, and rough carpentry are the only industries; they merely supply local needs. It should not be inferred from the fact that there are more goldsmiths than tailors that the inhabitants live in luxury.

An interesting table shows the average working hours throughout the year and illustrates the difficulty of prescribing a uniform day for the agriculturist. During the slackest time of the year in the latter part of July a couple of hours a day are sufficient, while in the end of May a man is employed for more than ten hours.

It must not be supposed that the book records only favourable items. The entire absence of adequate medical treatment on the spot, and the

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usual insanitary conditions produce heavy mortality and much suffering. Education is backward, especially among the lower castes, though there are signs of advance, especially in the case of temporary emigrants to towns. Nobody from the village has ever obtained a higher standard than matriculation and no Jat has even reached that stage.

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2. INDIAN ECONOMICS. Being a comprehensive and critical survey of the economic problems of India. Vol. II. (Bombay: *Taraporevala*). Rs. 5.4 net.

The authors had intended to put their theories on economics before University students. They were extremely modest in their claim. After reading the second volume, now concluded, we do not hesitate to express the opinion that this work should be studied by a wide circle of students of economics; in fact, it should be placed among the standard books. It is pleasing to note that the authors adhere strictly to their subject and do not enter into the arena of politics.

The new volume deals chapter by chapter with Industrialization, Indian Industries Old and New, Industrial Labour, Legislation and Welfare. Some thirty pages refer to Poverty in India, then comes a chapter on the various forms of Transport, one on Trade of India, external and internal, on Currency and Exchange, Finance, Taxation, and Unemployment.

It will be seen that the survey is pretty comprehensive and it is also painstaking. Moreover, it avoids extravagances.

3. FEDERAL FINANCE IN INDIA. By K. T. Shah. (Bombay: *Taraporevala.*) Rs. 6 net.

Professor K. T. Shah is a voluminous writer on Indian economics, and his work "Sixty Years of Indian Finance" has enjoyed a great reputation even outside India. The present volume is one of six lectures delivered at Patna University last year, which have for their subjects: General Principles of Federal Finance, its Evolution, a Review of Public Revenues and Expenditure in British India, and Economic Relations with the Indian States, and finally one on Financial Organization and National Development. The book is not addressed so much to the expert as to the intelligent public, and for this reason statistics have been limited to the minimum. Professor Shah, therefore, has not so much put forward definite suggestions, as given a clear exposition of this difficult subject.

4. THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN INDIA. A comparative study. By J. L. Raine. (Bombay: *Taraporevala.*) Rs. 2 net.

In order to advance the co-operative movement, Mr. Raine has visited the Provinces of Bengal, Bombay, Madras, and the United Provinces, and appears to have made a thorough study of his subject. He comes to the conclusion that, although great progress has been made for the betterment of the depressed classes, further extension is necessary in order to bring it to permanent success.

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FAR EAST

A SHORT HISTORY OF CHINA. By Edward Thomas Williams, M.A., LL.D., of the University of California. (*Harper Bros.*) 16s. net.

(*Reviewed by* BRIGADIER-GENERAL C. D. BRUCE, C.B.E.)

"The superiority complex of the Chinese induced by long isolation and success in dealing with their feeble neighbours made rational intercourse with the European impossible. This Chinese arrogance betrayed them into a conflict with nations with whose strength they were unacquainted, and brought humiliating defeat and the imposition upon their country of an inferior political status which they were impotent to resist but which has rankled ever since in their breasts."

In these few lines is to be found the keynote to Chinese history ever since the arrival of the Portuguese, the advance guard of the Western invasion, in the sixteenth century.

To compress the history of over four thousand years into six hundred pages is a stupendous task. How many thousands of books, learned and unlearned, have not already endeavoured to record these hoary periods! There are Chinese histories, Chinese classics, not to mention commentaries innumerable upon every one of the originals. What to leave out is the test of success in such a history as this. Professor E. T. Williams is to be congratulated upon his discrimination.

The author, as he tells us in the preface to his book, has to a certain extent followed the example of one of the best known Chinese histories. "The 'Shu King,' or 'Classic of History,'" writes Professor Williams, "does not purport to give a continuous history of ancient China. It is a collection of documents that have preserved valuable fragments of that history, and which describe the character and relate some of the deeds of ancient worthies."

The author of the book under review has divided his history into periods, each of which he tells the reader is marked by some overshadowing event or distinguishing feature that has profoundly affected the lives of the people, modified their social institutions, influenced their superstitions, or created some new fashion in art or literature.

What more can any lover of history ask for?

In these days of modern research and higher criticism few readers are prepared to spend time over ancient so-called history. Much of what our immediate forebears accepted as gospel truth the present generation knows to be at least allegory, at worst the inventive imagination of primitive writers and enthusiasts. Today the wheat must be carefully sifted from the chaff before, as mental food, it will receive any attention whatsoever. On the other hand, well written authenticated history, both that of earlier and later civilizations, has, probably, never been more eagerly sought after.

Professor Williams has thought fit to give the larger share of his history —thirteen chapters out of twenty-one—to recent events in China. In this, no doubt, he is wise. For one reader who is interested in the remote periods of the Chou, Han, or T'ang ("the Golden Age") Dynasties, there

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are a dozen who would, if they could, acquire accurate knowledge of modern China, its immediate past, its paradoxical present, and its unpredictable future. Here again the author does his best to supply the want.

Out of such a storehouse of information it is only possible to call attention to a very few of the many matters of interest. Among these, first and foremost to history lovers, is that concerning the origin of the Chinese people. In Appendix II. is set out such evidence as Professor Williams has thought fit to collect. It is well known, of course, that the original home of the earliest recorded inhabitants was situated in the valley of the Yellow River, but there are those, like the present author, who believe that they migrated there. Professor Williams favours the idea that the Chinese came from Central Asia, if not from even further west, and that between their early civilization and that of the Sumerians there is strong affinity. Be this as it may, there is no doubt that those earliest representatives were fairly well civilized, especially in agricultural methods, and were by no means rude savages. Authentic records begin *circa* 2200 B.C. Any earlier so-called history is hypothetical, and it is of interest to remember that Dr. Lionel Giles places the date when real history may be said to commence as about 1122 B.C. with the Chou dynasty. Nor was China proper, the eighteen provinces as we know them, unified until as late as 221 B.C., in the time of the tyrant Emperor Shih Huang Ti, the infamous burner of "the Classics" and other books.

Many other matters of very great interest to readers are all clearly and concisely dealt with in the accounts of early dynasties. These form a series of connecting links with modern China, and carry the reader forward to what the author rightly describes as "The Dawn of the Modern Era," Chapter VIII. Then follow two chapters, both full of information, until the reader is introduced to history as it can be recalled by many still living, Chapter XI. From Chapter XI. onwards the clash of two opposing civilizations becomes more and more marked, and is carefully traced and explained, never unfairly to China. From the T'ai P'ing rebellion, which might have wrecked the Manchu dynasty eighty years ago, and when Nanking figured as the capital of the T'ien Wang ("Heavenly King") until the return there of the present Nationalist Government, each page of Chinese history is skilfully unrolled.

Of present-day politics the author writes from personal and intimate experience. Of that wonderful figure Sun Yat Sen he has much to say. How or why a man with a proved record such as Professor Williams gives could ever have reached the pinnacle of fame he did passes understanding. Again and again Sun Yat Sen brought bitter misery upon thousands of his fellow-countrymen. Not once but several times did he decline to co-operate with opponents who were prepared to meet his views more than half way, when a unified north and south China might have followed. He was mainly responsible for the inflow of Bolshevism: under Borodin and his agents. It served his purpose, but it will be long before the country he inoculated frees itself from the poisonous virus of communism. Nor, if we may accept as genuine the letter to Moscow he wrote on his death-bed, did he repent of his action.

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On the future of China the author is too well-informed to prophesy. "No one," writes Professor Williams in his final chapter, "can say today to what all the present ferment may lead. When the peasant and the coolie begin to think politically, will they," he asks, "become the tools of demagogues, or will they find a wiser leadership? Of one thing we may be sure, whatever the form of government that may be evolved out of the present chaos, the Chinese people will remain—sober, frugal, industrious—the foundation of the state, just as in the days of Mencius, and will become the foundation of one reunited nation."

FIFTY YEARS OF ROMANCE AND RESEARCH, OR A JUNGLE-WALLAH AT LARGE. By Dr. Charles Hose. (*Hutchinson.*) 30s. net.

Anyone spending almost a quarter of a century far from home amid people of a different mind and culture should be possessed of some intellectual curiosity. He must also find material, unfamiliar to most people, to keep him busy and interested in new surroundings—in short, he must find romance in his work. Romance is kept alive through hard work and detailed research. It is here that Dr. Hose proves to be indefatigable. He was not satisfied only with his official duties; he spent his spare time in research which gave him pleasure and brought to his country, and the world at large, great benefit through disclosing the result of his continuous study. This research work makes a true student kindly, and we find throughout these pages sign after sign of his sympathetic regard towards the native, after he had learned to understand his mind.

The author's own mind is mirrored in every page. His sense of duty and of justice while serving the people of Sarawak must have endeared him to them. He has learned, far from home, that man is man all the world over, that joy and pleasure fill the breast of all alike.

There are not many English books on Borneo and specially Sarawak. All the more must we congratulate ourselves for having obtained one which will be of lasting value. The author has inherited a love for natural history, and therefore the chapters on Fauna and Flora, as well as Geology, are particularly instructive and valuable, and the appendices afford testimony to Dr. Hose's wide reading and great learning. The Index is very complete and enables one to look up any special subject, which the list of contents may not disclose.

We cannot end this notice without drawing attention to the excellent illustrations throughout this attractive volume, including as the frontispiece the portrait of Mrs. Hose, which reveals a very kindly and sympathetic lady who has shared her husband's life and work.

THE CLOUD-MEN OF YAMATO, BEING AN OUTLINE OF MYSTICISM IN JAPANESE LITERATURE. By E. V. Gatenby. (*Murray.*) 3s. 6d. net.

The Wisdom of the East Series, to which the present volume belongs, was begun some twenty-five years ago. A great many volumes have been

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issued since that time, and some of them have enjoyed a very great reputation. The purpose of the new volume is to inform the West of some of the things it has to learn from the East. It treats of the mystic approach to reality through nature. The author shows the Japanese mind in connection with pantheism, nature as understood by Buddhism, and enlightenment as revealed in their poetry. Mr. Gatenby is of opinion that the East has been long in advance of the West in responding to the influence of natural beauty.

THE LAND OF THE LAMA. A description of a country of contrasts and of its people, their religion, ways of living, trade and social life. By D. Macdonald. With illustrations and map. (*Seeley, Service.*) 21s. net.

Mr. Macdonald has had excellent opportunities during his long residence in Tibet to study the people in their various occupations, as well as in their daily life. The twenty-four chapters comprised in the volume open to the reader the home and the temple, and give also an insight into their trade; in fact, the information regarding the country and its people is practically complete, and it may well be doubted whether in this generation another book on the same subject will be placed before the public. The author very properly introduces the book with an account of the natural products and geography of the country, and follows it up with a short history. Details are given of the religion, religious life and the priesthood, and perhaps for the first time a plan of the hall of worship in a temple is reproduced. The officials, architecture and housing are exhaustively dealt with. Great pleasure is afforded to those interested in the home and married life of the Tibetans, where magic and superstition reign supreme. Nor has Mr. Macdonald failed to give a bird's-eye view of the country's literature. His thorough knowledge of the country, the people, and the language has enabled him to write a really fascinating volume in which the importance of good illustrations have not been overlooked.

NEAR EAST

THE HOLY CITIES OF ARABIA. By Eldon Rutter. Two vols. (*G. F. Putnam's Sons, Ltd.*). £2 2s. net.

(*Reviewed by* H. A. R. GIBB.)

Mr. Rutter's book, considered first and foremost as a narrative of travel and a diary of life in Arabia, is excellent reading. He set out to make himself one of the company, to speak with their tongue, and see with their eyes, especially in matters of religion. His religious sincerity is one of the notable things in the book, but when it is remembered that most of his English predecessors have shown the same enthusiasm, one wonders whether the cause is to be found in the religious atmosphere of Mecca, or more probably in the fact that only those can successfully pass through the

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ordeal who have already something of the Muslim intensity and simplicity of faith, schooled by the long and arduous preparation in Islamic theology which the enterprise entails. In politics also Mr. Rutter has generally let his Arab friends speak for themselves, with the result that the political comment is in general disappointingly jejune. He accepts their patronizing view of the "poor mad Wahhabis," and his admiration of Ibn Sa'ud appears to derive from his opinion that Ibn Sa'ud is an "ambitious statesman," who has found out how to make of the unruly Bedouin an instrument to further his private political ends.

But, of course, Mr. Rutter, not being an Arab, but a Westerner—that is to say, a man with a sense of proportion and method—could not help standing a little aside from the crowd and taking notice. When he reproduces, as he does in the most lifelike way, the animated chatter of the Arabs, it is the artistic selection and sly wit of the European that gives its peculiar brilliance to his descriptions. Many of his comments will be endorsed by all who know the Arabs, however slightly. "It takes Arabs a long time to see what is essential and what is not. They are a race of pursuers of the side issue. The irrelevant has only to enter their thoughts in order to become the theme." "'Listen, Hajj Ahmad!' said Abdurrahman, with his ever-ready urbanity and desire to impart information. 'The Arabs are always prepared to teach and instruct, however meagre their knowledge of the subject in hand may be. They are a race of born teachers.'" And there are several delicious passages where "Hajj Ahmad" with the straightest of faces heartily pulls the legs of that honourable male company, which never mentions members of the lower classes of creation, such as women, without adding "God honour you" in diffident apology.

Some of the minor characters stand out more distinctly than a number of the honourable male company. The Badawi camel-men, the Malay pilgrims, and other companions of his travels are excellently if lightly drawn. One of the best is the Egyptian Fatma, whose quavering emotional voice, "as substantial as her person," brought all the camel-men in a delighted muster alongside her camel. Whereupon, "becoming intoxicated with so much popularity, Fatma would sing a wanton flesh-potly ditty of Egypt."

In details the book shows obvious signs of hasty composition, and the proof-reading has been deplorable. At times the transition from one subject to another is so abrupt that anyone not familiar with the subject is liable to find himself in difficulties. These are minor blemishes, however, and what other criticisms may be brought are generally too technical to be of interest to the general reader. It should be said, however, that Mr. Rutter's judgments are decidedly against the Wahhabis. No doubt the Ikhwan are exceedingly uncomfortable neighbours, but it is a little difficult to understand why a European should feel so strongly about the destruction of local shrines and the prohibition of superstitious rites.

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TAMERLANE, THE EARTH SHAKER. By Harold Lamb. Illustrated. (*Thornton Butterworth.*) 10s. 6d. net.

After writing his book on Jenghiz Khan, the author has now issued a very readable English account of the life of Tamerlane, or Timur. It is perhaps well that the first information regarding one of the world's great conquerors should be written in an easy and popular style, as the ordinary reader, unfamiliar with research, will at least obtain knowledge of the life and accomplishments of this wonderful man, and perhaps some will grow so enthusiastic that closer study will follow, for which Mr. Lamb has provided a very good bibliography.

The notes provided towards the end are excellent; they show that the author has really entered upon the subject with a full sense of his obligations towards the reader. A learned book is generally read by the few, but a book of this kind, particularly when the material used is taken from trustworthy historical sources, will undoubtedly reach a wide circle.

THE ARAB'S PLACE IN THE SUN. By Richard Coke. With map of illustration. (*Thornton Butterworth.*) 21s. net.

This book is not only for the scholar but also the wider circle of readers interested in the past and present of the Arabs. It is evenly divided into these two parts. In about ninety pages the author gives a brief sketch of their history in Spain and Northern Africa. Then follow their conquests in Egypt. In the second part we read of their connections with the British, the loss of Tunis and Algeria, and the rôle which the Arabs played in the Great War and after. The reader will gain a valuable insight into the present political position of the Arabs.

I'BN BATUTA: TRAVELS IN ASIA AND AFRICA, 1325-1354. Translated and selected by H. A. R. Gibb. With maps and illustrations (*Routledge.*) 15s. net.

This latest volume is perhaps the most fascinating one so far published in the Broadway Travellers Series. A new translation from the Arabic has been made by a very good Arabic scholar who has wisely used his judgment in selecting those passages which are of interest to the reader of today. The old, and perhaps rather dry, edition by S. Lee was issued exactly a hundred years ago. Born in Morocco, I'bn Batuta, in order to make the Hajj, and to pray at the tomb of the Prophet, made his way to Egypt, Syria, Arabia, thence to Persia and Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, India and China. His observations were keen and accurate, and he offers us a perfect inside knowledge of the condition of the peoples whom he visited. The Christians he considered as infidels, but on the whole is, as a Muslim, very just and lenient towards them. Mr. Gibb has prepared his book for the general reader, the style is entertaining, and he has further added the European names after the Arabic names of towns and countries. Numerous notes at the end of the volume elucidate all the difficulties, and show the translator's wide learning and knowledge of Arabic. We congratulate him on the production of this handsome volume.

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A BAGHDAD CHRONICLE. By Reuben Levy. (*Cambridge University Press.*) 15s. net.

In the introductory pages Mr. Reuben Levy gives a kind of bird's-eye view of Baghdad, which he has had the good fortune to visit, and he proceeds to record very briefly the foundation of Baghdad, and to remind the reader that the name of the city was frequently confused with that of Babylon. After the chapter on the building and expansion of the city, he gives his own account of the social history of Baghdad under the Abbasid Caliphs down to their fall. Within these chapters is to be found a good deal of political history, and a picture of the daily life of the city and of its typical citizens with their accomplishments. On the whole we obtain a good inside view of the life of Baghdad at that period.

The author explains why he has put his notes at the end of the volume. Many readers, however, would prefer to see the notes on the page to which they belong.

FICTION.

SUGIRTHA. By J. Sinna Durai. (*Hulberts, Ltd.*) 2s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* J. CHARTRES MOLONY.)

Mr. Sinna Durai's method of story-telling is simplicity itself. If an event will help the story along, that event happens. When Ramalinga Roddiar is in financial difficulties, he takes a ticket in a lottery, and next day finds himself a better man by three lakhs. Natesan and Sugirtha must be parted for a season; so the wicked Venkatesan writes pseudonymously to each that the other is dead. Neither dreams of verifying the doleful news; and the two are living side by side and unsuspecting in the little town of Ranipet, when Sugirtha identifies her long-lost lover by a tattoo mark on his wrist. So two loving hearts are reunited, and Venkatesan goes mad. For if virtue must be rewarded, obviously vice must be punished.

But if Mr. Sinna Durai writes with a child's simplicity, he also writes with a good deal of a child's vivid perception and simple truthfulness. His Indian scenes and characters are real. The marriage procession of the first chapter is capital fun, with the tiny bride and bridegroom half asleep and squabbling in their gorgeous coach, and all the colour, noise, movement of a Conjeevaram merry-making about them. The conversations, have the frankness, inconsequence, queer tactlessness of genuine South Indian speech. Venkanna Chetty does not beat about the bush for an explanation of a sleepless night—there were bugs in his bed. Natesan, declaring his love, advises Sugirtha to improve her English and to study cookery. And in all affection Natesan assures his loving grandmother that she has had enough of life's pleasures, and has now one foot in the grave. But what is the Tamil equivalent of the metaphor? For surely granny, as a Brahmin, would have been cremated, not buried. Natesan, arriving in England, notes that the English in their own country are much more affable to the Indian than they are in India, that English ladies at times

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wear embarrassingly little clothing, that bullock carts are seldom seen in the streets of London, that London editors must be very rich inasmuch as the populace does nothing save buy evening papers. A mingling of shrewdness with artless realism makes the little book very entertaining reading.

The story is in some degree a protest against the tyranny of Indian custom, especially as custom affects women. But Mr. Sinnā Durai does not force the note. Indians, he says in effect, are just as moral, kindly, civilized, as any other people. Indian men are not cruel to Indian women, and the Indian husband is more often humble and hen-pecked than lord and master in his own home. But Mrs. Grundy—Girundhi Ammāl might be a Tamil rendering of her name—is still in India the power that she was in England fifty years ago. After all, the "customs" which made Sugirtha's young years of supposed widowhood miserable are not very different from the "proprieties" which weighed heavily on the middle-aged Victorian spinster.

MUSIC.

THE STORY OF INDIAN MUSIC AND ITS INSTRUMENTS. A Study of the Present and a Record of the Past. By Ethel Rosenthal. (*William Reeves.*) 7s. 6d. net.

There is no lack of books on Indian music, yet a work on popular lines and including the modern efforts to arrive at a wider appreciation should be welcome. The author begins with the origins of Indian music, and describes after a technical chapter the various instruments. A fair portion of the volume is devoted to the musican, Tyagaraja, who was born in Danjore towards the middle of the eighteenth century, and a few samples of his music are added. The book is undoubtedly written with a view to interest English readers in Indian music, and the fact that the music publisher William Reeves have undertaken this work should find some new friends for this side of Indian art. And when that has been accomplished Mrs. Rosenthal has rendered a great service to the cause of mutual understanding.

HISTORY OF ARABIAN MUSIC TO THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY. By H. G. Farmer. (*Luzac.*) 15s. net.

Although there exist Arabic books on Arabian music, and a very good German work on that subject issued in 1842, no English history had yet been published, and Mr. Farmer has presented the Orientalist as well as the musician with a comprehensive and accurate treatise. In order to accomplish this the author had to study Arabic thoroughly and Arabic music at the same time. Mr. Farmer must have read an enormous amount of Arabic literature in search of references to music: the sources are all quoted, a long bibliography has been appended, and the Arabic works bear in all cases the right diacritic marks. The book is divided into seven chapters, arranged in chronological order. Music was practised in pre-

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Islamic days; the famous Mu'allagat, or Seven Poems, were either recited or sung. The early disputes about the use of music are dealt with in detail. But it may suffice to note that Mr. Farmer has wellnigh cited all references where music is mentioned in Arabic literature, books, and manuscripts, including Hadith, and has named all musicians with their dates and short descriptions. The splendid index of names should be of the greatest service to anyone following Mr. Farmer's footsteps, and the subject and geographical index is in itself a great work of research. Indian and Chinese music have been studied for a number of years by the West, and we feel sure that the present book will arouse a similar interest.

पुस्तकालय
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय
हरिद्वार

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